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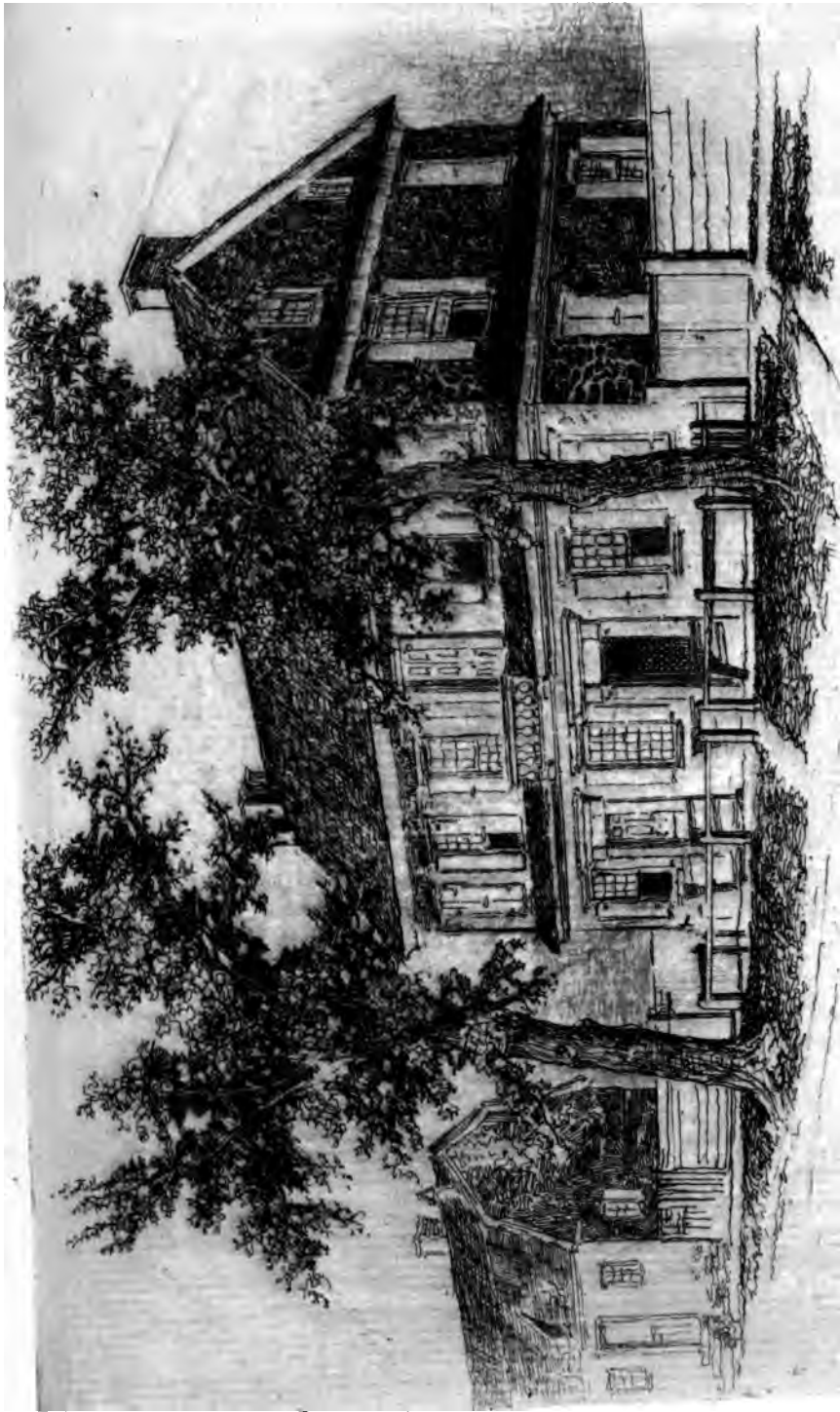
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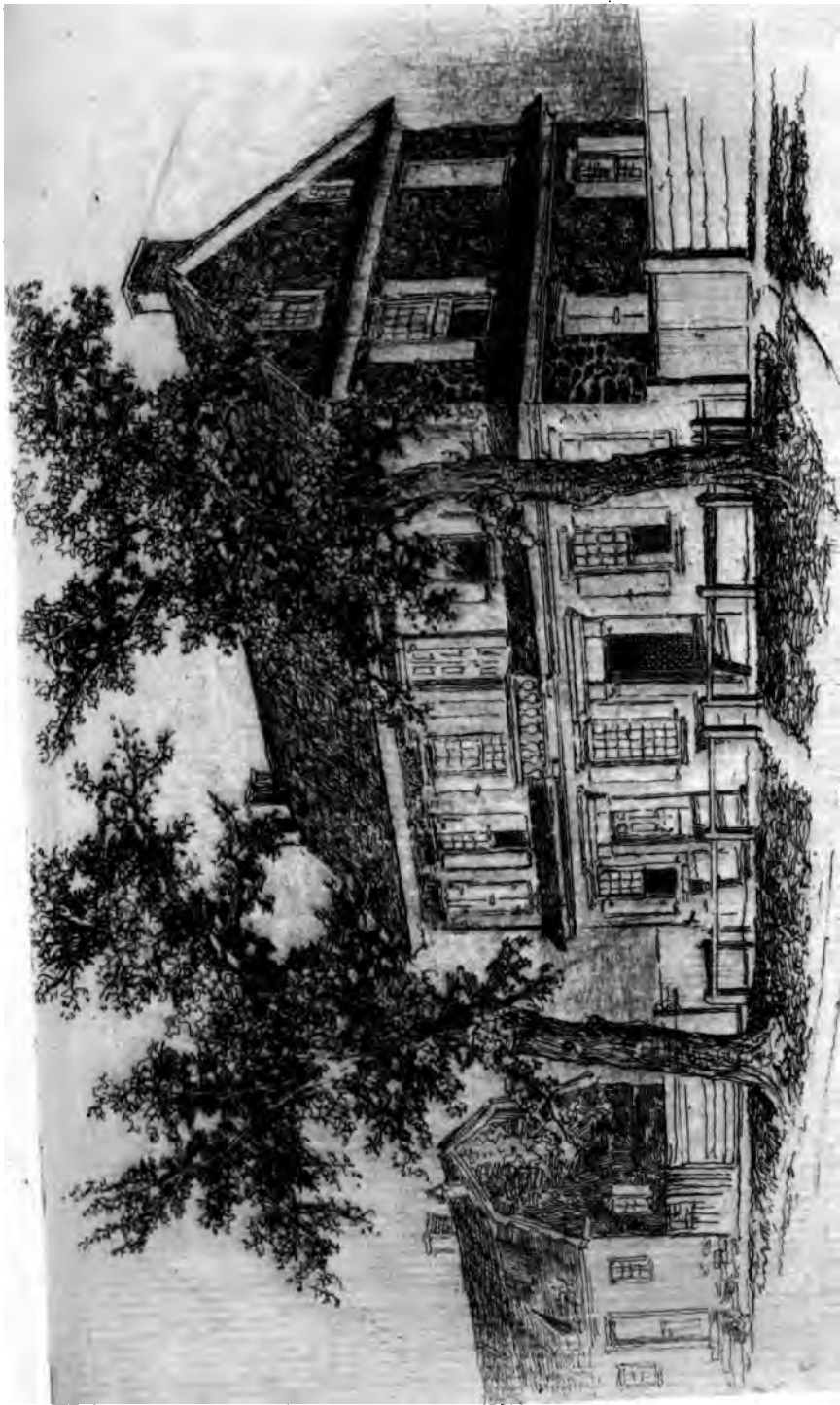






Western House on the main St. of S. C.

1842



Historical House for St. Peter's St. Peter's

1875



The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

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PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. V.

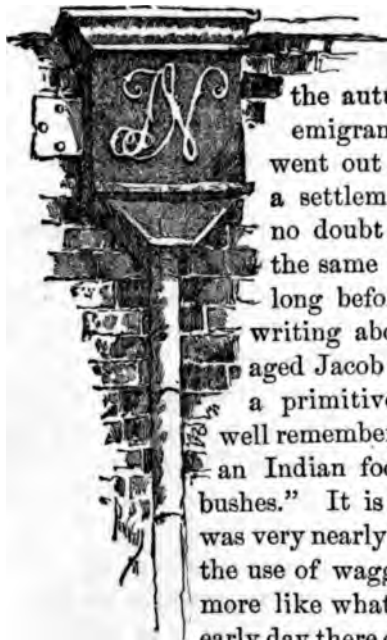
1881.

No. 1.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

PART FIRST.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.



the autumn of 1683 a little troop of emigrants from Crefeld, in Germany, went out from Philadelphia to make a settlement called Germantown, and no doubt the path they followed was the same which the Indians had used long before that time. Mr. Watson, writing about 1825, says, "the present aged Jacob Keyser was told by A. Cook, a primitive inhabitant, that he could well remember Germantown Street as being an Indian footpath going through laurel bushes." It is not unlikely that the route was very nearly the present one, but of course the use of waggons soon required something more like what we call a road. At a very early day there came to be, perhaps, two roads; for on the 27th of the 3d mo. 1704, Thomas Godfrey complains to Council that there had been laid out a road from

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Toby Lecch's to Germantown very injurious to the complainant's land. On the 18th of the 5th mo. following, Council, reciting an Act of Assembly made at New Castle in 1700, Resolved, that "one or both of the said roads are confirmed, and the matter now depending at law," they leave it "to the law and the judges." How it was settled is not known, but long afterwards the Cohocksink was crossed only at Front Street. Anthony Klincken, in those early days, never came to Philadelphia without his gun, that he might bag some geese and ducks at the pond where now is the busy scene of Fourth and Market Streets. That he came by Front Street is evident, for his delight was to shoot rats at Pool's Bridge.

Scull and Heap's map of 1750 show Front Street to have been, at that time, the only route. With the growth of the city, however, Second and Third Streets, and the Old York Road, appeared on General Nicola's manuscript plan of the British works of defence of 1778, on Varlé's map of about 1794, on Hill's rare map of 1794, and on A. P. Folie's of 1795. Of them all, when opened, Second Street was no doubt found to be the most convenient. To view Second Street and the Germantown Road, as one avenue, and to consider that along the latter are paved sidewalks and water and gas mains, as well as an almost continuous Belgian pavement all the way to Chestnut Hill, and that the whole of this great distance of thirteen miles of street and road is built up with but few gaps, it may well be called one of the greatest avenues of any city of the world. The Germantown Road proper commences at Front Street, just where, when the British occupied the city, their line of works of defence crossed, at what once was Maiden Street, but now is Laurel. It was only through the formidable military barriers at that point that any one from the direction of Frankford or Germantown could obtain access to the city. On the west side of Front Street, not far from where we leave it, there formerly stood, according to the map of 1750, the "Sugar House," between Green and Coates Streets. Passing from Front Street into the avenue, whose course at first is

nearly due N. W. ; we come almost at once, on our left hand, to the site of Redoubt No. 2, of the British works of defence, of 1778. No vestige of it remains. Passing on we meet factories and marble and coal yards, dwelling houses, and workshops. Approaching Second Street, we reach Rose Street, with a few houses clustered on it, according to Hill's map of 1794, which leaves the avenue at a right angle, in its course due N. E. The direction of the Germantown Road is now not so much to the west, and dwelling houses become more numerous, but from many of them comes the sound of the loom, while in others women may be seen engaged in various handiwork. Near Second Street the lower floor of the house is usually occupied as a shop ; beyond it, however, for a short distance, it is not so, but further on, almost all the houses have shops. The buildings are two or three stories high, generally of brick, though a few are of wood. Before going further, a word more should be given to Hill's map of 1794. "Campington" is laid down on it, as is also the "Towne of Bath," which seems to have been bounded by Second and Third, and Beaver and George Streets. Directly to the N. W. of the intersection of the avenue and Second Street, between the present Girard Avenue and Canal Street, there stood, in 1701, "the Governor's Mill." On Smedley's map it is placed as at the N. W. corner of Canal and St. John Streets, but this, I think, is rather too far to the east. William Penn was its owner, and in that year wrote to James Logan, "Get my two mills finished, and make the most of these for my profit, but let not John Marsh put me to any great expense." In 1740 the mill was burned, but no doubt was soon rebuilt, for in 1760 the place is referred to as "The Incomparable Mustard and Chocolate Works at the Globe Mill," of which some mention is made on page 492 of the 4th volume of this Magazine. On Folie's map it is marked "Green Mill." West of the Globe Mill, and on the west side of Third Street, according to Hill's map of 1794, was the "Chymical Laboratory." The water power of the Globe Mill was obtained from the branching streams of the Cohock-sink, which, coming from a considerable distance, united

just west of the present intersection of Fifth and Thompson Streets, two of the present squares to the west of the mill. This is confirmed by Mr. Joseph H. Siddall who, now eighty-six years of age, surveyed the ground about the year 1823. He says the dam was just on the verge of what is now Fifth Street. It appears to have been standing as late as the year 1830. This was the dam to which the fair daughter of Eve refers in her journal to be printed in this volume, as the scene of her walk when she gathered wild flowers.

On the map of 1750 there is placed between the branches of the stream spoken of, a property marked "Masters," and another one similarly marked to the east of it. These are the same that Varlé, on his map, marks as "Penn's," and it is the result, perhaps, of the best known instance of a change of masters. Thomas Masters came here from Bermuda, and very early, for his son William sought the hand of Letitia, the daughter of William Penn. Thomas was largely in affairs, both private and public; had his town house at the S. E. corner of Front and High Streets, and a country residence in the Northern Liberties, with grounds of considerable extent. He might well have ample grounds, for the Masters' estate comprised six hundred acres lying to the south of Fair Hill and Somerville, and extending from the Delaware River to Broad Street. Masters Street, though of course its name is incorrectly spelled on the street signs, takes its name from the family which is now represented here, through the female line, by the descendants of Turner Camac, who, in 1795, married Sarah Masters. I heard, when a boy, that this Turner Camac established ice-houses in New Jersey, in order that fish might be brought in waggons from the ocean to the city, in good condition.

William Masters did not marry Letitia Penn, but he was successful with another fair one, Mary Lawrence, owner of the house built by her father, or by herself, in Market Street below Sixth, where General Howe had his quarters, and where Washington lived while President. He had a fair daughter, named Mary, who in the beauty of her youth thus met her fate. Richard, a son of William Penn, married

Hannah Lardner, and their son Richard came here in 1771, to be our Governor for a time. Finding Mary Masters to be the woman he had long looked for, he married her, and thus, three-quarters of a century after the failure of the first attempt to effect an alliance between the two families, it was his good fortune to bring it about.

Before Third Street is reached, the road to Germantown is crossed by Girard Avenue. This modern creation was originally called Franklin Street, and was of the width of fifty feet. In 1839 it was widened to one hundred feet, and called by its present name. And here it seems but natural to speak of the Turnpike Road to Germantown. Horses had been lost in the quicksands further on—Norris's four-horse waggon consumed the day in going to Fair Hill and returning to the town-house on Chestnut above Fourth—and it was therefore an incalculable blessing in its time. It was constructed in 1801, Casper Haines, of Germantown, being mainly instrumental in bringing this about, and it commenced at Third and Vine Streets. It is believed that Third Street, north of Vine, was macadamized and not paved, until within the last fifty years. The affairs of this turnpike subsequently fell into disorder, and to so serious a degree, that at last its owners requested Mr. William S. Perot, a stockholder, to undertake its charge. He consented to do so, but only on the condition that his authority should be supreme. He would not even permit the late Thomas Biddle, who volunteered to do so, to enter security in the sum of ten thousand dollars for his faithful performance of the trust. He had "never been surety for another, and would not accept what he would not return." The confidence reposed in Mr. Perot was justified by the result, for he so conducted the affairs of the company that the stockholders ultimately received one hundred dollars in full for each share of stock. It is known that at one time two shares were sold at auction for fifty cents each. With the growth of the city and of Germantown, there arose the necessity for a mode of communication less primitive, and so about May, 1870, proceedings were commenced with a view to have the road thrown open to the

public and paved. On the 29th of October, 1874, this was effected, for on that day the city paid the company for the damages occasioned thereby.

We continue our walk along the Germantown Road, not very far, however, before we come near to the site of "The Phoenix Tavern," destroyed by fire in June, 1869. It stood about five hundred feet to the west of the Germantown Road, and between what are now Fifth and Sixth Streets, and just to the south of the present Oxford Street. Old Oxford Street, from the Germantown Road west, has been vacated. The present street of that name is, at Sixth Street, one hundred and thirty-five feet further north than was the line of the old street. The house had in time come to be so surrounded by buildings of a later date than its own, that it was in a manner concealed from sight, and all memory of it well nigh lost. In by-gone times, however, the inn was a place of great resort, and afterwards became a favorite stopping place for farmers with their waggons. Latterly this had ceased, and the building came to be used only as a dwelling. Its situation was near, if not upon, a part of the grounds attached to Duval's first country seat. Duval's house is believed to have been a little to the west of Sixth Street. The crossing of Columbia Avenue by that of Germantown is at the distance of about four thousand five hundred feet from Laurel Street. A large factory now appears, and but a little to the north of it is the Cohocksink Methodist Church, while still further on, but upon the west side, is the "First Union Bethel of the Church of God."

By Varlé's map of 1802, Mifflin's garden and house were on the west side of the road we travel, running north from the point of entrance of the Old York Road. Near here was the house that was once called the Backwoodsman. The hipped-roof house, just north of the present Montgomery Avenue, may be the building. Early in the century, James Stell, an Englishman, came to this country, and for some years lived near the Wind Gap. Coming to Philadelphia, he set up a house with the above name, as Mr. Siddall well remembers. Afterwards there appeared upon it, for it is thought to have

been the same house, a painted sign on which was represented an axeman cutting down a tree, perhaps about the time of the appearance of George P. Morris's once favorite song of "Woodman, Spare that Tree," and thenceforth its name was "The Woodman." A number of houses in time appeared around this spot, and the place bore the name of Cohocksink Village. At Susquehanna Avenue, which of course is crossed obliquely, there is, in consequence, a triangular lot of near one hundred feet in length by about twenty in its widest part. An iron railing surrounds it, and a fountain therein, in summer time, throws its jet of water. In this vicinity stands the two-mile stone of the old turnpike. A little further on the avenue again runs almost due N. W., and soon we come to an inn of the earlier part of the century, with its sign of the "Seven Presidents," and an old pump standing alongside of it. The whole, however, are so near the roadway as to denote, I think, a time anterior to that in which the sign was placed there. To the north of Dauphin Street, on the west side of the road, is a modest looking building known as the Fifth Moravian Church. Seventh Street in its course northward crosses the avenue here. Various factories and extensive terra cotta works, as well as taverns with capacious stable-yards, are to be met with as we walk along this part of the Germantown Road. About ten years ago the pavement of cobble stones ended here, and the crushed stone of the old turnpike began, and soon the formidable barrier was reached where toll was exacted alike from him who rode or drove. At the N. E. corner of Eighth and York Streets is a fine brown stone church edifice, with ample grounds around it, belonging to the Roman Catholics. On Smedley's Atlas it is marked as an Episcopal Church, which was correct at the time his map was produced.

For a long time we have been passing by a place, Fair Hill, lying on the east of the Germantown Road and extending to Gunner's Run. It originally contained about seven hundred acres, more than one-half of which is now built upon. The story of its owners may be of interest.

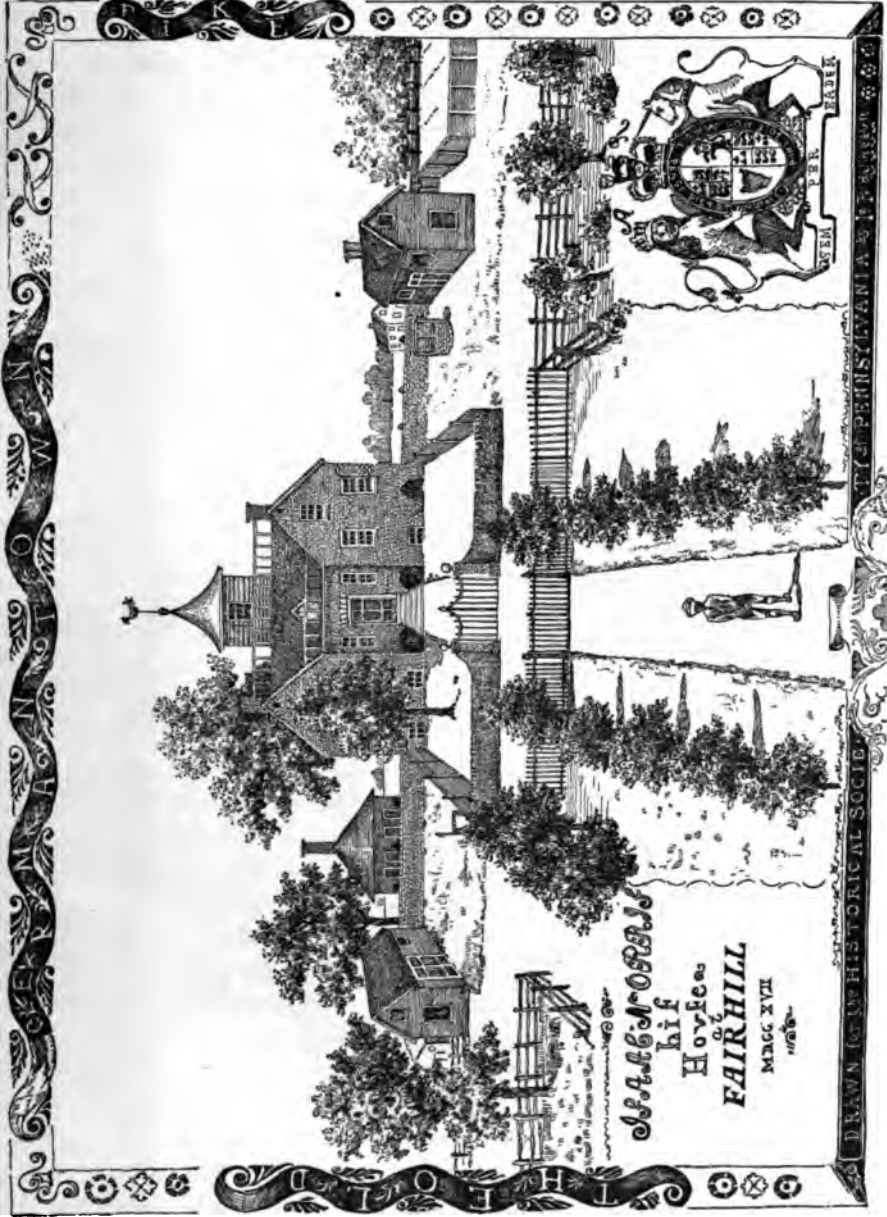
Thomas Norris, of a family that came, it is thought, from

the Isle of Wight, was born in London, and was a merchant there in 1664. He joined the Society of Friends soon after its rise, and, as was so often the case, became an object of persecution. About 1678 he emigrated with his family to the West Indies, and settled on a large plantation at Port Royal, in Jamaica. Four years afterwards, Philadelphia was founded, and soon had a considerable commerce with the British West India Islands; and in 1692, Isaac, a son of Thomas Norris, was on a visit to it. On the 7th of June of that year an earthquake destroyed Port Royal, which led to his return to the island, in September, in time to witness the death of his brother and sister. Removing to Philadelphia in 1693, he shortly afterwards married Mary, the youngest daughter of the Governor, Thomas Lloyd, and thus became the founder of the family here.

An anecdote that has been preserved shows the terrible devastation occasioned by the earthquake spoken of. A negro man, the property of Thomas Norris, upon feeling the earth begin to quake beneath his feet, ran hastily to his master's counting-house in order to rescue him, but by mistake seized in his arms a captain of a vessel and escaped with him. Returning to save his master, he perished in the counting-house with him. Afterwards a cradle was seen floating on the water, in which were found a female negro child, alive, and a large silver dish. It is believed a smaller one was also in the cradle. The child was the daughter of the negro who died in his brave attempt to save his master, and the dishes belonged to the master. Both the child and the dishes were brought to Philadelphia, and the child lived here until her death, in 1751.

The large dish has descended in the family as a sacred memento of their disaster, and is now the property of Mr. Isaac Norris. It is of silver, round and deep, and is sixteen inches in diameter with a broad rim of three inches, and is in the style of the English dishes of that time. It has on it four marks, or stamps, including the Tower Mark, and also a coat of arms. The date mark, an old English black letter, indicates the time of manufacture, and, according to Chaffer's





WALTER
Hoyce
FAIRHILL
MDCCLXXII
1772

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

book on Hall Marks on gold and silver plate, denotes 1677, in the reign of Charles II. The maker's mark and the initial of his name are in a shield. The other dish from the same source is of a similar character, and bears the same coat of arms and marks, but is smaller in size. It has descended in the Logan family.

Isaac Norris, who thus became a Philadelphian, was a very successful merchant here. He purchased the Slate Roof House, and for a time lived in it, but preferring a residence in the country, he bought young William Penn's Manor of Williamstadt, a place comprising seven thousand four hundred and eighty-two acres on the Schuylkill, in what is now Montgomery County, and, calling it Norriton Manor, intended to build a residence there. Norristown thus derives its name from him. The place proved to be too remote, so he acquired about one thousand acres of land lying on both sides of the Germantown Road, and extending from west of Seventeenth Street eastward to the stream called by the Indians Tumana-ramaming, and by their successors, Gunner's Run, after Gunner Rambo, a Swede of Shackamaxon. Calling that part, to the east of the road, Fair Hill, he erected there, in 1717-19, a mansion two stories in height and surmounted with a cupola. It was an imposing structure, with a large wide hall running through the centre, with four rooms opening on it. The initial piece of this Walk is an engraving of the head of the water-spout of the house. The letters are the initials of the owner's name. The accompanying plate is from a plan made before the Revolution. The right hand lower corner of the plate bears the Royal Arms of England, copied from the original painting preserved in the Hall of the Society. This symbol of sovereignty was formerly displayed in the Provincial Hall and Court House that once stood in Market Street at Second, and must have been placed there at the time Queen Anne reigned over our forefathers. Isaac Norris, therefore, sat beneath it. When the State House was built in Chestnut Street, it is probable the arms were removed there, and that at the Revolution they were stored in the loft of that building. Notice of

their being there is to be found in the minutes of the meeting of the Historical Society, Nov. 4th, 1844, soon after which they were presented to the Society. These Arms bear the motto, *Semper Eadem*, which Queen Anne, in 1702, ordered to be used, and which is peculiar to her, of all the monarchs of England. On the accession of the House of Hanover, George I. restored the old motto, *Dieu et mon Droit*, which had been first assumed by Edward III.

Isaac Norris, with his son of the same name, had visited England, in 1706, and remained there nearly two years. Shortly after his return he withdrew from the active part of his business, and wrote to London for a coach, at that time a rarity here, for there were perhaps but two or three others in the city. Friend as he was, and a strict one, too, he did not lay down his arms, for he directed the three falcons' heads of the family shield to be emblazoned on the panel of the coach. Fair Hill, where he now lived, was on an extensive scale; a carriage way wound through the great lawn to the entrance at the Germantown Road, and the garden was spoken of as of great elegance and floral beauty. Pastorius, of Germantown, was high in its praise, so we may suppose it was as formal and precise as the fashion of the day required. There was, however, to be seen in it the first willow tree we had here. Franklin, observing a twig sprouting in a basket just brought ashore from the hold of a ship, carried it away and presented it to Miss Deborah Norris, holding her to be the most successful cultivator he knew, and his judgment is confirmed by the numerous beautiful trees, its offspring, now to be seen around us.

Isaac Norris was a member of the Assembly. He was also at one time Mayor of the city; and he became the Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Proud says he was Chief Justice of the Province, but it was not so, though the place was offered to him. It was declined because he believed such a position required a greater knowledge of the law than he possessed. He was a member of the Governor's Council for more than thirty years, and was named by William Penn in his will as one of the trustees of the Province. On the

4th of June, 1735, he died suddenly of apoplexy, in the Friends' Meeting House in Germantown, and was buried in that part of Friends' ground at Fourth and Arch Streets, which is reserved for the Lloyd and Norris families. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, known in our annals as "The Speaker."

Isaac Norris, "The Speaker," the second of that name, married one of the daughters of James Logan, and soon retired from commercial life. He was a member of the Assembly for thirty years, and for the latter half of that time its Speaker. Notwithstanding his connection with Logan, he opposed the Proprietary or Governor's party, and so persistently, that in 1742 they attempted to defeat him. This was at what is called "The Bloody Election," but Norris proved himself the conqueror, for he was supported by the German vote, large here at that time, as the polling district included, I believe, a considerable part of the country. There was not much damage done, but the affair made a great stir, and is well perpetuated in the engraving that hangs in the Hall of the Historical Society. In the Appendix to the votes of Assembly is the interesting testimony as to this early difficulty at an election. The witnesses were "examined in a solemn manner," and it appeared that some fifty to seventy sailors, armed with clubs, made their appearance at the Court House at Second and High Streets, in support of the Proprietary party. The Mayor of the city was called upon to interfere against the sailors, but he declined to do so, saying, as was testified, "They had as much right at the election as the Dutchmen you had at Reese Meredith's last night." It appears by the statements of the time, that a waggon-load of hoop-poles, easy to be cut into clubs, made its most unexpected appearance at a point so convenient that the other party availed itself of the boon. Among the witnesses, Robert Hopkins testified, that, "when the sailors were moving off, and came by William Allen (afterwards Chief Justice), one among them, being a squat, full-faced, pock-fretten man, with a light wig and red breeches, as he supposes, said, 'Let's give Mr. Allen a whorrah!' And said Allen reply'd: 'ye

villains begone; I'll have nothing to do with you.'” After this we are not to be surprised at that staunch Friend Israel Pemberton, the last witness examined, being able to testify that upwards of fifty of the sailors were arrested and secured in prison, “And then,” as he goes on to say, “the Freeholders proceeded to the choice of the Representatives to serve in Assembly, and other officers, which was carried on very peaceably the remainder of the day.” Isaac Norris continued in public life for many years after this, and always with entire credit. Nearing his end, which came in 1764, the Speaker, who had made no will, expressed to his daughters, Sarah and Mary, his desire that they should take for their share of his estate, as in the female line, a property known as Somerville, of about two hundred acres, lying west of the Germantown Road, and that Fair Hill and Sepviva, consisting of about seven hundred acres, should go in the nature of an entailed estate to the eldest son of his brother Charles. This was strictly fulfilled. Sarah, however, died so soon after her father as not to be able to join in the deeds of settlement. And Mary, not long afterwards, marrying John Dickinson, the conveyances were made by them, they reserving to themselves, in Fair Hill, a life estate for twenty-one years.

Charles Norris, now the head of the family, had married Mary, the only child of Joseph Parker, of Chester, and was the father of Isaac the third, who lived mostly abroad, and died unmarried, of Mrs. Deborah Logan, the first woman who became a member of the Historical Society, of Joseph Parker, and of Charles, some of whom are yet remembered by many now living. Charles Norris died 1766, and his son Joseph Parker Norris, during a part of his youth was in Europe. He was the father of the late Dr. George W. Norris, a Vice-President of the Historical Society, and of others of the name who are still here. It may be remarked that his will provided that his large estate should be kept together as long as the law would permit. This led to the necessity of legislation in the shape of relief to unproductive property.

On Monday, the 12th of September, 1774, John Adams, in his diary says: “Went with my colleagues and Messrs.

Thomson and Miffin to the Falls of Schuylkill, and viewed the Museum at Fort St. Davids; a great collection of curiosities." (This "Fort St. David's" Fishing Company was afterwards merged in that of "the State in Schuylkill.") "Returned and dined with Mr. Dickinson at his seat at Fair Hill, with his lady, Mrs. Thomson, Miss Norris, and Miss Harrison. Mr. Dickinson has a fine seat, a beautiful prospect of the city, the river, and country, fine gardens, and a very grand library. The most of the books were collected by Mr. Norris, once Speaker of the House here, father of Mrs. Dickinson." It was during his residence here that John Dickinson wrote, under so felicitous a title, his celebrated "Farmer's Letters," as well as many other stirring and patriotic papers. Well known to the British as the "Rebel Dickinson," they, after the battle of Germantown, burned the house, and cut down the beautiful woods, and for years afterwards the place lay in ruins. The party engaged in the work was under the command of Colonel Twistleton, afterwards Lord Saye and Sele. When Dickinson College was erected, the part of the library not burned was presented to it. About the end of the century, Isaac Norris the third, rebuilt the house, as it now appears, only one story in height, however, as it is depicted in the accompanying etching. The house stands north of the line of York Street where Marshall Street, when extended, must pass through it. An ice-house, one of the earliest here, was a part of the establishment.

A hundred feet, perhaps, to the north of Susquehanna Avenue, that of Germantown deflects still more to the west, so that its course, to a trifle beyond Tenth Street, is almost due N. W. Just to the west of Ninth Street, Turner's Lane, until recently, came directly from the S. W., striking the Germantown Road at right angles. Twenty-five years ago the toll-gate was at that point; it was then moved to Tenth Street. Nearer to Tenth Street came the old Township line, or Falls Road, just as conveniently from the N. W. In fact the late course of the avenue was continued by the Falls Road, the eastern part of which is now unfortunately vacated. It may be observed on the old maps that most of the roads ran diagonally across our modern streets. It is a question whether

they have not been most unwisely abandoned, for the time seems to be coming when such necessary short cuts will have to be reopened at a great cost.

At the N. W. corner of the avenue and the Falls Road was the old inn that bore the sign of the Plough, where Charles Brown, once Collector of the Port, was born. The toll-gate was here, and opposite to it, and just on the verge of Tenth Street, to the east of the avenue, is Fitler's great rope-walk or cordage factory, stretching so far away to the N. E. that it seems as long as an old-times sailor's yarn. It extends to the Lehigh Avenue at the Delaware Reservoir, which is bounded by that avenue and Somerset, Sixth and Eighth Streets. Opposite to Fitler's, on the avenue, but somewhat to the north, is the wooden building of the Gaston Presbyterian Church. A little further on Lehigh Avenue crosses, and on it, to the west, are a number of large and quite handsome residences recently erected. At Thirteenth Street are the imposing structures of the Methodists' "Old Folks' Home."

We return one square to the southward from Lehigh Avenue, to Huntingdon Street. The Germantown Road, a very little before that street is reached in its course northward, and just from where it crosses Tenth Street, runs for about twenty-three hundred feet almost due north, to Indiana Street, passing the Fair Hill Burying Ground, belonging to that portion of Friends who are held by the others to be not entirely Orthodox. This cemetery is bounded by the avenue and Ninth, Cambria and Indiana Streets. The avenue along here is on a line nearly parallel with Tenth Street, and only about fifty feet west of its line. The Fair Hill Meeting House of Friends, erected about 1706 or 1707, adjoins the burying ground, but it has not been used for many years. No doubt it has been observed by the reader that the east and west streets in this northern part of the city, have been named after the counties of the State, as those in the southern part derived theirs from its governors.

In 1703, by direction of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, Nicholas Waln and John Goodson bought four acres of land for £8 current money, for the use of Friends. The ground was situated upon the Liberty Lands, and is the ceme-

tery spoken of above. A piece of ground adjoining it came into possession of the society a few years afterwards under the following circumstances. Among the names of the first purchasers of land under Penn is that of the celebrated George Fox. He is set down as a purchaser of one thousand acres, and appeared to be entitled, under the concessions, and the changes subsequently made, to sixteen acres of Liberty Lands and to two town lots. But George Fox was really not a purchaser, for a gift of the right to take up land was made to him by William Penn, and he did not receive a title during his life. He died in 1690, and by his will left his lands in Pennsylvania to his sons-in-law, except sixteen acres of it which he "gave to Friends there, ten of it for a close to put Friends' horses in when they came afar to the meeting, that they may not be lost in the woods, and the other six for a meeting-house and school-house and burying-place and for a play-ground, for the children in town to play on, and for a garden to plant with physical plants, for lads and lasses to know simples and learn to make oils and ointments." Much correspondence was the result of this bequest. Years afterwards Penn wrote to Logan: "I am solicited about George Fox's gift, indeed it was mine to him. . . . I will honour his name who honoured truth above all men, and loved me, but in my own way and time. I will not be dictated to." By the gift Penn subsequently made on this account, twenty acres instead of sixteen, were added to the purchase Friends had made, besides several town lots. It is easy to suppose that the venerable George Fox, in his imagination, foresaw through coming ages a long succession of plainly attired youth, in modest drab,

"Culling of simples."

But it was not to be. Such a garden must have been of the formal style so dear to the Dutch and French of that day—mathematical, precise, and angular, like Moor Park in England, which Sir William Temple thought "the sweetest place" he had seen in his life.

On the west side of the Germantown Road, opposite to Fair Hill Burying Ground and extending to Broad Street, is what is left of Somerville, which originally embraced two hundred

acres. It was named, no doubt, for Lord John Somerville, whose daughter married Sir Robert Logan, Baron of Restalrig, and owner of Fast Castle. The fine house that stands just to the south of the Connecting Railway after it crosses Broad Street, and where Thirteenth Street is to pass, was erected early in this century by Albanus Logan, who piously preserved, as one of the wings extending back from the north end of it, the modest mansion once occupied by Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Congress of the Revolution, who was styled by the Indians with whom he made treaties, "The man of Truth." He married Mary Harrison, a granddaughter of the first Isaac Norris, to whom Somerville once belonged. Several old pear trees of the Secretary's day are on the grounds. This place at one time was rented to Washington Irving's nephew, who, for a time, had for his guest that genial author. Perhaps it was here that, when he had finished reading our Sanderson's "American in Paris," he uttered his exquisite *mot*, "It is rather too broad but not near long enough."

The crossing of Gunner's Run, or the Three-Mile Run, or Penn's Creek, as it has been variously called, is not much further up the Germantown Road, and then, at once, comes the Fox Chase Inn, an ancient looking hostelry whose white-washed walls, standing as they do in a grove of noble old trees, have no glare, and therefore, are as agreeable to the eye as, it is hoped, the accompanying etching may prove to be. After the Battle of Germantown the Americans determined to attack a force of fifteen hundred English who lay at Gray's Ferry. With a view to aid this, a feint on the city, down the Germantown Road, was made by Gens. Greene and Sullivan. On this occasion the celebrated Thomas Paine was an Aid to Gen. Greene, and his graphic account of the movement, and of the halt of the advance at the Three Mile Run, may be found on page 291 of the 2d volume of this Magazine. On the northeast side of the Run there was, in the days of the Revolution, a wood in which, at a time, were thirty Oneida Indians and one hundred of Morgan's riflemen. At the same time Lord Cathcart, of the British

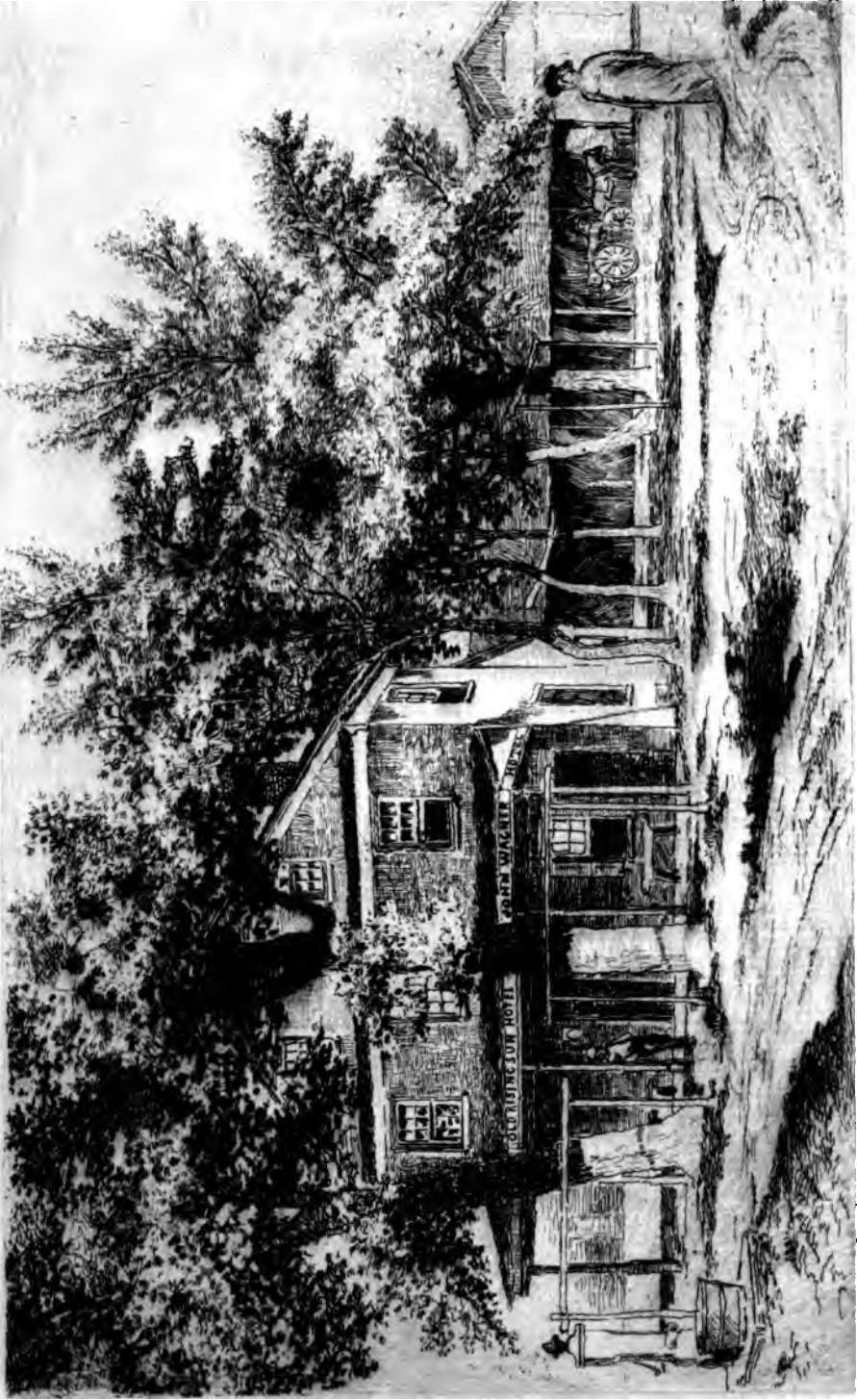


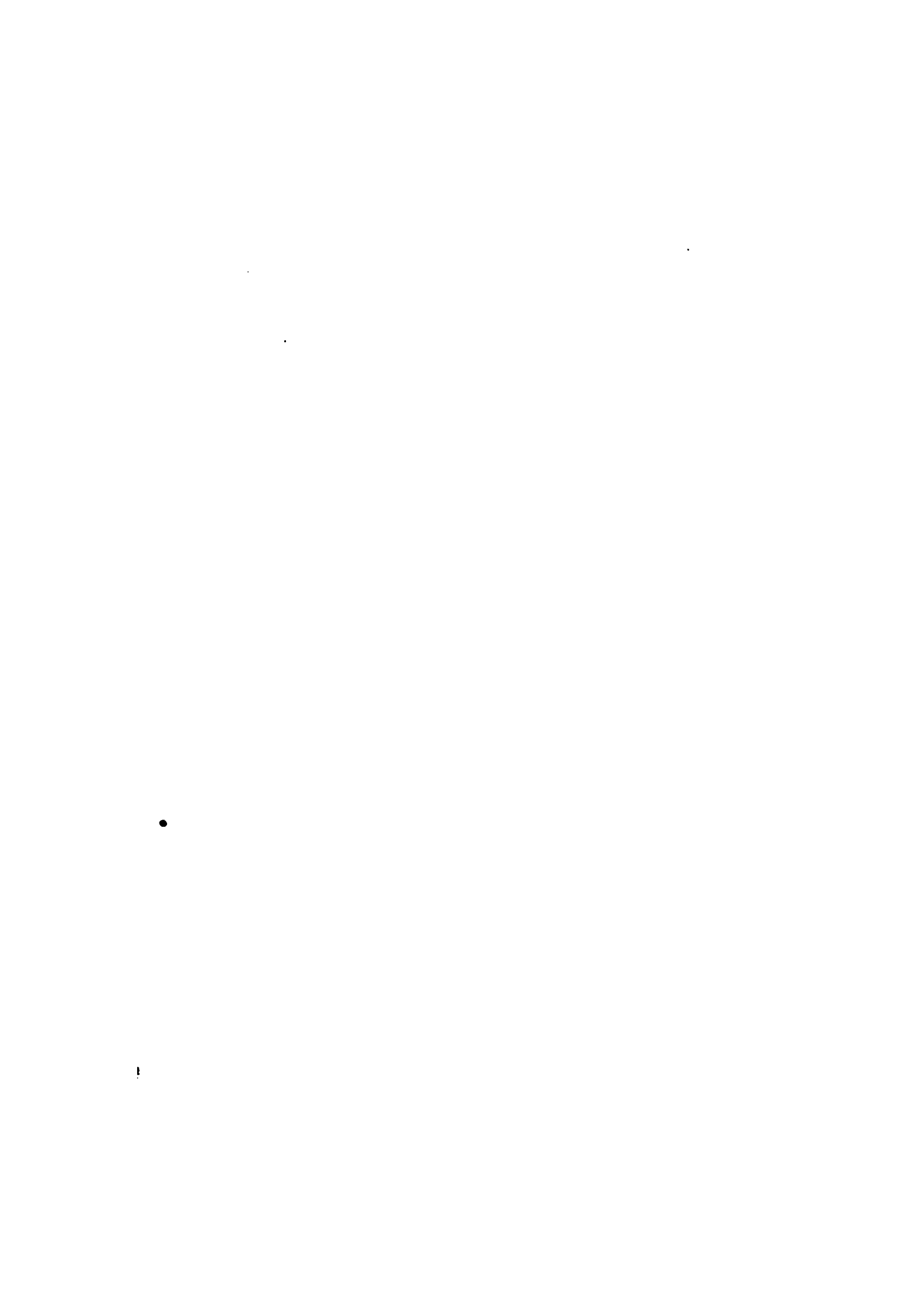




THE FOX GRASS INN









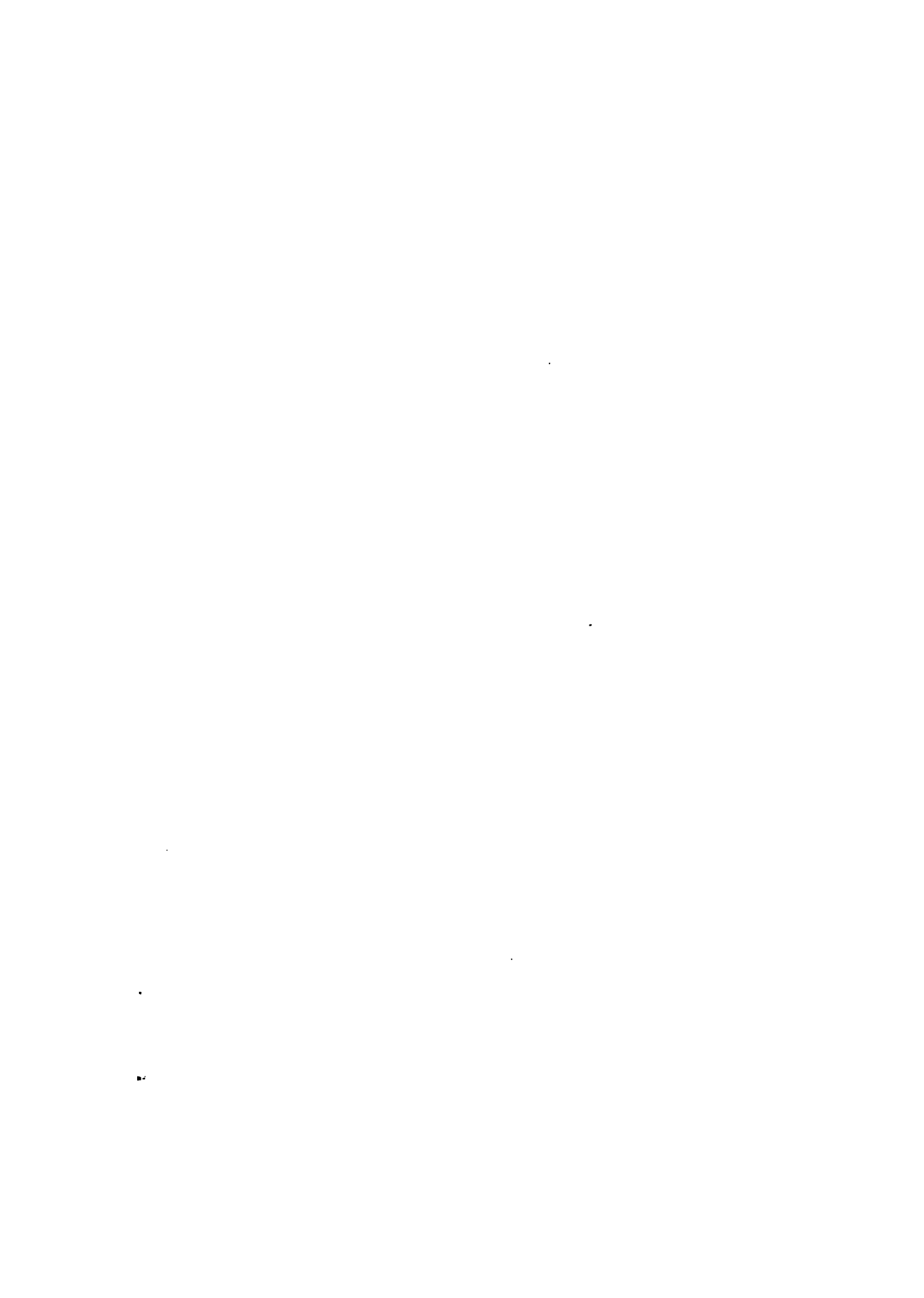
Army, and Colonel Allen McLane, had a conference near there, and a war-whoop raised by the Indians and the riflemen greatly disturbed, it is said, the English noblemen. The wood referred to was spoken of to Mr. Watson by a person who was born about 1750. He said, at Three Mile Run, "began a deep and lofty wood, which extended on both sides of the road nearly into the suburbs, and from thence the woods continued many miles up the Delaware."

It was just beyond here, the exact spot is said to have been in front of Maupay's garden, that Col. Allen McLane had his successful encounter with two English dragoons, a scene, as I remember, depicted by the elder Peale. If my memory serves me, the painting was in the collection in Peale's Museum, in the State House or Arcade, but an inquiry, somewhat diligent, has not enabled me to trace it. The incident is well told by Garden in his "Anecdotes of the Revolution." He says, Col. McLane, "on one occasion, doing duty near the British lines, finding his horse greatly fatigued, and himself much in want of rest and refreshment, he was retiring towards Germantown, when the enemy's cavalry appeared in view, and advancing with a rapidity that threatened to cut off the possibility of a retreat. The commander of the British forces, perceiving that pursuit as a body would impede the celerity of movement essential to success, selected two of his best mounted troopers, and ordered them to continue the chase, and use every possible exertion to make him a prisoner. The first of these, approaching very near, called to McLane by name, and ordered him to surrender; but he, preserving his presence of mind, drew forth the only pistol he possessed, and levelling it with effect, laid his adversary prostrate in the dust. The second, now coming up, was, in turn, eagerly charged, and being struck from his horse by the butt end of the pistol that had disabled his companion, was incapacitated from using any further exertion. McLane, continuing his route, sought shelter in a swamp, where he remained in security, till the evening afforded him an opportunity of rejoining his command."

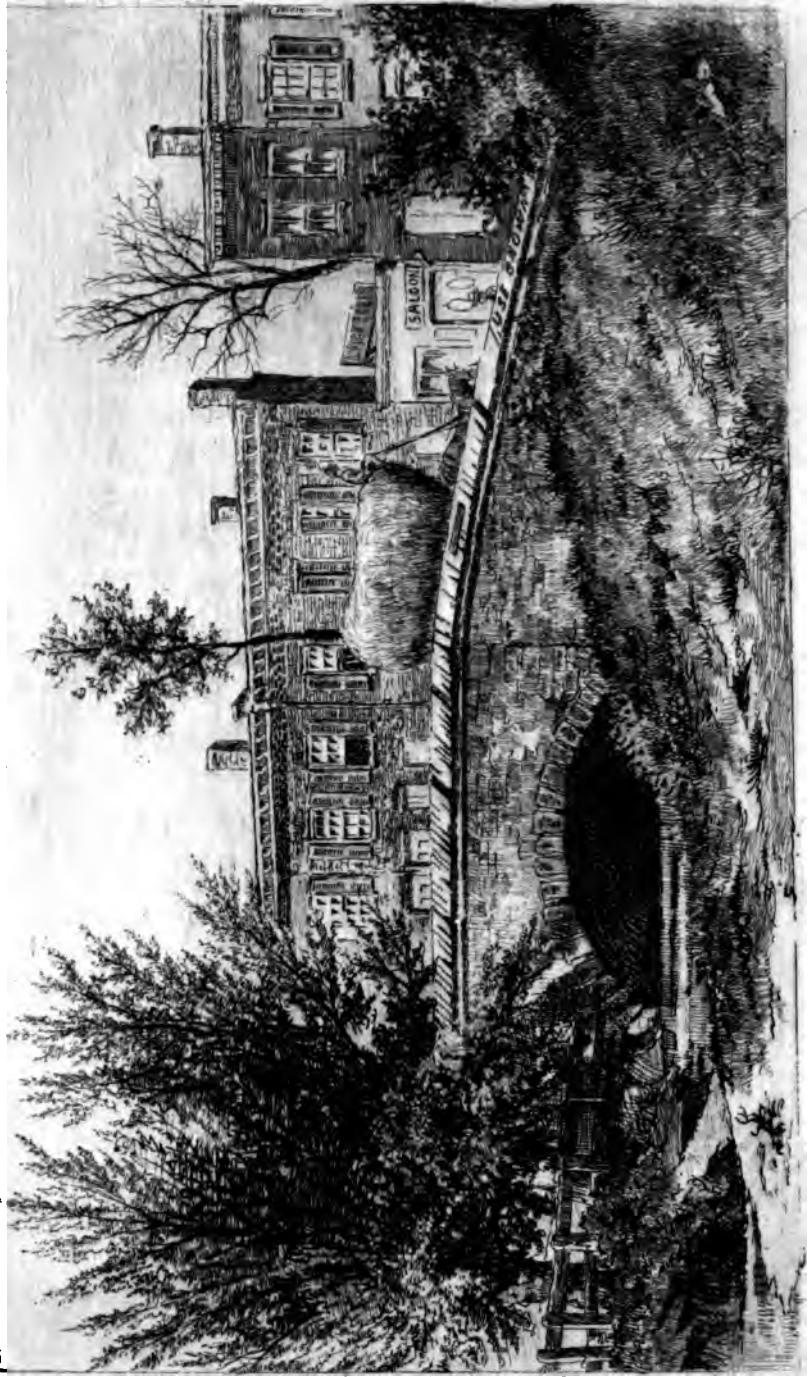
Two or three cottages intervene between the Fox Chase Inn and the bridge over the Germantown Road, by which the cars cross on the short "Connecting Railway," near to the old Philadelphia and Trenton Railway. The village of Rising Sun, or, as an old map has it, "Sunville," now commences. At no great distance further north the old turnpike bifurcates, and standing between the forks, which are the Germantown Road and the Old York Road, is the "Rising Sun." About five hundred feet still further north is the "Old Rising Sun," standing as the "Fox Chase Inn" does, among fine old trees, and deserving, by its picturesque appearance, preservation so far as our etching can secure it. "The Rising Sun was a badge of Edward III., and forms part of the Arms of Ireland." The avenue, and the village along with it, now cross Broad Street, on and near which are already some quite handsome houses. At the S. W. corner of the avenue and Broad Street was earlier in the century Charles Brugiere's country seat.

The village of Rising Sun continues until it reaches Nicetown, but between the two, in the neighborhood west of Broad Street, there was, about 1833, the village of Jacksonville. The lots of ground of this lost village were disposed of by lottery. There is a church building on the east side of the avenue, belonging to the Baptists. The name of the village we are now in is pronounced differently from what was the custom in former days, when the *i* was sounded as *e*. In old times Mr. Logan used to say "The Widow Nece's house was burned by the British." The name is German, and in that language was spelled Neus.

Not far beyond Broad Street the Richmond branch of the Reading Railway crosses the avenue, and the houses of the village continue somewhat further up, as far as to the site of the old stone bridge that crossed the branch of the Wingo-hocking, where the village would seem to end, and where, too, for a time, this Walk must end. The accompanying etching may serve to preserve some memory of the bridge. In the next Walk a few words will be devoted to a former inmate of a house that stands on the east side of the road just before the site of the bridge is reached.







EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF
MISS SARAH EVE.

WRITTEN WHILE LIVING NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1772-73.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. EVA EVE JONES, OF AUGUSTA, GA.

[The parents of the young lady, whose Journal we give, were Oswell Eve and Anne Moore. According to the records of Christ Church they were married June 2, 1744. They had thirteen children, seven of whom died in infancy. Of those who arrived at years of maturity, John, the second child, was b. Feb. 28, 1746-7, and married in 1770, Jane Campbell; Sarah was b. Feb. 1749-50, and was buried Dec. 4, 1774; Oswell was b. July 25, 1755 (his tombstone says 1754, but we follow the church records), and died at his residence, Richmond Co., Ga., August 14, 1829. There is also a Martha named on the Christ Church Record, b. Dec. 31, 1751, and, although there is no mention of her death, it is likely she died young, as did Oswell the first born, Anne, Mary, James, and three others, for a family letter speaks of Sarah as the only sister of Oswell, Jr.

The names of William and Joseph are not recorded at Christ Church, but they are spoken of in the Journal, and in letters of the family.

In 1745 Oswell Eve, the elder, was a sea captain, commanding the ship George, and was so prosperous that from 1756 to 1760 he was part owner in no less than twenty-five different vessels. During part of this time he was a shipping merchant of Philadelphia, and in 1756 was a Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Mifflin's Company of Philadelphia Associators. In 1766 he became a member of the Society for the Relief of the Poor, Aged, and Infirm Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children.

A daughter of Oswell Eve, Jr., writes that her grandfather "lived in a large stone house in Philadelphia; the sons and daughter were educated in Philadelphia, and my father was a class-mate and associate of Drs. Rush, Shippen, and James. His father was the owner and captain of the British war brig The Roebuck; my uncle Joseph had his father's commission in his possession. As soon as his eldest sons, John and Oswell, were large enough he took them to sea with him, leaving the rest of his family at a place near Philadelphia, where his wife and daughter lived until near the commencement of the war, in very comfortable circumstances, seeing a great deal of company. It was then Dr. Rush became engaged to my aunt, but she died three weeks before the event was to take place. When the war broke out, my grandparents went to Nassau, and died at uncle Joseph's house in New Providence."

As will be seen by the Journal, Captain Eve, having met with misfortunes

in business, left his family May 1, 1768, and with his sons John and Oswell went to the West Indies, where he engaged in business, which was principally transacted at Montego Bay, Jamaica.

After an absence of over five years he felt that his affairs would allow him to return to his family, and it is while looking forward with pleasant expectations for this event that the diary of his daughter closes.

The claim made by Captain Eve on the British Government for losses in the war gives us a clue to the location of the place near Philadelphia where his family resided. In a letter of Daniel Coxe to Mr. Physic, in the "Penn Papers," it is stated that he claims for "a Plantation of 200 acres, near Frankford, with Powder Mill, Buildings, Improvements, &c., valued by Abel James and Robert Morris (Miller) at £5000 cur'y, or £25 per acr.," and for 4 acrs. with Buildings, Distillery Improvements, &c., in the Northern Liberties, valued by the same persons at £1475 cur'y.

It was at the latter place that the Journal was kept, and as Miss Eve in it speaks of going as far as the Meredith place (situated north of Columbia Avenue, between Germantown and Frankford Roads), and again of going towards the barracks (on Third Street, south of Green) on her way from the city, and on another day of walking around the mill-dam with her brother Joseph, it is likely the house was situated on the stream which supplied the Globe Mill at Germantown Road and Canal Street, the dam of which was west of the present line of Fifth Street above Thompson, a site now covered with houses, but until lately occupied by glue factories and tanyards, presenting a scene greatly different from that described in the Journal as a place where wild flowers could be gathered.

John Eve returned to Philadelphia before his father and brother Oswell. In 1770, he married Jane Campbell; but his business necessitated his rejoining his brother, and reference to them both will be found in the Journal. His wife is the sister whose house in the city is frequently mentioned.

Of the Authoress of the Journal, a member of the family wrote: "Her hair, though red, was always fashionably dressed, and her appearance very stately. On one occasion when a companion said she 'was too proud,' another answered, 'there is more humility under Sally Eve's high head than under many a Quaker bonnet.'" As has been stated, she was buried on Dec. 4, 1774, three weeks before the time fixed upon for her marriage with Dr. Rush. On the 12th of the same month, the following contribution appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, and without doubt it is intended to depict her character.

For the Pennsylvania Packet.

A FEMALE CHARACTER.

Amelia was the only daughter of an happy couple who spared no pains in her education. Some family occurrences obliged her to withdraw from the eye of the public, at a time of life when she was perfectly qualified to appear before it with advantage. She carried into retirement all the virtues and accomplishments of public life. It was impossible for her to lay them aside,

for they were the gifts of Nature. It will appear from the sequel of her character, that she belonged to the *first order of beings*.

Her understanding was strong, her imagination brilliant, and her taste correct. These were improved by an intimate acquaintance with some of the best poetical and prose writers in the English language. Her disposition was amiable; a person who had lived with her from a child, declared, that she had never once seen her angry, or heard a hasty word from her lips. Her manners were polished. They were not put on, and laid aside, like a part of dress; she was always alike captivating, even in her most careless moments, and in the society of her most intimate friends. Her person was elegant, her face had an happy mixture of the beautiful and agreeable in it; her voice was soft, and her elocution was flowing. Her sentiments were often original, and always just; it was impossible for her to speak upon any subject without gaining the attention of company. Such were her unaffected displays of good sense, modesty, and good humour, that no one, I believe, ever left her without emotions of love, esteem, or admiration.

She was at peace with the whole world; and no wonder, for she was at peace with herself. No one ever heard her say a disrespectful word of any body; on the contrary, she was a volunteer in behalf of every suffering character; she plead the cause of wounded innocence with success, and never failed to call up pity to relieve unfortunate guilt, where justice had pronounced sentence against it. She laid all the errors of both sexes upon the weaknesses, seldom upon the depravity, of human nature. Heaven rewarded this candour, in not imposing upon her the difficult and painful duty of forgiving enemies. She never had one.

She possessed the most exquisite and delicate sensibility of soul. Upon hearing of distress in any body or of any kind, she did not show her sympathy by expressions of pity, or by dropping a tear in company, but by the less equivocal sign of an affecting silence, and by the most particular enquiries into the issue of the distressed object, after an interval of time so long, that the relator of the tale had sometimes forgotten the principal circumstances of it.

She was cut off in the 24th year of her age by a painful and lingering illness. It would be to level her virtues to say she bore it with patience. She bore it with magnanimity. She dreaded the attacks of her pain which were periodical, only because they sometimes extorted groans from her which disturbed her parents. She was reconciled to living, only because she thought her life had become necessary to their happiness.

It would exceed the bounds I have prescribed to myself, or I might here mention her many edifying conversations with her parents, her friends, her physicians, and her attendants during her illness. She sometimes gave a temporary exaltation to their minds, which obliged them to view her with astonishment, and if ever the heads that thought, the hearts that felt, and the hands that administered to her, relaxed one moment in their duty, it was only when they beheld her capacity of happiness enlarged beyond the possibility of being satisfied with anything short of the happiness of Heaven.

From the style of the composition it is possible that it was from the pen of her afflicted lover; but alas for the constancy of man! the same paper, on the 15th of January, 1776, gives notice of the marriage of Dr. Benjamin Rush and Julia Stockton.—Ed.]

December 18th, 1772.—Sitting before the fire this evening, a thought came over me to write a few lines every night, of what sort of weather we have, whether we go out or not, who comes to see us, and how we spend our time summer and winter. I flatter myself that this will be the last winter that we shall spend here; and I think that from this Journal, altho' unentertaining as it will be, my dear Father may form a pretty just idea of the melancholy winters that we have had since he went away. I wish I had thought of this sooner, or at least on the first of this month, but as that was not the case, think it would be ingratitude not to remark the extreme pleasant weather we have had since the month began. Not a cloudy day, every morning a fine white frost, so that one might say with Belcour,¹ it is so warm that if the calendar did not call it winter, one would be ready to swear it was the opening of spring. This morning I went to the opening of the New Meeting House, heard Mr. Sprout² preach, the house much crowded—Query, the motive?—Novelty or Religion? In the afternoon, Mama and I drank Tea at Capt. Stainforth's, met a great deal of company there, among the rest Major Edmonson,³ just returned from the Illinois; he appears very clever, we think there is a likeness between the Major & Gov. Denny.

December 19th.—Cloudy, but pleasant. Drank Tea with Polly Garrigues found Nancy Mitchell there, which not a little pleased me, as I always feel a peculiar satisfaction when in company with any of that family.

December 23rd.—The weather still fine. Spent the day very happy at Mrs. Parrish's with Debe and Hannah Mitchell.

¹ A character in Cumberland's play of the West Indian.

² The Rev. James Sproat, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Fourth and Arch Streets. Dr. Sproat was b. at Scituate, Mass., April 11, 1721, O. S., d. of yellow fever Philadelphia, Oct. 19, 1793. His church, built in 1750, was long known as the New Meeting House, and it is possible that it is the one spoken of, as it had been repaired shortly before the time of the above entry.

³ Charles Edmonstone, Major 18th or Royal Irish Regiment, 1772; sold out in 1775. Wm. Denny was Governor of Pennsylvania, 1756–1759.

Returned in the evening, and wrote a letter to my father by Capt. Gilbert. Read the "Fashionable Lover," a prodigious fine comedy wrote by Cumberland.

January 4th, 1773.—A fine, pleasant morning. Walked to town, dined at Mr. T. Clifford's with Mr. & Mrs. Watson, Mr. & Mrs. Smith and Betsey Guest from Burlington, spent the day very agreeable. Heard while I was in town that Dr. Curry was come from the Bay,¹ had been in town three days and he has not called to see us. We are very angry at him, so angry that we think, were he to come and see us now, we should not ask him one question about the Bay. We are very much disappointed in him, as we expected he would not be many hours in town before he would be here. Spent the evening and slept at Mr. Mitchell's.

January 5th.—A clear day. Dined at Mr. Mitchell's with Mrs. Curry; she excused the Doctor all in her power. I begin to think he is not quite so much to blame as we at first imagined, first he was not so long in town as we heard, then he has had a bad cold, and what he thought much more about, and what *we* can not be angry with him for, was he had entertained so high an idea of our *quality*, that the poor Doctor thought his cloathes were not good enough to wait upon us in, therefore he delays his visit until he gets fitted up in the "macaronia"² taste, I suppose.

¹ Montego Bay, Jamaica, where her father was in business.

² This was the common designation of a *beau* or *dandy* at the time Miss Eve wrote, and, as it has crept into some versions of the national song of Yankee Doodle, which read: "He stuck a feather in his hat and called it Macaroni," it may be well to say something of its origin. In Wright's Caricature History of the Georges it is said that in the early part of the reign of George III. a club was formed in London by a number of young men, who had made the tour of the continent, and had returned from Italy with all the vices and follies they had picked up there. The club was called "The *Macaroni*," from the dish which peculiarly distinguished their table and the members soon became distinguished by the title of *Macaronis*; it was their pride to carry to the utmost excess every description of dissipation, effeminacy of manners, and modish novelty of dress. Everything that was fashionable was *a la Macaroni*. Even the clergy had their wigs combed, their cloths cut, "their delivery refined *à la Macaronis*." *Macaroni* articles

February 1st.—I dined at Mr. Clifford's and indeed staid a few days with them, had called to congratulate them on the birth of a daughter. In the afternoon Anna and I went out to look for some Calico for Mrs. Smith, we were to return immediately, but instead of that, we staid and drank Tea with Betsey Guest,—sad girls, sad girls!—but we really could not help it, our cloaks and bonnets were taken off by force, and locked up—but that was from our desire, as we found they were determined to keep us, we begged they would secure them, which they accordingly did;—worse and worse!—worse and worse!

February 10th.—Cloudy and rather warm. Spent the morning very happily. In the afternoon we received a formal

abounded everywhere. There was Macaroni music, and there were Macaroni songs set to it. The most popular of these latter was the following:—

THE MACARONI

Ye belles and beaux of London town,
Come listen to my ditty;
The muse in prancing up and down
Has found out something pretty,
With little hat, and hair dress'd high,
And whip to ride a pony;
If you but take a right survey,
Denotes a Macaroni.

Along the street to see them walk,
With tail of monstrous size, sir,
You'll often hear the graver ones talk,
And wish their sons were wiser.
With consequence they strut and grin,
And fool away their money;
Advice they care for not a pin—
Ay—that's a Macaroni.

With boots, and spurs, and jockey-cap,
And breeches like a sack, O;
Like curs sometimes they'll bite and snap,
And give their whip a smack, O.
When this you see, then think of me,
My name is Merry Orony;
I'll swear the figure that you see
Is called a Macaroni.

Five pounds of hair they wear behind,
The ladies to delight, O;
Their senses give unto the wind,
To make themselves a fright, O;
This fashion who does e'er pursue,
I think a simple-tony;
For he's a fool, say what you will,
Who is a Macaroni.

invitation from Mrs. Stretch to drink Tea with her at her new house, to which Hannah and myself comply'd with cheerfulness. We stopt into Mrs. Parish's for a moment, and then went to Mrs. Stretch's. We were much pleased with our visit & her new house: the neatness and proportions of the furniture corresponding so well with the size of the house, that here one may see elegance in miniature—I don't mean the elegance of a palace, but of simplicity which is preferable—the one pleases the eye but flatters vanity, the other pleases the judgment and cherishes nature. As I walked through this home I could not help saying this surely might be taken for the habitation of Happiness!

Isabel & my brothers came to town for me, & we returned between seven and eight o'clock.

February 15th.—A delightful day. We had the pleasure of Mrs. Clifford's company the greater part of the day. Mrs. Stainforth and her two little girls ran over here in the morning without *clokes* or bonnets, and staid until dinner time. This evening Isabel planted peas, concluding like the Young Man in the Fable, from the exceeding fineness of the day, that summer was come; and as the death of the swallow and coldness of the weather which was so pleasant but the other day, convinced him of his mistake in prematurely selling his *cloathes*, so I fancy will the rottenness of the peas satisfy her that had they been planted six weeks later, it had been much better. However, as this haste only proceeds from an anxiety of having them before our neighbors, it may be termed an innocent, if not a laudable emulation.

February 21st.—The weather to day—but what shall I say of the weather? we have had "very cold," "extremely cold," "excessive cold," and "exceeding cold," as says this Book now, none of these separately is sufficient to convey the idea of the temperature of this day—it needs more than the superlative degree, it would take a super-superlative degree if there is such an one, for it is very extremely excessive cold, in short, they say that it has not been so cold since that winter the ox was frozen on the river. Mr. & Mrs. Smith, George, Betsey & Anna Guest, Anna Clifford & I, dined at

Mrs. T. Clifford's.¹ After dinner A. C. and I went home and drank Tea alone, but in the evening the above company spent with us. Dunce! how could it be "the above company" when they are at the bottom of the other side? well Mr. Critic, you know what I mean!

February 26th.—As fine a day as in April. In the morning Dr. Shippen came to see us. What a pity it is that the Doctor is so fond of kissing; he really would be much more agreeable if he were less fond. One hates to be always kissed, especially as it is attended with so many inconveniences; it decomposes the economy of one's *hankerchief*, it disorders one's *high Roll*, and it ruffles the serenity of one's countenance; in short the Doctor's, or a sociable kiss is many times worse than a formal salute with bowing and curtsying, to "this is Mr. Such-an-one, and this Miss What-do-you-call her." 'Tis true this confuses one no little, but one gets the better of that sooner than to readjust one's dress.

March 12th.—A pleasant day, but windy. Mrs. Clifford and Fanny dined with us. After dinner Mama went up with Mrs. C. to her garden: the peas that were planted under the glasses are up, and they say, look beautifully. I never once thought of it before I heard Mrs. Clifford mention it, why such an exemplary man as Mr. Duché² should sit every

¹ Thomas Clifford, son of an Englishman, of the same name, was a native of Philadelphia. He married Aunt Guest, of Burlington, the aunt of the Misses Guest (daughters of Jonathan G.) so often mentioned. Mr. Clifford was an eminent merchant before the revolution, and one of those who signed the non-importation agreement. He and his family were members of the Society of Friends, in whose burial ground he was interred in 1793. His wife was buried in the same ground in Nov. 1803. Their children were Thomas Clifford, who married a Miss Dowell, of Bristol, England, and had two daughters. John Clifford, who married Anna Rawle, and had Rebecca, who married John Pemberton. Elizabeth, who married William Smith (the Mr. and Mrs. Smith, of the "Journal"). And Anna (Miss Eve's particular friend), who married in Oct. 1773, Jacob Giles, of Maryland.

Miss Ann Guest died unmarried.—C. R. H.

² The Rev. Jacob Duché, senior assistant minister of the United Churches, Christ Church and St. Peters. For sketch see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 58.

day and have his hair curl'd and powder'd by a barber. Since, I have thought about it *greatly*, and would like to hear *his* sentiments on this subject. But, my dear ma'am, what would a Parson be without *powder*, it is as necessary to *him* as to a *soldier*, for it gives a more significant shake to his head, and is as *priming* to his words & looks. As to having his hair curled, he perhaps thinks it of little or no consequence, since curled or uncurled locks will turn so gray, or perhaps he may look upon it as more humiliating to wear his own hair than a wig, as then his head must serve as a *block* on which the barber must dress it.

In the evening Nancy & Hannah Mitchell came up to see us. I ask Rose's pardon, I really came near forgetting we had the pleasure of seeing her black lady-ship in the afternoon, but as our girl was not at home we could not prevail upon her to stay to Tea. "Farewell, my dear missey, my love to ye girl, d'ye hear!"

March 23rd.—A most fine day indeed, but as this is not uncommon at this season, I dare say, in a week it will be entirely forgotten, as in general it is only the rare occurrences that make impressions on the memory. In this year we have had as yet but one day rendered memorable by its temperature, and that was the 21st of February, the extreme coldness of which made it so. Scarcely a day but you hear it referred to; it was "that cold Sunday" that such an one caught their cold; the relation of such, another, attributes the death of a friend to "that cold Sunday," such a thing happened a week or two before "that cold Sunday," when was it? let me see, it was, it was, oh! it was the day before, or after "that cold Sunday," and so on! It puts me in mind of those lines of our poet Godfrey:¹

"Curiosity's another name for Man;
"The blazing meteor streaming thro' the air,

¹ Thomas Godfrey whose poems were published in 1765. He was the son of the inventor of the quadrant, was born in Philadelphia 1736, and died at the age of twenty-six. The lines quoted are from *The Prince of Parthia, A Tragedy*. Act I. Scene 2d.

"Commands our wonder, and admiring eyes
 "With eager gaze we trace the lucent paths
 "Till spent at last, it shrinks to native nothing,
 "While the bright stars which ever steady glow
 "Unheeded shine and bless the world below."

The weather certainly may be said to be an emblem of mankind; there are few men in an age that are remembered after they are dead, and those few for being remarkable, like the days of the year, extreme in something, man for his goodness, wisdom, or ambition, for the service or disservice he has done a community, in common, with the weather only pleases or displeases for the present, all is forgotten when no more. It seems ingratitude so soon to forget those whose whole lives were made eminent by their social virtues, when perhaps another will be remembered and his name handed down to posterity for having been the best hair-dresser, or the best fiddle-maker of his time.

March 25th.—A most dreadful, rainy, windy day indeed. I am really afraid we shall hear of some damage done, as I think I never heard it blow harder. Alas! the poor Sailors, protect them, Heaven!

March 27th.—A fine day, but still windy. In the morning I went over to Mrs. Stainforth's and staid with her until dinner time. We had the pleasure of Mr. Clifford's company to dine with us. In the afternoon Mr. & Mrs. Garriguse, Hannah Mitchell, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Rush (bless me, what a girl, Mr. Rush should have been set down first, I am sure, but now it is too late), and Mr. J. Giles drank Tea with us.

March 30th.—Warm and cloudy. In the morning I went to Mrs. Rush's where I spent the day and night. In the evening I had the pleasure of seeing Capt. Bethel¹ for the first time. About ten o'clock I went to bed and left Miss Bets up. Query, which was the happier, that lady sitting up with her —, or myself lying in a fine soft bed, reading

¹ Robert Bethel, a sea captain. He married the young lady mentioned, Betsy, daughter of William Rush. She was a second cousin of Dr. Rush.

the "Adventures of the renowned Don Quixote," and in a most excellent humour to enjoy it?

April 4th.—I think for the future I will not be so particular about the weather, and will only notice what is rather uncommon. At this season there is such a sameness in the weather it only makes so much tautology to notice it, and I am quite out of patience, for there is nothing like "sweet variety." I have many times thought what a mercy it was, that I did not take it in my head to set down in this Tally, the exact time of the rising and setting of the sun every day, the southing of the moon, and how often the wind changed; and yet upon second thought, I don't know but it would have been best, for I need only to have collected a few recipes, old sayings & scraps of poetry, and in a year or two I might have published as good an almanack as Father Abraham's, Poor Richard's, or even Mr. Taylor's. "But now," says mama, "*we have no such almanacks as his was!*"¹

May 1st.—A May morning indeed! After breakfast I went to Mr. Mitchell's where I spent the day, in the evening I went to my sister's, where I met Mama & the boys. This morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells in memory of King

¹ The first issues of Poor Richard's Almanac were, as is well known, published by Franklin. It was continued by Franklin and Hall, and by Hall and Sellers. Father Abraham's was to some extent fashioned after it, and was printed by Dunlap, the editor being Abraham Weatherwise. Taylor's Almanac was earlier even than Franklin's. It was calculated by Jacob Taylor, and in 1702, James Logan spoke of him as "a young man who had wrote a pretty Almanac for this year." In these days of cheap printing, when encyclopædia and digests are at the command of every one, it is hard to realize the important part the almanac bore in the every-day life of our ancestors. To them it was cook-book and family physician; prophet, poet, and historian. Many a lesson of morality has been conned with its warning precepts, and more than one Lycurgus has begun his studies with it. Strung on a cord, and hung by the side of the chimney-place for easy reference, the number increased by the issue of each succeeding year, they formed a "Handy Series," which defied for a time the enterprise of publishers. Stained with dirt and smoke, dog-eared and imperfect, they have come down to us, puzzles to bibliographers, delights of antiquarians, and horrors of librarians. But, unsightly as they are, the future writer of American Folk Lore cannot pass them by in silence.

Tammany, as he was used to be called, but now I think they have got him canonized, for he is now celebrated as St. Tammany. This day is five years since my dear father left us; I am persuaded that had we known that morning we parted with him, that he was to have been absent so long, we should have thought it impossible to have existed for one half the time; nay, I know not at that time whether we should have wished it. Happy mortals are we, that we cannot dive into futurity! if we could, how pleasure would be anticipated until it became tasteless, and the knowledge of distant evil would render us utterly insensible to the joys of present good.

May 2nd.—In the evening I went to church and heard Mr. Stringer¹ for the first time since his return from England. I dined at Mr. Rush's. Betsey & myself in the afternoon went to Christ Church. Tom Combs² preached upon my word he was really a good echo of Mr. Duché; when I came home I found a letter from Mrs. Stainforth (now in her new home at Prince Town).

May 4th.—Between eight and nine o'clock this morning, Mrs. Smith, Mr. Clifford, and I in the carriage, and Mr. Smith

¹ The Rev. William Stringer, Rector of St. Paul's Church on Third Street. He was first ordained by a Greek Bishop, and under this authority preached for several years to the congregation of St. Paul's. In December, 1772, he went to England, and was ordained by the Bishop of London. On May 4, 1773, he was chosen Rector of the church.

² Rev. Thomas Coombe, D.D., at that time one of the assistant ministers of the United Churches. In the appendix to *Inscriptions in St. Peter's Churchyard*, an excellent biographical notice of him will be found by Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn. While undoubtedly a man of brilliant parts, there was probably truth in the criticism of Miss Eve, for John Adams, in his diary, writes (Oct. 9, 1774): "Coombe, indeed, is a good speaker, but not an original, but a copy of Duché." Miss Eve must not be accused of speaking disrespectfully of the Cloth, for she possibly met Tom Coombe, then in his 26th year, oftener in society than she saw him in the pulpit. Indeed, it may be, that he was an individual in whom the young folks of the day were just then particularly interested; for a short time before he had had a very suggestive correspondence with the Rector and Vestry of Christ Church regarding the salary which would enable a person "to support a family decently," and two weeks after Miss Eve speaks of him, he was married to Miss Sally Badger.

on horseback, set off for Rocky Point,¹ about seventeen miles distant. The morning was as fine as ever shone in May, and the roads exceeding good. We passed through Frankfort, but saw nothing worth remarking there, save one or two ill done things, and the first house built in the place; at present it bears but little the appearance of antiquity, as they have made the outside entirely new; it is a frame building and small, and may be said to resemble the man's knife that had been used for so long a time, only he had had two new blades, & as many new handles added. The prospect from the hill after crossing the bridge, is really pleasing; one has a fine view of several elegant houses on the Point side, and on the other is the country road; the church stands on the right, and is a good-looking country church enough! From the *Wheat Sheaf*² I was an entire stranger to that part of the world, as here were the bounds of my travels eastward; from here Mr. Clifford was kind enough to show me the many pleasant farms and places that we passed, and informed us who were the possessors of them, which greatly augmented the pleasure of the ride, and will serve in a manner to rivet the many pleasing ideas I then had: as I dare say were I to go that way again would be brought fresh to my memory, as by such a place I thought so and so, &c. The prospects on each side are beautiful, and you are every now and then agreeably surprized by a sight of the Delaware. We are now on Penne Pack Bridge; you will say I am but a poor traveller when I tell you it is the best bridge I ever went over, although it has but three arches.³ I wish it was in my power to describe the beauties of this place; stop and look at it! on the left side you see the water tumbling down the rocks frothing and sparkling as it goes; at the bottom it runs rippling over stones and then through the bridge where it soon seems to forget its late rapidity and gently murmurs on. The creek is

¹ The seat of Mr. T. Clifford on the Delaware nearly opposite Burlington.

² The "Wheat Sheaf," an inn on the Bristol Turnpike, famous in that day and generation.

³ It was built in 1697-8. A view of it will be found in Atkinson's Casket.

not very wide, so that the trees on each side might almost shake hands, and what adds much to the beauty of the whole, are the shrubs and bushes all in blossom along the banks. But it won't do to stay here all day, we must leave it to the possession of the sylvan inhabitants and pursue our journey. I have forgotten to mention before that we passed the place upon which it was first designed by man, but not by the author of nature, to have built Philadelphia;¹ it is a fine, high, delightful spot, and much pleasanter than where it now stands; after some time they discovered a riff of rocks near the harbour, which was the natural cause of their quitting that sweet spot; it still goes by the name of "Old Philadelphia," and there are many good Plantations upon it, the distance from the present city being about twelve miles. We passed another church exactly like that at Frankfort, with a well and horse block at the side of it, but whether the church is this, or the other side of Penne Pack, I cannot recollect.² The way from this to Poquestion (Poquessink?) Bridge is pleasingly diversified by hills and agreeable looking farms, and at this season is beautiful indeed; the sheep feeding upon the sides of the hills, the birds hopping from bough to bough, the cattle grazing on the meadows, or lying at their ease under the shade of a spreading oak or poplar, serves to put one in mind of that age so celebrated by the Poets. I remember nothing remarkable from here to Sham-eney;³ we crossed the ferry in a scow rowed by one man. I wonder they don't have ropes as they have at the Schuylkill, but I suppose they know best. We now left the York road and turned to the right, the way very pleasant, and we soon entered the confines of Rockey Point, our first salutation was from the sweet birds perched upon the boughs that we almost touched from the sides of the fences; the violets were blown in quantities, and the houses began to open to our view;

¹ On the Delaware below Poquesink Creek in Biberry. The site was abandoned it is said on account of the rocks called "The Hen and Chickens." See *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, vol. i. pp. 42 and 56.

² All Saints Church, Lower Dublin township, Philadelphia.

³ Neshaminy.

then such a prospect! but what shall I say of it the most luxuriant fancy cannot imagine a finer one. It was after twelve that we alighted, much pleased with our ride, and a most excellent appetite for dinner, which Betsey soon obliged us with, and we convinced her in a much more expressive manner than by words how good it was. There are two neat pretty houses here, with two handsome rooms upon a floor, and kitchens behind them; the descent is gradual to the river, and the distance a quarter of a mile, the avenue, which is over two hundred feet wide is planted with different kinds of cherry-trees. The plan of this place is really elegant as there is to be a large mansion in the middle. From the house you have a most extensive view up and down the river and in the Jerseys for miles, you likewise see Burlington. Between three and four o'clock Mr. Smith went down to look for a boat, as we intended to lodge in Burlington. Luckily at that time there happened to pass a negro fellow going there in a boat very proper for our purpose, and he was good enough to wait until Mr. Smith came up for us. We bade Mr. Clifford good-bye, stepped into the boat, and Mr. S. performed the same kind offices rendered by Mr. C. in the morning, telling me of the places as they came in sight. We passed one or two islands that were agreeably shaded and looked very prettily, likewise a Point they called "World's End," but with what reason I know not. Burlington looks very well from the water, the Governor's house and many others stand delightfully pleasant, as they command a prospect of Bristol and a very good one of the river, but not so extensive as from Rockey Point, which from here looks very well. The distance, they say, is two miles. We landed about tea-time, and were welcomed by three of Mr. Guest's daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Guest were out fishing. We were too much fatigued to think of going out in the evening, went to bed at ten, and slept more soundly, I dare say, than any crowned head in Europe.

May 5th.—This morning I chanced to wake pretty early and recollecting what they told me, that unless I got up soon I should see nothing of their market as it would be over—

one of their markets stood opposite to where we were, up I jumped and looked out of the window, but there was nobody in it, so to bed I went and slept until eight, which happened to be the height of the market, but I do not think there were as many people, buyers and sellers, as there would have been around a person in our market that sold nine eggs a groat! To our great mortification this morning it rained, but in the afternoon it cleared up finely. Betsey and Anna Guest, Mr. Smith and I went out a walking, we first went around, what they call "the Point" or "Governor's Walk." It is really a sweet place, the walk is I imagine near sixty feet wide, open towards the river, and on each side trees are planted of different kinds, the major portion being buttonwood, the ground is very level and the grass green. When you come to the Point, which is one-half of the way round, you turn to the left and leave the river, and walk by the side of a beautiful winding creek. The prospect from the Point is really fine, you have a good view of Bristol on the other side of the river, likewise up and down it; one arm of it just before you embraces a tract of land and makes an island two miles long; there are one or two clever looking houses upon it—I think they call it Sterling Island. After you walk some time up the creek, the walk turns toward the Town, and at the turn there stand the Barracks and Hospital. The Barracks are much better built than ours, the form being the same but a vast deal smaller; the Hospital is but an ill-looking place. The walk now leads into the upper part of the Main or Market Street. As we entre'd the Town we stopt at a house to speak to somebody, we there saw a woman that was between fifty and sixty years of age under inoculation. The court-house stands in the middle of the street, but it is rather a distress't looking building. They have a market at this end of the street which is larger than the other, but not so much used. There are several good houses in this place. From Market street we went out at the side of the Town to look at the Church which is a pretty neat little building enough, with a kind of a steeple or *bellfery* to it. We now turned down towards the River and walked along what they

call the green bank near which the Governor lives. We then went home and drank Tea, after which we walked to see the *Spa*, which I fancy is about half a mile from the Town. The place looked dreadfull, more like a tanpit than anything else; there was a thick chocolate-coloured scum over it, but when you blow this on one side the water is clear and *I* think tastes *inky*; they told me it would iron mould linen if wet with it, I try'd it but it had not that effect. We went into town another way, so I have now been over the greatest part of the place, which I think might be termed an epitome of Town and Country; every house has a large garden, and the trees are almost as thick in the streets as the posts are in ours. It is really excessively pleasant and pleased me much, but put me in mind of the building of Solomon's Temple, as we scarce heard the sound of a hammer the whole time we were in the place. However, I think a person of a social and contemplative turn, could not find a spot where they could indulge both better than in Burlington.¹

May 6th.—This morning it was very foggy, which detained us here longer than we intended, but between nine and ten it clear'd away when we took leave of our kind friends and set off for Rocky Point, which we soon reached. Found Mr. Clifford well, and Mr. T. Clifford just come from Philadelphia. Mrs. Bunten that lives here shewed us some furniture which might really be termed relicks of antiquity, which belonged to Wm. Penn; they purchased the clock which it was said struck *one* just before Wm. Penn died; what makes this remarkable is that it had not struck for some years before;

¹ We can to-day recognize the truth of this description of Burlington in colonial days, for it is true, as Henry Armit Brown has beautifully expressed it, that "the life of old Burlington has been a modest one. She sings no epic-song of hard-fought fields and gallant deeds of arms; she tells no tales of conquest, of well-won triumphs, of bloody victories. Seated in smiling meadows, and guarded by the encircling pines, her days have been full of quietness and all her paths of peace. The hand of Time has touched her forehead lightly. The centuries have flown by so softly that she has hardly heard the rustle of their wings. The stream of years has flowed before her feet as smoothly as the broad bosom of her own great river by whose banks she dwells."

I was sorry I did not see the clock, but they had removed it from the place where they last lived. About four o'clock we had adieu to Rocky Point; the time we were there was so short that we could not look about us as much as we wished, which must shorten the description of the place, the external appearance of which is delightful. We had a most charming ride to Town, but such a contrast, instead of the delightful perfumes of the orchards and fields, we no sooner entered the suburbs than we were regaled with shad and other smells as disagreeable. We alighted at Mr. Smith's, well pleased with our agreeable excursion; from there we went to Mr. Clifford's, where we spent the evening happily.

May 7th.—This morning I called to see Mrs. Smith, and then went home with Mrs. Clifford in their carriage, and had the pleasure of finding all very well. My sister had staid with Mama the time I had been absent. In the afternoon Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. January drank Tea with us.

May 18th.—Mama and myself went to town in the morning, called at Mr. Rush's; from there Mama went to Mr. Clifford's and I to Mr. Smith's, where I spent the day very agreeably with Anna Clifford, Betsey and Amelia Guest. I have consented to stay until to-morrow evening.

(To be continued.)

THE
ARTICLES.
Settlement and Offices
Of the FREE
SOCIETY
OF
TRADERS
IN
PENNSILVANIA:
Agreed upon by divers
MERCHANTS
And OTHERS for the better
Improvement and Government
OF
TRADE
IN THAT
PROVINCE.

LONDON,

Printed for Benjamin Clark; in George-Tard in Lombard-street,
Printer to the Society of Pennsylvania, MDC LXXXII.

[The original tract which is here reprinted is a small folio of sixteen pages. The outside measurement of the ruling which surrounds the title-page is 10½ in. X 6 in. The title has been reproduced by the Photo-Engraving process from the copy in the Historical Society's library.]

THE PREFACE.

READER,

H*onest and Industrious Traffique has been the Usage and the Praise of many Nations; And in this all Countries seem Agreed, that their Wealth and Strength are Begun, Continued and Increased by it: A Truth common Experience daily Confirms: For this hath made and is making many Princes and States in the World endeavor to have their Subjects prosper in Trade. The very Indian Princes are now convinced of this Truth, which makes the King of Bantam send his Embassadour here. This is likewise the Reason, why many considerate men have thought fit to joyn themselves in a Society of Trade in Pennsylvania; which after some Difficulty they have Accomplished. But this may be modestly said, It is a very Unusual Society, for it is an Absolute Free One, and in a Free Country: A Society without Oppression; wherein all may be concerned that will; and yet have the same Liberty of private Traffique, as though there were no Society at all. So that this Society is Calculated both to Promote the Publique Good, and to Encourage the Private. And indeed it seems not possible, that Province should be Improved in many Years without it, as it is like to be in a few Years by it. However, it is such a Society, as can do harm to none; but may do good to all: Which a serious perusal of the Government of it will plainly Evince to the considerate and Ingenious. We may add, that 'tis no small Conveniency and Ease to the minds of Planters (happily unacquainted in Trade) that they may have some part of their Estates improving in an united way and Care, whilst they thereby may with less Distraction and more Freedom of Spirit, apply themselves to their particular Plantations. For here a few Hands do the Work of the whole; and by this honest and free Device, the whole will be furnish'd fresh and fresh, from time to time in the nature of a Bank. This Union of Traffique prevents Emulation; for every One is Interested in every Ones prosperity; and the Profit must be greater and surer;*

Votes proportionably to their *Stocks*, as in the following Article.

ARTICLE II.

That all that are *Inhabitants* in *Pennsilvania*, shall have for two *Twenty five* pounds, one *Vote*; and each *Fifty pound* single, one *Vote*; one hundred pounds, two *Votes*; three hundred pounds, three *Votes*, and none more.

ARTICLE III.

That the *Book of Subscriptions* shall be open here in *England*, till the *twenty ninth* day of the *fourth Month* called *June*, One thousand six hundred eighty two, and no longer. And in *Pennsilvania* from the *Arrival* of the *first Ship* belonging to the *Society* for six *Months* after, paying *fifteen per Cent. Sterling* in Consideration of the *Risco* Run by the *Society* by such as *Subscribe* within *thirty daies*, and for every *Month* after one *per Cent.* to be added to value of the *Cargo*.

ARTICLE IV.

That none shall *Subscribe* in the *Societys Stock* less than *twenty five pounds*. Yet if *five Joyn* together, and make up the *twenty five pounds* (provided it be *subscribed* in one man's name) it shall be *accepted* of but in that Name only.

ARTICLE V.

That at the *first General Court* or *Assembly* held as above-said (*viz.* the *twenty ninth* of the *third Month* alias *May*, 1682.) all the *Subscribers* here in *England* shall *Confirm* their *Subscriptions*, which shall be by the depositing *five per Cent.* as a part of that, which shall then be *Agreed* on to be paid *within a Month* after. And at that time shall be *Chosen* the *Officers* of the *Society*, *viz.* The *President*, the *Deputy*, the *Treasurer*, the *Secretary* and *twelve Committee-men*, whereof any *Five* and the *President* or his *Deputy* shall make a *Quorum*.

ARTICLE VI.

That all the *Committee-men* shall have but one *Vote* a piece in the *Committee*, whatever their *Stock* be; and the *President*

or the *Deputy*, if the *Votes* be *Equal*, shall have the *Casting Voice*.

ARTICLE VII.

That at *seven years* end, from the time of *shutting the Book* in *Pennsilvania*, it shall be *opened again* for *New Subscribers*; and so to *Continue* for *every seven years*; a *due Valuation* of the *Stock* being first made by the *Committee*, that so every one may *Subscribe* according to the *Valuation* then *Agreed* on.

ARTICLE VIII.

That *Two hundred Servants* be sent away the *first Year*, of such *Trades* and *Capacities* as may be most for the *benefit* of the *Society*; which is to be *Adjudged* by the *Committee*.

ARTICLE IX.

That it shall be *Lawful* for any one that has *Subscribed*, to add to their *Subscription* before the *Month* is out, what *Sum* they please.

ARTICLE X.

That none shall be *President*, *Deputy* or *Treasurer*, that have not *five thousand Acres* of *Land* in *Pennsilvounia* of their own, and *one hundred pound* in the *Societies Stock*.

ARTICLE XI.

That the *General Officers* shall continue for the *First seven years*, and then a new *Election* shall be made, they being fixed in their *Abode* in the *Society's-House*, there to act for the *Society*, without change of their power in *Priviledges*, except they do *Commit* any act *destructive* or *prejudicial* to the *Real Interest* of the *Society*, which first is to be proved sufficiently in the *Court of Assistants*; and then the *Offender* or *Offenders* are to be dismissed, and the *Court of Assistants* to chuse another, who is to *Continue* till the *General Court*; which *Court of Assistants* shall yearly be *Chosen* and added to the *Committee*.

ARTICLE XII.

That the *President* shall Call together the *Court of Assistants* to help and advise in any Emergent occasions relating to the *Society*, as *To receive more-Money, To make a Dividend, To chuse new Officers in Case of Death, To settle new Factories, To enter upon Mines, Build Ships, &c.*

ARTICLE XIII.

The *Committee* shall chuse all *Inferiour Officers*, as *Store-House-Keepers, Clerks, Book-Keepers, Factors*, at home and abroad; then they shall direct, what shall be *Planted, Built, &c.*

ARTICLE XIV.

That all *Forfeitures*, that shall arise, shall be Employed upon the *Improvement* of a *parcel* of *Land* allotted for the *maintenance* of such their *Wives* and *Children*, who have been *disabled* in the *service* of the *Society*.

ARTICLE XV.

That the *Society's Books, Patents, Records* and *original Papers* be kept in a *Convenient* place in the *House* under *three Locks* and *Keys*, one whereof shall be kept by the *President* or *Deputy*, the other by the *Treasurer*, the *third* by the *Eldest Committee-man*.

ARTICLE XVI.

That these *Books, Papers* and *Patent, &c.* shall not be *In-trusted* in the hand of any single person for longer space than to *transcribe* any part of it in the *day time*, and in the *House* before some *one* or *more* appointed by the *Committee*; and that the *Book-keeper* shall only have *Copies* of them, which may be *Viewed* or *Perused* *once a Month* by any *Member* of the *Society*, who desires it: *All Originals* to be kept as before.

ARTICLE XVII.

That *Security* shall be taken of the *Treasurer* and of all *Servants* relating to the *Society*, that is, such as have any *Trust*

Committed unto them, as *Agent, Store-keepers, Ship-Masters, Clerks, Overseers and Servants, &c.* and those to be given by Persons of known Honesty and Estate. And those *servants* shall be bound to *keep the secrets of the House*, that is, not to give Intelligence to any Person, no, not to any *Member* of the *Society* (without leave first obtained publickly in the *Committee*) upon *forfeiture* of their *security*.

ARTICLE XVIII.

That if the *Society* should receive *Blacks* for *servants*, they shall make them *free* at *fourteen years* end, upon Consideration that they shall give into the *Society's Ware-house* *two thirds* of what they are Capable of producing on such a *parcel of Land* as shall be allotted them by the *Society*, with a *stock* and necessary *Tools*, as shall be *Adjudged* by the *Society's* Surveyor. And if they will not accept of these *terms*, they shall be *servants* till they will accept it.

ARTICLE XIX.

That no *Mineral Undertaking* shall be begun by the *Committee* without the approbation of the *General Assembly*.

ARTICLE XX.

That the *Committee* shall at every *Yearly Meeting* of the *General Court* discover the *Incouragement* or *Discouragement* they meet with in the Course of their *Trade* both at *home* and *abroad*.

ARTICLE XXI.

That the *Society* may set up *two or more General Factories* in *Pennsilvania*, one upon *Cheasapeak-Bay*, and the other upon *Delaware River*, or where else the *Committee* shall see necessary for the more speedy Conveyance of *Goods* in the *Country* and *Mary-land*: but that the *Government* of the *whole* be in the *Capital City* of *Pennsilvania*.

ARTICLE XXII.

That the *Society* shall be *Assisting* to the *Indians* in their settling in *Towns* and other places, both by *Advice* and *Artificers*.

ARTICLE XXIII.

That there shall be *Twenty four Assistants* added to the *Committee*, whereof *twenty* and the *President* or *Deputy* makes a *Quorum*.

ARTICLE XXIV.

That the *First Assembly* in the Province of *Pennsylvania* shall be desired to *Ratify* the *Patent Granted* by the *Governour* to this *Society* by an *Act of Assembly*.

ARTICLE XXV.

That all the *Members* of the *Committee* and *Court of Assistants* shall have timely and sufficient notice and *summons* in writing left at their *Dwelling*, of every intended *Court*, to prevent *Indirect* and *unjust Proceedings*.

ARTICLE XXVI.

That all and every one, who have *subscribed* any *sum* in the *Society's-stock*, and shall not after the *second summons* bring in their *second Payment*, shall be incapable of disposing of that *part* in the *stock* before disbursed; but the *Society* shall dispose of the same unto such who will fulfill the *Agreement* in all *payments*; they only being Capable of Receiving their *first Penny* or disbursement. *Alwaies excepted such, who through any *Calamities* have been reduced to *Poverty*, whereby they are Rendred *Incapable* to fulfill the same; that then the thing being proved before a *Committee*, they shall have power to *sell* the same to the *best Advantage*. And as this is *Agreed* on for the *second payment*, so it is of *all others*, if there be more.

ARTICLE XXVII.

That there shall be in *England* a *Chief Agent*, Superiour to all *Agents* or *Factors* belonging to the said *Society*, that are in *Europe*, unto whom the *Society* shall direct their *Letters* and consign their *Goods*: He shall have a *Council* of *six Factors*, one of which shall be his *Deputy*. This *Council* shall, with him, Reside in *London*; and shall on all occasions meet to Advise

together, how to dispose of the *Society's Goods*, and buy such *Goods* as the *Society* shall direct to be bought, to Execute all other Orders, as shall be required of him or them. And to give every *Factor* his *Commission*, how to proceed in what pertains unto his place: So that all and every one of them shall *Act* by the *Advice* of the *Chief Agent*, and he by the *Order* of the *Committee* in *Pennsilvania*; All these being *Chosen* by the *General Assembly*, they giving good and sufficient *security* to the *Society* for their *true* and *faithful service*.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

That the *President*, *Deputy*, *Secretary*, *Treasurer*, *Surveyor* and all the *Servants* of the *Society* shall bring into the *Society's Ware-house*, what *Peltry* they buy of the *Indians* in their *Respective Plantations* with their own *private Goods*: This shall be *Entred* in the *Books* of the several *Offices* to prevent *Fraud*. Those *Goods* shall be sent over with the *Society's Goods*, and shall have what *Return* they will for the same, allowing to the *Society*, *Freight*, *Factorage*, &c.

ARTICLE XXIX.

That it shall be *Lawful* for *all*, who will bring their *Goods* to the *Society's Ware-house*, so to do and to have the same *Returns*, as they shall desire. This being *granted* and *Allowed*, will bring in most of the *Countries Goods* in the *Society's* hands, which will in time prove the *great Advantage* of the *Society*; and most *Eminently* to the *Planters*, who are not able to send into *England*, where possibly they may be deceived by their *Factors* or *Attorneys*, they having in the *Society* the greater *security* *Imaginable* for their *Effects*.

Some of the *Officers* and *Offices* for the SOCIETY, Viz. *President, Deputy, Treasurer, Agent, Secretary, Surveyor, Twelve Committee-men, Chyrurgion, Factors, Clerks, Overseers, Messengers, Porters, Butchers, Water-men, Carr-men, &c.*

The *Four Offices* for the *Society*.

The Secretary Office,

TO this *Office* shall belong the *Book-Keeper, the Factors, Chyrurgeon, Clerk* of all *Offices, Messengers, Overseers, Water-men*. The *Secretary* shall be alwaies ready to receive *Orders* of the *President* or *Deputy* for the Execution of all *Warrants* to be Issued out abroad, to write all *Letters, &c.* for the *Society's* Service, and to direct the *Plantations* in their Duties, as the *President* and *Courts* are Agreed on to be done: As when any *Ships* are going Out, then to write to *Factors* abroad, &c. When any *Factors* are wanting *Supplies* of *Goods*, to give *Warrants* in the *Treasury-Office* for the same under the *Presidents* own Hand and Seal, or his *Deputy*; and nothing delivered without this Method. And when *Goods* are brought in, then to take *Account* of the same, and give an *Account* to the *President* of them, and Enter them in that *Office* also. If any *Servant* Dyeth, to receive Information of it, and make Record. If any *Run away*, to receive Information, and take Order of the *President* about it, &c. If any be *Sick*, to Issue *Warrants* for their help by the *Presidents* Order, &c. If *Cattle Dye*, to Record it; If any be *Increased*, to Record the *Place, Kind, Number*. To receive every *Week* a particular *Account* of all *Overseers, Factors, &c.* of all *Increases* and *Decreases* of *Trade, &c.*

The Treasury Office,

TO this *Office* shall belong the **TREASURER**, *Two Clerks, Porters, Butchers, Water-men, Carr-men, Chyrurgeon, Husbandmen, Handicrafts, &c.* every one of them giving *Account* to the *Treasurer* of their *Works*, and all to be Recorded in the *Treasury-Office*, and to be Transmitted into the *Secretary's-Office* every *Seven* daies, and all those *Officers* and *Servants* to be directed in their Proceedings by *Warrants* from

the *President* or his *Deputy*, and nothing to be delivered out without the same, to prevent *Deceit*, &c. And that there shall be *Two Ware-houses*, one for *Exportation*, and the other for *Importation*: Unto each of them shall belong a *Clerk* to keep *Journals of Goods Come In and Gone Out*; and to keep the *Warrants* from the *President* for their *Security*. And that if any *Goods* are received in, and not *Recorded* in the *Secretary* and *Treasure-Office* within *two daies*, it shall be a *Forfeiture* of such *Penalty* thought fit to be *Imposed* by the *Court of Assistants*.

The Surveyor's Office,

TO this *Office* shall belong the *Surveyor*, an *Assistant*, a *Clerk*, a *Searcher*.

This *Surveyor* shall *View* all *Ships*, and what is thereunto belonging, whether fit to be made use of for the *Society's Service* or no; and make *Report* to the *President*. He shall *Oversee* all *Overseers*, *Servants*, their *Works*, and make *Record* of them all, giving *Information* of all things in the *Secretary-Office*, and to the *President* or his *Deputy*; and keeping *Record* in his *Office* of the same. He shall see all *Goods Shipped Safely* and others *Landed*; He shall view all *Ware-houses*, their *Goods* that they be kept well, &c. That all *Warrants* from the *President*, be duly put in *Execution*, *Survey* all *Entries* and *Invoyces*, all *Buildings*, all *Cattles*, &c. that the *Society* may not suffer by any; keeping a *Journal* of all things which are every *seven daies* to be *Compared* with the *Secretary-Office*, where all things are to be *Recorded*. And *Record* being duly made, all the *Books* to be *signed* by the *President* or his *Deputy*, and afterwards to stand for good and *Just Actings* in the *Court of Committee* and *Assistants*: And this being *passed*, never more to be recalled.

The Miner's Office,

TO this *Office* shall belong an *Agent*, *Clerks*, *Miners*, *Refiners*, *Brick-makers*, *Tile-makers*, *Potters*, *Lime-burners*, &c.

The *Agent* shall daily receive *Informations* from the *Miners*, &c. of what is done, and make *Record* of it in his *Office*, and shall be *Signed* by the *Clerk* and himself. Then to send it to

the *Secretary-Office* every *seven daies* there to be *Recorded*; the *President* or *Deputy* having approved the same. And the *Agent* shall Answer for all *Defaults* and *Wrong* done to the *Society* in any of the things, that are under his *Custody*, until they are *Recorded* and *Received* in the *Custody* of the *Treasurer*.

These are the *Heads*, upon which the *Society* is to be *Governed*, and the *Officers* by which all is *Administred* and secured from *Fraud* and *Deceit*. What further is necessary for the same, must be left to the *Wisdom* of the *President* and *Court of Assistants*, who in time may give an *Exact Account* of other things relating thereunto.

For the *Conveniency* of such who are desirous to *Subscribe* to *The Stock of this Society*, if they please to *Apply* themselves to *Philip Ford* in *Bow-Lane* near *Cheap-side*, there their *Subscriptions* may be *Entred*.

THE END.

LIGHT THROWN BY THE JESUITS UPON HITHERTO
OBSCURE POINTS OF EARLY MARYLAND
HISTORY.

READ BEFORE DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY, MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY REV. EDWARD D. NEILL.

The "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus" with accompanying documents have been published in London, under the careful supervision of Henry Foley, one of their Order.

While the six large volumes of this work pertain largely to the disturbed period in England, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the accession of William and Mary, yet there are dispersed through the many pages, facts of value to the student of American history.

More than one hundred and fifty years ago, Oldmixon and other chroniclers began to write in a careless way of the Province of Maryland, and because Cecil Calvert, the Second Lord Baltimore, its Proprietor, was an adherent of the Church of Rome, an impression went abroad that a number of gentlemen, chiefly Roman Catholics and their servants, sought the shores of the Potomac in order to worship God in peace. Soon a mythical statement was formulated, that the Charter of Maryland was a charter of religious liberty, and that the first act for toleration in religion was passed A. D. 1649, by a Maryland Legislature.

After the independence of the United States of America was recognized, the early historians of the Republic had not access to original documents, and were obliged to depend upon the loose statements found in geographical gazetteers, and in articles published in the "London" and "Gentleman's Magazine."

Even Mr. Bancroft, our distinguished living historian, in

the first editions of his valuable work, was misled, and wrote that "religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bore the name of Saint Mary." The last edition of his History of the United States, however, shows a more intimate acquaintance with the early records, and his words are more like words of truth and soberness. The writers of our school histories, however, continue to retain the stereotyped formula, and even Scharf, in the latest and largest if not the best "History of Maryland," writes: "The evidence leads to the conclusion that the Colony, though containing many non-catholics, was a Roman Catholic settlement originally, and so continued until 1649, when the great Toleration Act was published." In a little book published by Munsell, of Albany, during the centennial year of the Republic, called the "Founders of Maryland," it was clearly shown that Thomas Cornwallis, called by Bozman "the guardian genius of the Colony," and other master minds of the infant settlement were Protestants, not Roman Catholics, and there are Parliamentary documents in which Cornwallis declares that he sympathized with Richard Ingle, the commander of the first Parliament ship which appeared in Maryland waters, although, subsequently, he disagreed with this London captain.

Statements, differing from those taught in our school days, have been hitherto received with distrust, and the originators thereof have been charged with illiberality, Puritanism, or hatred of Roman Catholics. Happily, the vexed questions in connection with the earliest chapter of Maryland History have been settled by the publication, in the "Records" to which we have referred, of two papers, from the collection of Jesuit Manuscripts at Stonyhurst.

The first, supposed by the learned editor to have been written by the Jesuit Father, Andrew White, who landed A. D. 1634, with the first immigrants at the Indian village on a tributary of the Potomac, and in 1645 was captured by Captain Ingle, under a commission from Parliament, and taken to London, contains the following statements which will satisfy the fair-minded, that in the first days of the Maryland

Province, religious liberty was not enjoyed. The language is most explicit. It is: "In a country like this, newly planted and depending upon England for its subsistence, where there is not, nor can be, until England is re-united to the Church, any ecclesiastical district established by the laws of the Prince, or granted by the Prince, nor permanent Synod held, nor spiritual courts erected, nor the canon law accepted, nor ordinary or other ecclesiastical persons admitted, as such, nor the Catholic religion publicly allowed. And whereas three parts of the people or [of?] four, at least, are heretics, I desire to be resolved."

Here is a positive statement as to the overwhelming preponderance of the Protestant element among the first settlers, and also that the adherents of the Church of Rome were not allowed places of public worship, and contradicts the statement in the last edition of Bancroft, that "toleration grew up in the Province silently, as a custom of the land."

The other documents, written in 1642, by the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England to the Propaganda at Rome, is strongly corroborative, and proves that the early colonists were troubled by religious dissensions. He writes of the people that the "greater part were heretics," that the country was "esteemed to be a New England," and that "greater dangers threaten our Fathers, in a foreign, than in their native land of England," and that they cannot expect "sustenance from heretics hostile to the faith, nor from the Catholics who are for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts."

He also adds: "For since the said Baron [Baltimore] was unable to govern Maryland in person, he appointed his substitute, Mr. Leugar, his Secretary, who was formerly a minister and preacher, and being converted to the faith, retains much of the leaven of Protestantism, for he still maintains those dogmas, so justly offensive to Catholic ears, that no external jurisdiction was given by God to the Supreme Pontiff, but merely an internal one, in foro conscientiæ, etc."

Then follows the direct statement that the first General Assembly, held under the Secretary, was "*composed with few*

exceptions of heretics, and presided over by himself, in the name of the Lord Baltimore, to pass the following laws repugnant to the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical immunities: that no virgin can inherit, unless she marries before twenty-nine years of age; that no ecclesiastic shall be summoned in any cause, civil or criminal, before other than a secular judge; that no ecclesiastic shall enjoy any privilege, except such as he is able to show *ex Scriptura*; nor to gain any thing for the Church, except by the gift of the Prince; nor to except any site for a church or cemetery; nor any foundation from a convert Indian King; nor shall any one depart from the Province, even to preach the Gospel to Infidels, by the authority of the See Apostolic, without a licence from the lay magistrate."

The firmness of the Jesuits, the letter continues, "greatly enraged" the Secretary, and he "began to turn his attention to the expulsion of the Fathers."

It remains to be seen whether the compilers of school histories will conform to the facts above stated, or continue to repeat the old story, of Maryland being a Roman Catholic Colony, and the first home of religious liberty upon the continent of North America.

The "Mr. Leugar" spoken of in the letter to the Propaganda was John Lewger, a native of London, and a fellow-student of Cecil Calvert in Trinity College, Oxford, which he entered in 1616, and six years later received the degree of Master of Arts. Turning his attention to Theology, he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at the same time as the celebrated Phil. Nye, a member subsequently of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In 1632 he was Rector of a parish in Essex, but by the influence of Chillingworth, a god-son of Archbishop Laud, became an adherent of the Church of Rome. In a little while, however, Chillingworth repented of his position, and came back to the Church in which he was educated, and was anxious that Lewger should also retrace his steps. He published a letter called "Reasons against Popery, in a letter from Mr. William Chillingworth, to his friend Mr. Lewger, persuading him to return to his

mother, the Church of England, from the corrupt Church of Rome." The effort failed, and Lewger's classmate, now the second Lord Baltimore, in April, 1637, appointed him Secretary of Maryland. He arrived in the Province, the next November, with his wife and son John, nine years of age. His duties were varied and important. In addition to those as Secretary, he was Receiver of Rents, Privy Councillor, Attorney General, and Judge in cases testamentary and matrimonial. During his residence in Maryland his wife had two daughters, Cicely and Elizabeth. In a few years his wife died, and he then went back to England, and became a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and lived with his constant friend Lord Baltimore.

If we would understand the early history of Maryland we must remember that Lord Baltimore has left on record a letter to the Earl of Strafford in which he states that the object of his colony was to promote his worldly interests. Cecil Calvert inherited but little from his father George, the Proprietor of Avalon, in New Foundland. When Charles the First, in February, 1638, ordered the nobility of Yorkshire and other of the northern counties to retire to their estates, Baltimore writes a letter to the Secretary of State, in which he expresses his willingness to sacrifice his life and his fortune for his Majesty, but he asks a dispensation in his favor: "Because," says he, "my wife has not, I protest to you, stirred out of her chamber these three months last past through illness, and I have little hope that she can be able to make any such journey as unto Yorkshire, where my house is, by the 1st of next month. Nor, indeed, am I any way persuaded to live there with my family, where I never resided in my life, nor seen so much as my land there in ten years, it all being rented out together with my house to tenants."

Wardour Castle, the seat of the Earl Arundel, where Cecil, Lord Baltimore, resided with his father-in-law, was rich with ancestral associations, but the old Earl was very poor in this world's goods. When fourscore years of age, under date of February 17, 1638-39, he writes to the King: "Moneys I have none, no, not to pay the interest of the debts. My plate

is placed at pawn. My son, Baltimore, is brought so low with his setting forward the plantation of Maryland, and with the claims and oppositions which he has met with, as that I do not see how he could subsist, if I did not give him diet for himself, wife, children."

When the Jesuits began to convert and obtain grants of land from Indian chiefs on the Potomac, in the name of their agents, and to claim that they were not obliged to conform to the regulations of the land office of the Province, it is easy to see why Baltimore's Secretary desired their expulsion, and why everything was not altogether lovely.

APPENDIX.

For the convenience of historical students, there is appended the full text of the documents alluded to in the above article, extracted from vol. 3d, pp. 362-367, "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," by Henry Foley, S. J. London: Burns & Dates, 1878.

The Editor prefaces the first with these remarks:—

"In volume IV., Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, n. 108 n, is a paper headed 'Cases' containing a list of twenty propositions of canon law for the advice of Propaganda, which were probably written by Father White, and sent through the Provincial Father Blount.

"These propositions arose out of the oppressive conduct of the Secretary of Lord Baltimore, in whose charge he had left the infant colony during his temporary absence.¹ They are referred to in the letter of the Reverend Father Provincial, in Rome, which commences thus"—

"In a country like this, newly planted, and depending wholly upon England for its subsistence, where there is not (nor can be until England is reunited to the Church) any ecclesiastical discipline established by laws of the province, or granted by the Prince, nor provincial synod held, nor spiritual courts created, nor the canon laws accepted, nor ordinary, or other ecclesiastical persons admitted (as such), nor the Catholic religion publicly allowed. And whereas three parts of the people or four, at least, are heretics, I desire to be resolved."

"Then follow various questions to be solved. In the same volume of MSS., n. 108 n, is the form of a special agreement to be entered into between the Father Provincial of the English Province and the Lord Cecil Baltimore, his heirs and successors. This first recites that 'the King of England had granted the province of Maryland, with royal jurisdiction therein to the said

¹ Father Foley shows a singular ignorance of history; Cecil, Lord Baltimore, was never a resident of Maryland.—E. D. N.

Lord Baltimore, by force whereof no English subject, even a colonist of Maryland was capable of accepting, buying, &c., any land, unless by licence of the said Baron or his heirs; and since the said Baron had incurred and was still incurring great expenses, and daily underwent many troubles and dangers, both of person and property, chiefly on account of propagating Christianity in those parts, without having as yet received any fruit or temporal gain, who, however had he failed in his protection of the colony, it never could (humanly speaking) have lasted so long,' &c., it then proceeds in several clauses to make stipulations as to the purchase, &c., of land in the colony: 'And since it is sufficiently clear that Maryland depends upon England, that it could not support itself unless they frequently sent over supplies of necessaries; and since it is not the less evident that, as affairs now are, those privileges, &c., usually granted to ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Church, by Catholic Princes in their own countries, could not possibly be granted here without grave offence to the King and State of England (which offence may be called a hazard both to the Baron and especially to the whole colony). Therefore,' &c. 'The agreement goes on to bind the members of the Society in Maryland not to demand or require any such privileges and exemptions, excepting only those relating to corporal punishments, unless by chance the offence should be a capital one in which degradation would attach; and then provides as to the licence of the Governor for sending out members of the Society to Maryland, and for their removal, &c.

"The labors of the Jesuit missionaries having been greatly blessed in the conversion both of Protestants and native Indians, as we shall see from the Annual Letters of the Province, the enemies of the Catholic faith were aroused,' and in the year 1642 a serious assault was made upon the privileges and immunities of the Catholic Church in the colony, by which means they sought to tie the hands of the missionaries. The Fathers resisted the attack as being fatal to the mission, and reported at once to the Vice-Provincial at home (then Father Henry More), who immediately appealed to Propaganda, and wrote the following memorial to the Cardinal Prefect. A copy of it is preserved in MSS., *Anglia*, Vol. IV. n. 108 κ."

Memorial to Cardinal Prefect.

"The Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England humbly represents to your Eminence, that in the month of June, 1632, the King of England granted to the noble Lord Baron Baltimore, a Catholic, in propriety, a certain Province on the sea coast of North America, inhabited by infidels, which at this day is called the Land of Mary, or Maryland, after the reigning Queen of England.

"The said Baron immediately treated with Father Richard Blount, at that time Provincial, at the same time writing to Father General, earnestly begging that he would select certain Fathers, as well for confirming the Catholics in the faith, and converting the heretics who were destined to

¹ Father White says that these enemies were Lord Baltimore and his agents.—E. D. N.

colonize that country, as also for propagating the faith amongst the infidels and savages. The affair was surrounded with heavy and many difficulties, for in leading the colony to Maryland by far the greater part were heretics, the country itself, *a meridie Virginie ab Aquilone*, is esteemed likewise to be a New England, that is two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans; so that no less, nay, perhaps greater dangers threaten our Fathers in a foreign, than in their native land of England. Nor is the Baron himself able to find support for the Fathers, nor can they expect sustenance from heretics hostile to the faith, nor from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts.

“The zeal of the said Father Provincial conquered these and other difficulties, and at first two Fathers were sent out, as it were, to explore and ascertain if there might be any hope of the gain of souls, when the country should appear ‘white to the harvest.’ Some years ago a geographical description of this country was presented to his Eminence, Cardinal Barberini, Protector, with a humble petition that he would deign to receive the Fathers sent out there under the patronage of his kind protection, equally with the rest in England, so that the matter might be transacted in such a way as to avoid giving offence to the State of England.

“After this the Fathers indeed increased both in numbers and in courage, in sufferings of hunger and want, in frequent diseases which were fatal to some, and lastly through various dangers applied themselves with constancy to the salvation of souls, learnt the savage language which is formed of various dialects, composed a dictionary, a grammar, and a catechism for the use of the infidels; and the Divine Goodness was pleased so to favor these attempts that, besides others, a certain chief, having many tributary kings under him, with his wife and family and some of his ministers, was brought to the faith, and unless hindered by professing Catholics, a great door was laid open to the Gospel.

“Impediments indeed, and these severe ones, did arise, and from those from whom they were least due. For, since the said Baron was unable to govern Maryland in person, he appointed as his substitute a certain Mr. Leugar, his Secretary, who was formerly a minister and preacher, and being converted to the faith retained much of the leaven of Protestantism: for he still maintained those dogmas so justly offensive to Catholic ears—that no external jurisdiction was given by God to the Supreme Pontiff, but merely an internal one *in foro conscientie*; that no immunity for goods or person was due to him or any other ecclesiastics, except such as lay princes and seculars chose to confer upon him or them; that it would be a great offence, and one to be mulct by punishment to exercise any jurisdiction whatever, even of absolving from sin, without special licence from the Baron, from whom all lawful jurisdiction was derivable; that a woman making a vow of virginity, and not marrying after the twenty-fifth year of her age, could not hold lands by heirship coming from her parents, but that they must be sold, and if the parties refused to do so, then by compulsory sale. That the General Assembly or Parliament possessed so great an authority over the property of all, that it could dispossess every one it chose of their all, even to the under-garment, for the use of the Republic; and other such like propositions of the said Mr. Leugar are comprehended in twenty questions which are laid before this second Congregation by the hands of the Secretary.

“Therefore the Secretary (Leugar) having summoned the Assembly in Maryland, composed with few exceptions of heretics and presided over by himself, in the name of the Lord Baltimore, attempted to pass the following laws repugnant to the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical immunities: That no virgin can inherit, unless she marries before twenty-nine years of age; that no ecclesiastic shall be summoned in any cause civil or criminal before any other than a secular judge; that no ecclesiastic shall enjoy any privilege,

except such as he is able to show *ex scriptura*, nor to gain anything for the Church except by the gift of the prince, nor to accept any site for a church or cemetery, nor any foundation from a convert Indian king; nor shall any one depart from the province, even to preach the Gospel to the infidels by authority of the See Apostolic, without a licence from the lay magistrate; nor shall any one exercise jurisdiction within the province, which is not derived from the said Baron, and such like.

"The Fathers of the Society warmly resisted this foul attempt, professing themselves ready to shed their blood in defence of the faith and the liberty of the Church. Which firmness greatly enraged the Secretary, who immediately reported to Baron Baltimore that his jurisdiction was interrupted by the Fathers, whose doctrine was inconsistent with the government of the province. Hence the said Baron, being offended, became alienated in his mind from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and at first *ipso facto* seized all their lands and let them to others, as though he was the lord and proprietor of them, although King Patuen had given them the same lands when he was a catechumen, upon the express condition for supporting priests, who had brought his subjects to the true knowledge, faith, and worship of God. The said Baron, with others favorable to his opinions, began to turn his attention to the expulsion of the Fathers, and the introducing others in their stead who would be more pliable to his Secretary. Therefore he procured last year to petition the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, in the name of the Catholics of Maryland, to grant to a Prefect and secular priests faculties for the same mission, making no mention in the meanwhile of the labors of the Fathers undertaken in that harvest, nor expressing the motives which induced him to substitute new missionary priests. And in order that he might have some new grounds to urge for calling away the Fathers of the Society from thence, he proposed certain points similar to those laid before the Sacred Congregation, to be presented to the Provincial by the hands of the Secretary, that he might subscribe them in the name of himself and of the Fathers in Maryland. But the Sacred Congregation, being entirely ignorant of these matters, granted the petition; and in the month of August, 1641, faculties were expedited from the Sacred Congregation and were transmitted to Dom. Rossett, now Archbishop of Tarsus.

"But since perhaps the other Prefect is not as yet appointed, or the faculties delivered, but are as yet, it is hoped, in the hands of Father Phillips, the confessor of the Queen of England, the said Provincial humbly begs of your Eminence, to deign to direct that the said faculties may be superseded, if the matter is yet entire, or if by chance the faculties are delivered, that the departure of new priests may be retarded for a sufficient space of time to allow the Holy See to decide upon what is best to be done for the good of souls. The Fathers do not refuse to make way for other laborers, but they humbly submit for consideration, whether it is expedient to remove those who first entered into that vineyard at their own expense, who for seven years have endured want and sufferings, who have lost four of their *confrères*, laboring faithfully unto death, who have defended sound doctrine and the liberty of the Church with odium and temporal loss to themselves, who are learned in the language of the savages, of which the priests to be substituted by the Baron Baltimore are entirely ignorant, and which priests either allow or defend that doctrine, from which it must needs be that contentions and scandals should arise, and the spark of faith be extinguished which begins to be kindled in the breasts of the infidels. Nevertheless, the Fathers profess themselves ready, with all submission, either to return to England from Maryland, or to remain there and to labor even to death, for the faith and dignity of the Holy See, as may seem fit to the prudence, the goodness, and charity of your Eminence."

FRAGMENTS OF A JOURNAL KEPT BY SAMUEL
FOULKE, OF BUCKS COUNTY,

WHILE A MEMBER OF THE COLONIAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
1762-3-4.

CONTRIBUTED BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

[The following fragments are part of a Journal kept by Samuel Foulke, of Richland, while a member of the Colonial Assembly. He served in that body eight years (1761-8), and was an active and useful member.¹ His journal, as far as it is preserved, gives a more animated description of the Assembly's proceedings than the necessarily brief and formal records kept by the clerks, and preserved for our inspection in the official "Votes of the Assembly." It must be regretted, therefore, that the fragments which are now printed, covering portions of the years 1762-3-4, and which probably formed part of a carefully kept and continuous journal, covering the whole eight years of Samuel's service, are all that are now known to be in existence.

Samuel Foulke was the grandson of Edward Foulke, who settled at Gwynedd, in Montgomery County, with other colonists from Merimetholine, North Wales, in the autumn of 1698.² Edward's son Hugh removed from Gwynedd to Richland (Quakertown), Bucks County, and Samuel and John were his sons. Samuel was born 12th month 4th, 1718, and died 1st month 21st, 1797. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and as the Journal indicates, looked at public affairs from that standpoint, though the concluding paragraphs show that he warmly sympathized with the colonial feeling of independence, and could not contentedly submit to what he regarded as the Proprietary encroachments, even though they might be represented by the grandson of William Penn. His activity as a Friend is

Upon his retirement, he was succeeded by John Foulke, his elder brother, who served continuously from 1769 until the outbreak of the Revolution, 1775.

¹ Edward Foulke was the progenitor of the large family of that name in eastern Pennsylvania. The genealogical record which he left (including an account of his removal to America) is preserved by many of the name, and has been once or twice privately published, besides being inserted in the 3d volume of Comlys' "Friends' Miscellany." In it he shows his descent from "Rerid Blaidd, of the Pool, who was Lord of Penllyn, one of the northern divisions of Wales." This genealogy, written by Edward Foulke in Welsh, was translated in the form in which it is now found, by Samuel Foulke, the author of the Journal here given.

particularly referred to in the obituary notice concerning him,¹ which states that "at the first establishment of Richland monthly meeting, he was appointed clerk thereof, in which service he continued about thirty-seven years; and nearly thirty years served as clerk to the meeting of ministers and elders." From this statement it appears that he must have been made "clerk" soon after becoming of age, for during the Revolution he was one of those Friends of Richland who were "disowned" by the Society for showing too much active sympathy with the war, his participancy, however, being confined, it is said, to the taking of the oath of allegiance to the Colony as against the sovereignty of Great Britain. (Others of his family took a more active part on the Revolutionary side, and were also disowned.²)

The first entry, owing to the loss of the preceding page of the Journal, is incomplete and without date, but a reference to the votes of the Assembly shows it to have been made on September 7, 1762. The adjournment in order that the members might be at home "at Seed-Time" recalls the primitive habits of Pennsylvania's legislators a hundred and nineteen years ago.]

. . . . would be most convenient for them to be at home about their . . . affairs, it being Seed Time. The House readily agreed to Adjourn to the 20th Instant.

September 20th.—In the Evening the House met pursuant to their Adjournment, Sent a Message to ye Governor³ to acquaint him thereof, & to Enquire if he had any business to Communicate.

21st.—The Governor sent Down to the House a written Account of the late Treaty Held at Lancaster with the Western & Northern Indians, together with a written Message relating & referring to sd. Treaty.⁴

Friends' Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 16.

¹ The obituary adds: "He was a man who from his youth had his mind impressed with the love of religion and religious meetings. . . . In civil life, his invariable wishes and endeavors were to cultivate peace and benevolence among men; and though his inclination would have led him to a life of retirement, which he ever deemed the most desirable, yet he yielded to the solicitations of his friends and countrymen to serve them in several public stations." In John Woolman's Journal, in the narrative of an interesting and somewhat dangerous visit to the Indians at Wyalusing, in 1763, he speaks of stopping on his way, both going and returning, at Samuel Foulke's at Richland.

² James Hamilton.

³ The Governor's Message will be found in Col. Rec., vol. viii. p. 775; the minutes of the Treaty, *ibid.* 721.

22d.—This & ye foregoing Day were Spent in reading the Afores'd Treaty and in consideration of ye mode of settling the publick Acct's, which the Committee represented to ye house to be greatly increased, & become much more intricate now than in times past, by reason of the great Variety of Our widely Extended publick Affairs, & especially the many Emissions & re-emissions of our paper Currency of late by which the settling ye Acc'ts of the Loan Office is render'd Extreemaly Difficult, and Appear'd almost insurmountable in the mode hitherto practised—on which nothing was resulted.

23d.—Nothing remarkable happen'd but the receiving two Letters; One from B. Franklin, Esquire,¹ giving an acc't of his making preparations for Embarking to return home, which Intelligence was received with pleasure; the Other from Sergent, Aufrere & Company in London, relative to the discharge of their trust as Commissioners on behalf of this province to receive & dispose of our share of the sum granted by parliament for the relief of the American Colonies.

24th.—This day ye Committee heretofore appointed to attend the Indian Treaties² brought in a report in writing, giving a pretty full acc't of ye manner in which the Affairs were transacted at Easton, wherein they past some severe,

¹ Franklin was then in England, where he had gone as agent of the Colony in 1757.

² This Committee was appointed March 24, 1762, to attend a Treaty which was to be held at Lancaster, and some of the members of it appear to have attended at Easton. We are not aware that the minutes of the Conference at Easton are printed in any volume of Pennsylvania Documents. Where they should appear in Proceedings of the Governor's Council an omission of fifty pages occurs. As the conference was called by Sir Wm. Johnson it is possible that it was not considered a Pennsylvania measure, but the business transacted was certainly of great importance to the Province, and an account of it should form a part of its records. It was there that the disputes between Tecdyuscung and the Proprietaries of Penna. were adjusted. It does not, however, appear, from the remarks of our Journalist or from some MSS. in the "Penn Papers" in possession of the Hist. Soc., that the business was as satisfactory to the Anti-Proprietary party. The Committee which attended, according to the copy of a letter in the "Penn Papers," consisted of Jno. Hughes, Jos. Galloway, Edw. Penington, John Martin, Jos. Fox, Samuel Rhoads, Giles Knight, and Isa. Pearson.

tho' perhaps just Censures on ye Conduct of Sir Wil'm Johnson, Which Occasion'd most violent altercations between Judge Allen and some of the Members of that Committee, ye Judge bellow'd forth such a torrent of Obstreperous Jargon as might have been heard in a still morning to ye Jersey shore, in vindication of Sir William's conduct, in which Combat he was Extreemly Chafed, and his Lungs so Exhausted that he left ye house and appeared no more this year.¹

25th.—The Committee of Accounts reported how far they had been able to Settle them, and the Committee of incidental Charges produced their Settlement, then a motion was made for granting to the Governor ye sum of 400 pounds for his Services, ye Current year he having received £600 at ye Close of last winter session, which after some time spent thereon the matter was decided by vote, & past in the negative by a great majority. The House then proceeded to finish the usual business at the Close of the Session & then 'rose, to Sit no more this Year.

Here I may remark as a memento to my self for time to Come, that at this time & for two or three weeks past an Infectious Distemper, said to be brought in by a Vessel with Slaves from Africa,² attended with an uncommon Mortality, Spread & prevail'd in this City, & Especially in ye Lower parts of the Town, by which many Hundreds of the Inhabitants were carry'd off in a Short Time, the Doctors are at a loss what name to Give it; on some it had all ye Simptoms of ye Yellow Feaver, on some the Spotted, and on Others the putrid Fever; it was, however, a very Violent Distemper, it commonly seized & Carried off people of the most hale and Hearty constitutions in 4 or 5 days, & some in less time. Yet, thro' the Merciful goodness & kindness of Divine providence, I was preserved in a Good state of health, 'tho' I had Occasion to walk thro' ye Town four times a Day most of ye

¹ William Allen, then Chief Justice of the Province and a member of the Assembly from Cumberland Co. For biographical sketch, see *P.A. MAG.*, vol. i. p. 202.

² Dr. Redman's notes, quoted in Carey's *Fever of '93*, states that the disease was introduced by a mariner who arrived sick from Havana.

time of my attendance there, which was near two weeks; which precious & distinguishing favour I desire may Ever be Gratefully & profitably remembered by me.

October 14th, 1762.—The House Met pursuant to Charter, & Sat 3 days to do the usual Business done at ye first Meeting of Assembly, & then adjourn'd to ye 10th of January.

January 10th, 1763.—The house met according to adjournment, but ye Indisposition of my family prevented my attending 'till ye 31st Inst., when I had ye Satisfaction to Meet with Benjamin Franklin, Esqr., for ye first time Since his arrival from England. A Gentleman, whose Patriotic Zeal & assiduous Exertion of his Superior talents in the service of his Country, had render'd him Equally famous & universally beloved and Esteem'd.

February 1st, 1763.—A Bill was brought in for Authorising the provincial Commissioners to make a proper Compensation to ye Masters of such apprentices who had Inlisted into ye King's Service in the Course of ye late Warr.¹ In the Consideration of this Affair a very Close & tedious Debate arose, by reason of the Obstinate & interested bias of Some of the Members, of whom, Saml. Roads and Geo. Ashbridge were ye Most unreasonable, who seem'd determined to Shut out Conviction & pay no regard to reason, untill at last Benj. Franklin Engaged (who by ye way is never forward to E[n]gage), and man[a]geed the dispute so wisely, with so much Clearness & strength of reasoning as left them not a word more to say in Opposition.

2d.—A Petition of my neighbour, Edward Thomas, of Richland, was presented to ye House, setting forth the loss he had sustained by fire, his dwelling house & all his goods being burnt, with a Considerable Sum of money, a part of which being paper Currency he pray'd might be refunded to him out of the provincial Sinking fund, which Occasion'd²

¹ Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the loss of the Masters of such apprentices as had enlisted, and to make such an allowance as might be just, not exceeding Twenty Pounds.

² The first fragment of the Journal ends with the above entry. On the 15th of Feb. the House appointed a committee to examine the evidence brought

On the 19th of December, 1763, In pursuance of writts Issued by Our New Governor, John Penn, Esqr., Grand-son of y't famous Legislator, William Penn, Esqr., the first Proprietor of this province, the house of representatives were Convened, and on the 20th the Governor was pleased to meet the House in the Councill Chamber where he rec'd them with Great politeness & Marks of Affectionate respect, which he Expressed in a well Composed Speech for that purpose prepared, in which he inform'd ye House of the requisition made on this Government by Sir Jeff. Amherst for 1000 Men, Exclusive of Commissiond Officers, to be Employ'd in Conjunction with those of ye neiboring provinces, the Next Summer, to Subdue the Savages who Infest Our Frontiers.¹

The House went immediately into Consideration of s'd requisition, which was deliberately debated, three Days Successively. The principal speakers for ye Measure were B. Franklin, John Hughs, Jos. Galloway, & J. Dickenson; the Chief of those against it were G. Ashbridge & W. Smith.²

December 23d.—In ye Evening, after a great Deal had been said with Great Ingenuity & judgment, more particularly by Benjamin Franklin & Jno. Dickenson, the House Agreed to

by Edward Thomas of his loss, and upon its report directed that thirty-three pounds should be paid him by the Trustees of the General Loan-Office.

¹ The speech of the Governor and the letter of Sir Jeffery Amherst will be found in *Votes of Assembly*, vol. v. pp. 286, 287.

² Of Franklin, Galloway, and Dickinson it is unnecessary to say aught. Hughs was subsequently appointed Stamp-master, and incurred the displeasure of his fellow-citizens, by the disposition he showed to accept the office. The correspondence between him and the committee of citizens who compelled him to decline the appointment will be found in *Hazard's Register of Pa.*, vol. ii. p. 243. Franklin was said to have been instrumental in having him appointed, and although he was in England a threat was made to mob his house. Mrs. Franklin's letter describing these times will be found in *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends*, 1751-1790, N. Y., 1859, pp. 16, 17. In 1769 he succeeded James Nevin as Collector of Customs at Portsmouth, N. H., but returned to Philadelphia County in 1772. At the time our journalist wrote he represented Philadelphia County in the Assembly. William Smith was from Bucks Co., and George Ashbridge from Chester Co.

make a division, when ye Measure was Carry'd in ye Affirmative by a Great Majority.¹

25th.—The House waited on ye Governor with Congratulatory Address on his Safe Arival & Accession to this Government, in which they tell him Clever things, and ye Governor having had a Copy of ye Address, had prepared an Answer Agreeable which he read & then delivered to ye Speaker, who in return delivered to his Honour a Certificate for Six Hundred pounds which he gratefully rec'd—then ye House Adjourn'd to the 2d of January.²

January 2d.—The House met, & on ye 3d received a Message from ye Governor³ relating to an Enormous riot or rather an Insurrection of a Lawless Banditti in ye County of Lancaster, who on ye 14th ult. inhumanly fell upon the poor Innocent Indians, who had for a long time past lived peaceably on the Connestogo Mannor, Six of Whom they butchered on ye Spot, two made their Escape, the rest happen'd then to be out among the Adjacent inhabitants, Selling baskets, &c., & by that means Escaped ye Slaughter, for that time; & were, by order of ye magistrate, put into ye Work house of ye Burrough of Lancastor for their better Security against the fury of ye Murtherers in Case any further Attempt Shou'd be made on them.⁴ But, behold! on ye 27th, about noon of the Same mo., a number of about 50 men in Arms, Supposed to be the Same Audacious Club of Villains, all well mounted, Enter'd the town, broke Open the prison Door, & in Cool blood inhumanly butcher'd all ye Indians, being 14 men, women, & Children! to the Eternal Shame & reproach of ye Magistrates of that Town, who tamely Suffer'd the Cruel Massacre when they might Easily have prevented it by Calling on ye Commander of the regular troops then under Arms within Call; having had Several days warning of ye intended Insurrection.

The Governor Also Inform'd the House he had received

¹ According to the Votes of Assembly this vote was made on the 22d.

² The Votes of Assembly state that this took place on the 24th.

³ See Votes of Assembly, vol. v. p. 292.

⁴ These facts were communicated to the House in a message, dated Dec. 21, 1763. It is what follows that was referred to in the message of Jan. 3d.

intelligence intimating that ye S'd Lawless Gang were increasing their numbers & Strength in Order to Come down to destroy all the Indians which ye Government had taken under protection & placed on the province Island, & desired ye Assistance of ye House, as he Apprehended there was at present no fund he could Command Sufficient to Enable him to take proper Measures for defending the lives of ye s'd Indians & for Subduing ye riotters.

The House immediately pass'd a Vote of Credit¹ to repay any Expense which might accrue upon or in respect of ye premises; but So great was the prejudice which possessed ye Minds of a great many of ye Frontier inhabitants against the S'd Indians & ye maintaining them at ye publick Expence, & the disaffection appearing to Spread like a Contagion into the Interior parts of ye province & Even ye City it self, That ye Government became in some measure intimidated by the reported threats of ye back inhabitants, and thinking it Safer to remove ye Indians Entirely out of ye province, did on ye 7 Inst., with more precipitation than prudence, Hurry 'em away for New York, but it Unluckily happened that when they had proceeded on their Journey as far as Elizabeth Town the Government of New York wou'd not Suffer them to tread on their Ground, which obliged the poor Indians to take ye pains to measure ye same road back to this City, & were placed in ye Barracks under a proper Guard.

In ye Mean time the house—Apprehensive of ye prenicious Consequences which wou'd accrue to the Community from such daring acts of inhumanity & Contempt of All Laws, Divine, Moral, Civil, & Millitary, as the bloody Massacre at Lancaster, if the Miscreant perpetrators were not brou't to Condign punishment—prepared a bill² for passing a Law to Apprehend them & bring them to trial before ye Judges of Oyer & Term'r in Philada., which Occasion'd such a Clamour in ye House & out-a-doors that the house thought proper to let it lye after ye first reading untill ye present unhappy

¹ See Votes of Assembly, vol. v. p. 293.

² It was framed by B. Franklin, Joseph Fox, and John Morton.

Commotion & ferment should have time to subside and then proceeded to Consider of ways & means to raise Fifty Thousand pounds for ye Service of the Current year. In this affair the House was much at a Loss how to proceed, being very desirous to avoy'd disputes & Altercations with the Governor Just on his Arrival Among us, and not knowing how far he might be restrain'd by proprietary Instructions with regard to Money Bills, the House resolved to request the Governor that he would be pleased to lay before them such Instructns as he should think himself Obliged to observe relative to ye premes,¹ which he was pleased readily to Comply with, & sent down by ye Secret'ry all ye Instructions he had upon that head; in which the House had ye Mortification to find him under greater restraints than any of his predecessors had been, in regard to paper Currency & Taxing ye prop'ies Lands. They saw it would be in vain to offer him a Bill for raising money in the mode heretofore used in this Government, therefore, went into Consideration of new ways and Means for raising Money, which held ye House Chiefly Employed for about four weeks, upon which Arose Very Serious & Arduous debates, in which B. Franklin & John Dickenson Greatly distinguished themselves; ye first as a politician, the other as an Orator. The points Debated were whether we shou'd make Exceptions in Our Money bill in favour of ye proprietaries, with a respect to their Quitrents, &c., Or Emit a new Species of bills of Credit, not to be Enforced as Legal Tender to any Man, but to give them Credit, were to bear an Interest to ye possessor, & by y't means avoy'd any disputes with ye proprietaries; the above-Named Gentlemen were for ye latter. The Chief Speakers on ye other side were Jos. Galloway, Jos. Fox, G. Ashbridge, & tho' ye first Named had to my apprehension much ye advantage of ye latter in reason & argument, yet to my great surprise, when ye Question was put, it was Carried in favour of ye propriet's; such was ye unaccount-

¹ This request was made on the 11th inst., and complied with the following day. The instructions will be found in vol. v. of Votes of Assembly, p. 297.

able Attachment of a majority of ye Members to ye usual mode of raising money, and their Ill Judged fear of going out of the beaten track to try a new Method of making money, which probably wou'd have Exempted them & their Constituents from ye necessity of wearing that Servile piece of furniture Call'd a Neck-Yoke, & of putting their necks under the Tyrant's foot, while his Mutes rivett on ye Yoke which it seems we are now to wear untill it shall please Our Gracious Sovereign to interpose & take the Government out of ye Hands of the Proprietaries into his own, which I believe is the wish of every one who retains a Just sense of Freedom.

February 3d, 1764.—This Day ye Governor, by Message,¹ acquainted ye House that he had received Certain Intelligence that great Numbers of riotous people of the Frontier Counties were Collecting, Daily increasing, & Coming down in parties by different routs towards this City, in Order Joyntly to fall upon & murder all the Indians, being about 120 in number now lodged in ye Barracks under ye protection of ye Governm't, and requested the House would Immediately provide ye Necessary means to strengthen his hands Effectually, to give the protection he had promised to ye Sd Indians & to Suppress the Insurrection, there being no Law now in force adequate to ye present Extraordinary Occasion.² The House immediately prepared a Bill for Extending an Act of parlim't, pass't in ye late reign for Suppressing riots, &c., which readily pass'd the House & was Sent up to ye Governor the Same Day, who in ye Evening Came down to the House & Enacted ye Same into a Law, which was ye next Day publish'd & proclaim'd at the State House to a Concourse of about 3000 people; where ye Governor & Counc'l, the Assembly & City Magistrates attended ye Solemnity. (here an Association was form'd for ye Defence of ye Indians & ye City, in which Many Hund's of ye inhabitants chearfully E[n]gaged & made ye necessary preperations for Opposing ye rioters.)

¹ See Votes of Assembly, vol. v. p. 310.

² The Governor asked that a bill be passed extending for a time to the Province the Riot Act of the First of George I.

6th.—The Governor sent Out Several Clergimen¹ to meet the Insurgents or Lawless banditi afores'd, who met about 200 of 'em at Germantown, and acquainted them with ye preparations the Governm't was making for their reception & punishm't, upon hereing of which they thought fit to Halt, and proposed to Extenuate ye Enormity of their Crime by laying before ye Legislature Certain Grievances for which they demanded redress.²

7th.—The Governor sent out Several of his Council, accompanied by 4 members of Assembly,³ to Advise them to disperse immediately, & avoy'd the penalties which wou'd be ye necessary Consequences of their Continuing unlawfully Assembled. They frankly Confess'd they had set out, with full purpose to kill Every Indian in ye Barracks, having been invited & Encouraged by many Considerable persons in Philada., & that they Shou'd meet with no Opposition in ye Execution of their Design, but now being inform'd the Indians were under ye protection of ye Kings troops they profess'd So much Loyalty to his Majesty that they wou'd not lift a hand against them—a very poor thin Guise this, to Cover the disloyal principles of ye faction, which Appears to be a presbyterian one—that Society thro' out the province being tainted with ye same bloody principles with respect to ye Indians & of disaffection to ye Government.

They agreed to Disperse, & ye most part to return Directly

¹ A letter in Hazard's Register, vol. xii. p. 11, says: "G. T. [Gilbert Tennent] with two or three more pious divines of the same order;" but from Muhlenberg's Journal it appears that Parson Brycelins, of the Lutheran congregation, who was then in Phila., went to warn the Lutherans of Germantown not to take part with the Rioters, and that he met with English Clergymen of the High Church, and one Presbyterian Professor of the Academy, "who had been requested by the Governor to visit the rioters."

² The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's account of the march of the Paxton Boys will be found in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. i. p. 73, *Phila.*, 1853. An interesting letter on the same subject is in Barton's Rittenhouse, p. 147.

³ Franklin, in a letter to Lord Kames, June 2, 1765, writes: "I went at the request of the governor and council, with three others." The others were Galloway, Chew, and Willing; the latter was Mayor of the city. See Shippen Papers, 204.

home, leaving two of their Chiefs to draw up & lay before ye Governm't their pretended Grievances, requesting also liberty for some of their Shabby Gang to Come thro' ye City, about their lawful Occasions, in their way home, which was granted them; but comming next day in Greater numbers than was Expected were seen on ye Road by some weak person, who (frighten'd out of his wits at so formidable an appearance) rode with ye utmost speed to town, told ye first company he met with that four Hundred of the rebels were Comming all arm'd within 2 miles of ye City; the alarm was Quickly spread thro' the city, & ye people immediately call'd to arms, who in about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour muster'd above 1000 men pretty well arm'd ready to give ye Rapparees a warm reception, whose number it appears did not Exceed 30 men. The Governor sent the Secretary¹ with Col. Armstrong² to meet them, who conducted them by a back way into Town to shun ye fury of ye disturbed populace. In consequence of these Intestine disturbances the Governor by Message on ye 9th instant moved ye House to prepare a Bill for Forming & regulating a Millitia whereby the civil power might in future be properly supported & the Laws put in Execution, which the House took into consideration & soon Agreed that a Bill for ye purpose should be brought in, which in a few Days was done, but was two days debated, before it cou'd pass ye House. The Speakers for the Bill were Franklin, Hughs Galloway, & Ross, those against it were Smith, As[h]bridge, Pearson; the Bill pass'd ye House on ye 28th & was sent up to ye Governor. But to go back in point of time, about Ten days before ye above date,³ the Governor sent down to the House Certain papers he had received from leaders of ye Rioters,⁴ one of which was a kind of manifesto or declaration drawn up by them before they dispersed, & directed to ye Governm't, Couched in ye most audacious, daring, Insulting Language that can be imagined, the other called a remon-

¹ Joseph Shippen, Jr.

² Possibly Col. John Armstrong, of Carlisle, to whom Gov. Penn wrote in Dec. asking him to endeavor to apprehend the murderers of the Indians.

³ It was on Feb. 17.

⁴ Mathew Smith and James Gibson.

strance,¹ directed to ye Governor & Assembly, drawn up by their two delegates who had permission to stay in Town for that purpose, setting forth their pretended grievances, which, tho' Express'd with somewhat less Insolence & Scurrillity than ye former, Yet contain'd most scandalous invectives and false accusations against ye Government in General & some leading persons in particular as well as our whole religious Society call'd *Quakers*. As these papers were sent down from ye Governor the House could not avoy'd taking some notice of them, tho' against their Inclination, that such unexampled stuff shou'd be enter'd on their minutes, and after some time spent thereon the House agreed to Condescend so far to ye Rioters as to Order the Clerk to acquaint their s'd delegates who were waiting for an Answer, that after the King's business, now before us, shou'd be accomplish'd the House wou'd take into consideration such parts of their s'd remonstrance as related to this branch of ye Legislature—with which they then appeared to be satisfied, but were observed on going out of Town to shew some marks of Disgust, probably occasion'd by Conversation with some State Incendiaries in the city, who not willing to miss any Opportunity of fomenting, intestine troubles, Endeavor'd to rekindle ye flames of rebellion against ye Governm't in those giddy-headed mis-guided people, who in a few days after had insolence enough to threaten the Legislature with returning, with redoubled forces to procure for themselves satisfaction & redress of their pretended grievances, of which threats ye house took no Notice, but went on with their business; Sent up to ye Governor a Bill for raising ye supplies required by the general and ye Militia Bill, both of which he return'd after about 3 weeks consideration with enormous amendments from which he could by no means be prevailed upon to recede one Iota. By ye first the very best of ye Propri'rs located unimproved lands & Lots Shall be Taxed no higher than ye worst of such lands belonging to the people, and by ye latter the proprietaries by

¹ The Remonstrance was entered on the Journal of the Assembly on the 15th.

their Deputy must have ye nominating and appointing all ye officers of the Millitia and a Court Martial consisting of a Certain number of these officers to have the power & authority to inflict what punishment they please & even Death itself on any of the Free Men of ye province who by their conduct relative to ye s'd Law shou'd be unfortunate enough to incur their displeasure, &c.

These most glaring discoveries of a Tyrannical disposition in the proprietaries to enslave the good people of this flourishing & Oppulent Country kindled in their representatives a Just resentment of ye Daring Insult Offer'd to 'em, & roused up a patriot spirit in ye House which breathed forth the Genuine principles of Freedom, detesting and despising that Monster of arbitrary power swell'd to an enormous size by ye possession of immense wealth, & perpetually stimulated to acts of Oppression by the most Sordid avarice and an insatiable desire of increasing the Heap even at the Expense of ye lives & fortunes of those whom, by ye Laws of God & Nature, they (ye prop'rs) are bound to cherish & protect, instead of which they go on with unrelenting Cruelty preying upon the vitals of that excellent & salutary constitution of Government establish'd by their Father, Our first worthy Proprietor. These sentiments the house, with becoming Freedom & boldness, expressed in their Messages to ye Governor on ye Occasion hoping thereby to inculcate in his breast & his prime minister, B. Chew, a sense of Shame, if not of Honour, but it seems they are proof against everything of ye kind.

TRAVELS THROUGH BERKS COUNTY IN 1783.

BY DR. JOHN D. SCHOEPF,

SURGEON OF THE GERMAN AUXILIARY TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF
ENGLAND, 1776-83.

[Dr. Schoepf was one of the most enlightened and unprejudiced of foreign travellers in the United States, and it is a matter of regret, that no English translation of his work has appeared. It was published at Erlangen in 1788, 2 vols. 8vo.]

Ten miles from Allentown is Maguntchy, a village of a few houses with an Indian name. Not far from it is Cedar Creek, which takes its rise in a spring in the neighborhood as thick as a man's body. The Lehigh Hills are quite near on the left; they seem to run exactly parallel with the Blue Mountains, which can be seen constantly at a distance of from 8-10-12 miles, rising in a more uniform ridge, against which the tops of the Lehigh Hills appear deeply indented and in the form of waves. The soil about here is moderately good and generally of a dark-red color; the fields and meadows had a fertile appearance, and the latter especially were a vivid green. Agriculture seems to be carried on quite methodically. Many large stone houses are to be seen, among which are some quite pretty ones, and the yards about them show order and attention. The inhabitants of this section are mostly Germans, who speak bad English and miserable German. The buckwheat, which is exceedingly abundant for the second crop, was sown after the wheat, and is now in full bloom, and with the pennyroyal (*Cunila pulegioides*), which is common on every roadside, gives out a powerful and pleasant perfume in the evening.

America is indeed the land of oaks. All the forests consist principally of oaks;¹ but they are nowhere tall or large.

¹ The soil of these forests is not very rich in grass, and affords only scanty pasturage for cattle. It has long since been noticed about European Oaks, that they are injurious to the growth of grass and other plants around them. Perhaps the same cause is at work here, too.

Those we saw yesterday and to-day would be taken for young wood merely, which is improbable, because there are no old trunks among them. Besides the slender trunks do not stand thickly together; the dry soil of these hills probably does not give sufficient nourishment. This opinion is strengthened by the experience of the country people, who seldom find an oak tree over six inches in diameter. They are therefore obliged to bring fence poles from 4 to 6 miles, for they prefer for this purpose cleft chestnut poles, because those of oak decay more quickly, especially if the bark is left on.

After sunset we arrived at Kutztown (10 miles from Allentown and 31 from Nazareth). A wealthy German, in order to tickle his ears with the agreeable sound of his name, gave the land for this place, which was first settled three years ago, and which has only a few small houses.

From Kutztown to Reading, through a similar country, over nothing but low ridges of limestone, is 19 miles. The country near the town was built up more closely; there were more and finer country houses. About six miles from Reading we crossed a brook; on the way there was much soft clay, slate, gray, white, and reddish, with red earth underneath; but the reddish clay soil was still the usual surface.

Along all these limestone hills, and only on them, there is a great deal of black hornstone, often in large pieces. Where this is met with, you can almost certainly expect to find calcareous soil in the neighborhood. The limestone of this region is also often covered with laminated sandstone. On account of its peculiar dryness, the soil of these hills certainly appear at first sight not to be very fertile. Besides, it promises little on account of the excessive growth of the common mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), and other plants which like a dry and barren soil. Nevertheless, it is famous as very good land for wheat. The wheat, which is sown in autumn, reaches almost its fullest growth, through the influence of the moderate and generally wet spring until June, before the great and constant heat of summer begins,

which then contributes rather to ripen it better and more quickly than to injure it. While, on the other hand, the later products of the field, maize, buckwheat, turnips, etc., depend more upon the rain and temperature, and consequently fail oftener. The farmers do not dislike the lighter soil of this section, because they do not need to exert themselves greatly in plowing it up. They flatter themselves that they can increase the fertility of the soil by introducing manuring with lime and gypsum;¹ which, however, is by no means suitable at present.

One mile from Reading, from the last ascent, we had a pleasant view over the various ridges of greater and lesser hills, which rise one behind the other with apparent regularity. The Blue Mountains are now scarcely to be discerned behind them. On the left are the Oley Hills, a continuation of the Lehigh Hills. Before you on the lowest of all the hills, and on the banks of the Schuylkill, you rejoice to see a pretty and not small town, where only thirty-six years ago was a mere wilderness; for Reading is no older. It has four principal streets which run exactly parallel with the four points of the compass, and where they cross stands a handsome court-house. The inhabitants are principally Germans, and almost all are in good circumstances. The country people in the neighborhood are all well clothed and fed, and there are only a few among them who own less than 200 acres of land.

Mr. Daniel Udree's iron works lie 10 miles from Reading in a narrow valley among the Oley Hills. The quarry which furnishes the iron ore is five miles farther, and is not more than 6 to 7 fathoms in depth. Quite recently some ore has been discovered nearer, which on various accounts is better than the first, and this is to be added in future; for until now it was not known how to make use of the advantage of

¹ Around Philadelphia and Germantown, Whitemarsh, Lancaster, and York, the practice of manuring with gypsum for grass and plowed land has lately begun to be liked, because it requires less labor than the collecting, loading, carting, and scattering of the usual cattle manure, which the farmer here does not willingly undertake.

mixing different ores. Almost on the summit of the hill, directly behind the tall furnace, a quarry was worked formerly which is rich in the best and most substantial ore. The rock formation of this hill is a coarse-grained wacke, which is in thick layers, sloping almost from north to south. The iron ore lies only from 12 to 20 feet under the superficial earth, and in some places along the sides of the hill still nearer the surface. A gallery, about 12 feet high, 15 feet wide, and about 200 feet long, has been dug in the hill, and then a shaft has been sunk 60 feet deep, and a fine, quartz-like, firm, bluish-green ore brought out, which was the richest and most easily melted ever known in the neighborhood. But the water came in too fast, and drowned out the work. Then, as it was necessary to get the ore by blasting, and as it was in the beginning of the war, and powder and workmen were too scarce, they were obliged to give up this quarry; but it will be opened again now.

For the tall furnace, a reddish, finely grained sandstone, which stands the fire excellently, is brought from a place the other side of the Schuylkill; it is known only as Schuylkill Stone. Formerly the wacke from the nearest hills was tried; but, at a loss, as it cracked and burst in the fire. The making up (Aüfsetzen) of the inner part of the furnace, including the breaking and carriage of the stones, always costs about £100 Pennsylvania money; but it often stands two smeltings. About 10,000 acres of woodland belong to the large furnace. The oaks on these arid hills are certainly small; but there are a great many chestnut trees among them, which make the best charcoal. The furnace consumes 840 bushels of charcoal in 24 hours, for which from 21 to 22 cords of wood are necessary. It is calculated that 400 bushels of charcoal are required to produce a ton of iron hammered into bars. A wagon-load of charcoal, or about 100 bushels, costs about 20 shillings, Pennsylvania money. (A guinea is 35 shillings.) The price of woodcutting is two shillings, three pence a cord, or fathom. A man can cut two and a half to four cords a day, and can earn from 6 to 9 shillings daily. At present only six men are working in the iron-mine; but they furnish

more than the furnace can consume. If worked uninter-¹ruptedly, between 200 and 300 tons of iron can be produced yearly. A hundred weight of the iron ore used at present gives 75 lbs. of cold short iron. A miner receives 40 shillings a month and provisions. The foundry workmen, or smelters and forgers, are paid by the ton. For a ton of pig-iron, 5 shillings; for a ton of stoves, or other iron implements, 40 shillings. The first smelter, if there is much work, can earn several pounds a week.

The wages in the different mines and foundries in America are never precisely fixed anywhere; but it is arranged with each man, as well as can be agreed upon, and according to his usefulness. Miners by profession generally work by the fathom; if otherwise, they receive in Jersey from 5 to 6 pounds a month in currency, together with candles and tools. Other ordinary workmen there get always from 2 to 3 pounds a month. But these people ask more during hay and harvest time, when they can easily earn by lighter work for some weeks from 16 to 18 shillings a day. Charcoal-burners and founders too, have good wages in Jersey. A foreman, or head founder [*sic*], has nearly 9 pounds a month; a charcoal-burner from 5 to 6 pounds. Forgemen are paid by the ton in Jersey also.

The price of a ton of pig-iron (which on account of easier transportation is made smaller in America) is 10 pounds in currency. A ton of stoves, kettles, or other implements is from 20 to 25 pounds. Bar-iron, in the cheap times before the war, cost the foundry-masters from 22 to 23 pounds a ton; they sold it for £25 cash, or £30 at six months credit. At present they cannot produce a ton under from £32 to £37.

If the furnace is not working properly, the slack is pale green and thick; if otherwise, fine and sky blue. Over 200 tons of this slack lay there, which Mr. Udree had given to a man, on account of the delivery of 15 tons of iron, who intends to stamp it once more, to wash it, and smelt it in a Bloomery [*sic*], and considers that the removal of this slack may take him a couple of years.

Mahogany wood is used for the casting moulds for the furnaces, etc., because it warps and cracks the least.

Mr. Udree formerly treated his workmen as is customary in Germany, that is, he furnished them with all necessaries on account. They made use of this opportunity to run up their accounts, and, as they were not tied down with families, to run away afterwards; for this reason, there was a change made.

America is richly supplied with iron, especially in the mountainous districts, and the ore is moreover easily obtained; nevertheless, and in spite of the abundance of wood, at present European iron can be brought to America cheaper than the founders and forgers of that place are able to produce it, by reason of the high wages of the workmen. The owners of the iron-works in the different provinces, particularly in Pennsylvania and Jersey, tried in vain to induce their governments to prohibit the importation of foreign iron, or to clog it with high duties. As this proposition conflicted directly with the interests of the Members of the Assembly as well as with those of their fellow countrymen, it certainly could not be expected that they should decide to pay dearer for their native iron and iron implements, when foreigners could supply them cheaper. Some of the richer forgers and founders thereupon proposed, in order to prevent the future importation of foreign iron, that, upon every arrival of European iron, they should agree to sell their own iron at loss, below the price of the European merchants, so as thus to frighten them from further exportation. But all did not agree, and the few who had made the proposal were not willing to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the rest. Formerly, the Americans were able to send their pig- and bar-iron to England with advantage, for they were relieved of the heavy tax which Russian and Swedish iron paid there. This was the case principally from the Middle Colonies, and in the year 1768-70, the exports to England amounted to about 2592 tons of bar-iron and 4624 tons of pig-iron, with which they paid for a part at least of their return cargoes in England. In return they took back axes, hoes, shovels, nails, and other manufactured iron implements, for, although some of these articles were occasionally manufactured in America

just as good as in Europe, yet it could not be done under at least three times the cost. Therefore, up to this time, the manufacture of cast-iron alone has been found to be particularly advantageous. There was indeed a time when American pig-iron could be sent to England almost cheaper than the native iron could be produced. The owners of the English iron-works complained of this, and there were long discussions in Parliament over the propriety of admitting the importation of this article from America duty free. The American iron was immediately charged with being of poorer quality, which, however, was refuted. Still every ton of American iron cost in England so much less than the tax on Swedish and Russian iron amounted to, under the pretext that it was poorer. The advantages which the export of American iron to England formerly enjoyed are now of course over; and, first of all, they will have to provide for cheaper home consumption and sale, to check the importation of foreign iron. A little steel was formerly made in New York, Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and, during and since the war, more has oddly been done therein, and it is asserted that steel, equal in quality to Styrian, has been made in Philadelphia; so much at least has been proved, that iron fit for it is not wanting.

The following forges and furnaces are in Berks County, Pennsylvania, alone:—

Mr. Udree's Forge, Glasgow Forge, Pine Forge, Spring Forge, and Oley Forge.

Furnaces: 1. The one above-mentioned of Mr. Udree. 2. Mr. Bird's, whose mine also contains lead. Two men furnish as much as the furnace needs. 3. John Patton's, ten miles above Reading, in the neighborhood of Heidelberg; he has not iron ore enough in his mine, and brings more from Schaefferstown, and Grubb's mine, 10 to 15 miles away. 4. Warwick Furnace, 19 miles from Reading, near Pottsgrove, makes the most iron, often 40 tons a week; the iron ore lies only 10 feet under the surface. 5. Reading Furnace, not far from the former; it is at present fallen out of blast into decay; here the smelting would formerly often continue from

12 to 18 months at a stretch. They say that a negro, who had been head founder at this furnace, had discovered silver ore in the neighborhood, at which he was overjoyed; but as he was not on good terms with his master, he would not be persuaded to disclose the spot; he accidentally broke his neck, and his silver is still sought for in vain.

The Oley Hills stretch almost from northeast to southwest; they are not perfectly regular, but make several curves. The other hills between them are smaller, more broken, and run in a different direction.

We were told about the Ringing Hill, or as the Germans call it, the so-called *Klingelberge*, which lies on the road from Philadelphia to Reading, about 36 miles from Philadelphia, near Falkner's swamp, or Pottsgrove. On this hill there is a great number of large, loose pieces of rock, one upon the other, so that people are inclined to attribute their confusion to an earthquake. If these stones are struck against each other, they give different clear, ringing sounds, the largest ones and those lying on each other, and not on the earth, give the clearest and sharpest sound, like a bell. The stone is said to be blue, and it is thought to be ferruginous, on account of its sound; but perhaps that is only because a great deal of yellow ochrous sediment is found in the neighboring springs; it appears to be like the Swedish bell-stone which Linné mentions in the "Westgothische Reise."¹ The weather among these hills has been, for the last two or three days, unusually warm. On the road from Reading to Libanon [*sic*], near Red-house Tavern, a new well had been dug. Water was found at a depth of 40 feet. The upper layer was several feet deep of sandy, clayey loam; then coarse sand and gravel, mixed with ferruginous stones for 12 feet. Afterwards they reached limestone in fragments, and deeper, lying in scales.

¹ *Saxum clangosum*; *saxum tinnitans*; Bell-stone. If it was placed on three feet, it rang like a metal. It was dark gray, slightly ferruginous, and consisted of mica with so finely a pulverized quartz, that the latter could scarcely be seen by the naked eye; these stones contained, moreover, many opaque garnets. Linné, Westgoth. Reise, under June 28.

JAMES TRIMBLE,**THE FIRST DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.****CONTRIBUTED BY MRS PAUL GRAFF.**

James Trimble was born in Philadelphia, July 19th, 1755; of his father, Alexander Trimble, we know but little; he was supposed to have come from the north of Ireland, was a Protestant, and a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Pa., then under the care of the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, of whom it is said he was a relative.

Alexander Trimble was married to Eleanor Rogers, of Abington, June the 20th, 1754. Of the date of his death we have no knowledge, except that it was prior to the year 1769, as we find a record on the church books of his widow, Eleanor Trimble, being received by baptism and profession of faith into the church on the 5th of May, 1769.

James was the eldest of several children, and we find, though very young at the time of his father's death, he manifested all those qualities of mind and heart for which he was so justly noted throughout a long life devoted to the service of his country. "When but a mere boy he assisted his mother in the care of a store. One day a gentleman, probably Mr. Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office under the Proprietors, called and made some purchases; when young Trimble made out his bill, the gentleman was so much pleased with his writing and business style that he at once took measures to secure his services in his department. Mr. Hamilton states that he was apprenticed as a clerk in the Land Office about 1770, when he was fifteen years old."

The endorsement upon the archives of the Board of War and Council of Safety recently recovered, indicates that he was subordinate clerk in the State Council as early as 1775, and when Col. Timothy Matlack became the first Secretary of the Commonwealth (Col. Records, vol. 11th, page 174),

March 6, 1777, James Trimble became Deputy Secretary, and so continued down to Thursday, Jan. 14, 1837.

“ Pending some difficulties with the Council in regard to his accounts of his money trust, Col. Matlack resigned his position as Secretary, and on the 25th of March, 1783, Gen. John Armstrong, Jr., was appointed in his stead. Gen. Armstrong was elected a member of Congress in 1787, and on the 7th of November Charles Biddle took his place. Mr. Biddle remained in office until Jan. 19, 1791, when Alexander James Dallas, Esq., was commissioned by Gov. Mifflin the first Secretary under the Constitution of 1790, and on the 12th of March, 1791, on the very day the Governor approved the Act providing for a Deputy Secretary, Mr. Dallas appointed James Trimble to be Deputy Secretary, and said appointment was approved by the Governor.”

“ Mr. Dallas remained in office until the 2d of December, 1801, when he resigned, and Thomas McKean Thompson succeeded him. N. B. Boileau became Secretary of the Commonwealth Dec. 20, 1808, and remained so during Governor Snyder's several terms, succeeded by Thomas Sergeant, 1817, Andrew Gregg, 1820, Molton C. Rogers, 1823, Isaac D. Barnard, 1826, Calvin Blythe, 1827, Samuel McKean, 1829, and James Findlay, 1833, and in all these years, and with all these changes, a commission and *dedimus* issues regularly every three years to James Trimble as Deputy Secretary.”

“ His records are models of neatness, his papers elaborately endorsed, and filed with great care, so that in the days of tallow candles, he was wont to enter his office at night, and without striking a light lay his hand on any paper he wished.” “ His personal,” says our friend A. B. H., “ is fresh in my memory, nay it cannot fade from the recollection of any whose memory runs back for forty years, his slight stature, solemn suit of black short clothes, queue, long hose, buckle shoes, quick eye, brisk movements, and dignified address. When he died, Harrisburg lost its last gentleman of the old school, for Alexander Graydon, his peer in dress and address, had gone before.” “ In the judgment of his contemporaries he was a faithful public servant; a man of unimpeachable

integrity, of obliging manners, respected by the community at large, and beloved by his family, to whom he greatly endeared himself by his kindness, and affection."

On the 22d of April, 1782, he married Clarissa, widow of John Hastings; her maiden name was Claypoole. She was a descendant of James Claypoole, an intimate friend of Wm. Penn, and brother to John Claypoole that married Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. She died in Lancaster, Feb. 6, 1810. Of their eleven children two only survived them—Dr. James Trimble, who died in Huntingdon County, in 1838, and Thomas R., who died in Chester County, in 1868.

James Trimble helped pack and remove the State papers at the time the British occupied Philadelphia, and again when the seat of Government was removed to Lancaster in 1799, and from Lancaster to Harrisburg in 1812. He was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, holding a pew and attending the religious services of that church until his removal to Lancaster in 1799. After he removed to Harrisburg he was chosen Trustee and Treasurer of the Presbyterian congregation there, in which capacity he served until his death on the 26th of January, 1837, at the age of eighty-two years, having served his country faithfully for sixty-seven years; and whose only fault was that he was on the opposite side of politics from the party then coming into office. "Surely party spirit must have been at fever heat to remove such a public servant, without some sort of retired-list position for him." The mortification was too great for him to bear, for he died in just eleven days after his removal, of a broken heart. I remember hearing my father, the late Dr. James Trimble, say he would rather pay his salary than that he should be removed from the office, for he would not live a week afterwards; the sequel proved him to be correct in his opinion.

The above is in part copied from an article published in a Harrisburg paper on the presentation by the Hon. M. S. Quay of a portrait of Mr. Trimble to the Secretary's chamber; the painting was by Waugh, from an original by Eicholtz, now owned by Mrs. Catherine Trimble, Glenlock, Pa.

**THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.**

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 500.)

~~KEEN—HAYES—STOUT—MACPHERSON—EVANS—COOPER—
KINSEY—KUHN—HAMILTON.~~

80. WILLIAM KEEN,^s son of Jonas and Sarah (Dahlbo) Keen, was born in Pilesgrove Township, Salem Co., New Jersey, January 27, 1739. He married (St. Michael's Lutheran Church Register, Philadelphia), March 24, 1760, Dorothy Gaylor, born March 1, 1742. He died in October, 1771, and was buried the 27th in Gloria Dei Swedish Lutheran Churchyard, Wicacoa. He had four children:

232. MATTHIAS, b. November 22, 1761.

233. ELIZABETH, b. August 14, 1764. After the marriage of her cousin-german, Sarah Austin, to Commodore John Barry, she was adopted into their family, where she became a great favourite. She was m. by the Rt. Rev. William White, at their home at Strawberry Hill, April 8, 1795, to Patrick Hayes, a nephew of Commodore Barry, b. in Ireland, October 9, 1770. Mr. and Mrs. Hayes continued to reside with their uncle and aunt till 1801, when they removed to a house No. 69 Pine Street, in Philadelphia, and three years afterwards to one No. 265 South Front Street. From 1805 to 1812 they lived at No. 18 Pine Street, and from that time until their death at the northwest corner of Ninth and Locust Streets. Mr. Hayes followed the pursuits of sea-captain and merchant, and in 1842 was Harbour-Master, and from 1843 to 1849 Master-Warden of Philadelphia. He was a Director of the Marine Insurance Company of Philadelphia from 1833 until its dissolution in 1844. In 1797 he became a Member of the Society for the Relief of Masters of Ships. He succeeded his uncle Commodore Barry in the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. Like his uncle, he was a good Catholic, to which religion Mrs. Hayes eventually became a convert. The latter took especial interest in, and was a liberal contributor to, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, in our city. She was an intimate friend of Mrs. Rachel Montgomery, sister-in-law of her kinsman John Montgomery, recently spoken of,

likewise a convert to the Catholic faith.* Mrs. Hayes d. at her last residence, above mentioned, in the 90th year of her age, October 31, 1853. Captain Hayes d. in the same house, in his 86th year, August 30, 1856. They are bur. with Commodore and Mrs. Barry in St. Mary's Cemetery, Philadelphia.† They left issue.

234. WILLIAM JONAS, b. July 15, 1767. He became a sea-captain and merchant in partnership with Mr. Savage Stillwell, conducting his business on North Water Street, in Philadelphia, residing for several years at No. 29 Pine Street, and afterwards at No. 196 Chestnut Street. In 1801 he purchased from the Hon. John Penn a house and large lot of ground at the northwest corner of Callowhill and Delaware Eighth Streets, in the Northern Liberties, which he parted with, however, in 1808, when he removed to Great Egg Harbour, New Jersey. He joined the Society for the Relief of Masters of Ships in 1795, and was elected a Manager of that organization. From 1805 to 1808 he served as a Common-Councilman of Philadelphia. He was, also, for some time a Vestryman of Gloria Dei Church. He m. Sarah Somers, sister of Master Commandant Richard Somers, U. S. N., noted for his valiant deeds at Tripoli,‡ and daughter of Colonel Richard Somers, of Great Egg Harbour, who was elected a Member of the Continental Congress in 1775, and commanded the Third Battalion of Gloucester County, New Jersey, Militia during the Revolutionary War.§ Mrs. Keen's

* Mrs. Montgomery, also, was of Swedish lineage, and cousin to Anna Maria Melin, wife of John Hutton, parents of Mrs. Joseph Swift Keen.

† Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Hayes are in the possession of the family.

‡ On occasion of the death of Mrs. Keen, a monument to this gallant officer was erected in the family burial-ground at Somers Point, N. J., bearing the following inscription (composed by Edward E. Law, Esq., of our city): "In memory of Richard Somers, Master Commandant in the Navy of the United States, Distinguished for his Enterprise, Courage, and Manly Sense of Honour. Born September 15, 1778. He perished, in the 25th year of his age, on the Ketch *Intrepid*, in the memorable attempt to destroy the Turkish Flotilla on the night of the 4th of September, 1804. *Pro patria non timidus mori.*"

§ A descendant, it is said, of John Somers, a native of Worcester, England, who emigrated to Pennsylvania among the first settlers under William Penn, and resided in the northern part of Philadelphia County, where he married (Records of Abington Friends' Meeting) in 1685 Susannah Hodgkins. He was one of the signers of the testimony of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting against George Keith in 1692. Soon after this he removed with his second wife, Hannah Somers, likewise a native of Worcester, to Great Egg Harbour, New Jersey, where he was appointed supervisor of the roads and constable as early as March 20, 1693. In 1695 he purchased from

mother was Sophia, daughter of Nicholas Stillwell, of Cape May County, New Jersey.* Mrs. Keen was b. December 31, 1772. Captain Keen d. s. p. on a visit to Philadelphia, December 4, 1809, and was bur. the following day in Gloria Dei Churchyard.† Mrs. Keen survived her husband, and, after remaining three or four years at Somers Point, returned to our city, where she lived from 1817 to 1847 at No. 147 South Ninth Street, between Locust and Spruce. She removed afterwards to the home of a daughter of her brother, Constant Somers, in New Jersey, where she d. January 21, 1850. She was bur. in the family burying-ground at Somers Point.

235. MARY, b. August 16, 1769. She m. an Englishman (whose name has not been ascertained), and removed to Great Britain, where she d., leaving a large family.

82. WILLIAM KEEN,^b son of Hans and Mary (Laican) Keen, was born in Philadelphia County, Pa., and, losing his parents in his childhood, was brought up by his grandfather and uncles. He passed his life in Philadelphia, following the trade of shipwright, and was married by the Rev. William Sturgeon, Assistant-Minister of Christ Church, August 1, 1755, to Anne Shillingsforth. Mrs. Keen died in August, 1788, and was buried the 12th in Christ Church Ground. She had four children:

236. WILLIAM, b. May 23, 1756; bur. in Christ Church Ground, December 13, 1759.

237. MARY, b. December 28, 1757.

238. PETER, b. August 31, 1759; bur. in Christ Church Ground, August 7, 1760.

239. REBECCA, b. November 20, 1762.

Thomas Budd several tracts of land, amounting to 1500 acres, on Great Egg Harbour River and Patconk Creek. He died at Somers Point in 1723, Mrs. Somers surviving him till 1738. (See *History of Little Egg Harbour Township, Burlington County, N. J.*, by Leah Blackman; and *The Friend*, vol. xxviii. p. 396, and vol. xxix. p. 404.) A person of the same family name married Mary Steelman, of Great Egg Harbour, niece of Susannah Steelman, wife of John Keen, of Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa. (21)

* Information furnished by the Hon. John Clement, of Haddonfield, N. J., to whom I am indebted for repeated assistance in connection with the history of New Jersey members of the Keen family.

† A portrait of Mr. Keen is in the possession of the family of his sister, Mrs. Patrick Hayes.

84. **MARY KEEN**,⁵ daughter of Peter and Margaret Keen, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., about 1730. She married (license dated September 14, 1763) Joseph Stout, a sea-captain in the merchant service of our city, afterwards Lieutenant in His Majesty's Navy. Mrs. Stout inherited from her father half a dozen houses and lots in Philadelphia, and £3000 in currency. She died in this city, March 22, 1767, "aged thirty-six years," and was buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Wicacoa.* Captain Stout survived his wife six years, and was buried in the same Swedish Lutheran Cemetery, November 20, 1773. He made bequests to the Society for the Relief of Masters of Ships (which he joined in January, 1766), "the Poor of the Hospital of Philadelphia," and the children of his "brother Cornelius Stout," and left the residue of his estate, comprising a house in Spruce Street (doubtless his city residence), and land in Moyamensing, and on Frankford Road, "opposite the Plantation," belonging formerly to Peter Keen, afterwards called "Stouton," with negro slaves, and money at interest, to his only child, whom he appointed with his brother-in-law, Reynold Keen, and William Moore,† executors of his last will and testament:

240. **MARGARET**, b. in 1764. After the death of her parents, she lived with her uncle, Reynold Keen, and is mentioned in a letter of Colonel Henry Haller to Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania,‡ as claiming "a negro girl" in Mr. Keen's household at Reading, when her uncle's property was sold as elsewhere stated. At about eighteen years of age, she m. William Macpherson, son of Captain John Macpherson, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, of the noted clan of Clunie, who emigrated to America and took up his abode in Philadelphia.§ Mr. Macpher-

* A portrait of Mrs. Stout is in the possession of her great-granddaughter, Mrs. Caleb W. Hornor, of our city.

† Son of John Moore, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, elsewhere mentioned, and grandfather of the Hon. Charles Smith, who married Mary Yeates, a descendant of Jöran Kyn hereafter spoken of.

‡ Printed in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. iii. pp. 176-7.

§ For some account of Captain Macpherson see Thompson Westcott's *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, pp. 212 *et seq.* He acquired a large fortune by privateering, and in 1767 purchased an estate on the east bank of the river Schuylkill, where he erected a stone mansion,

son's mother was Margaret Rodgers, daughter of Thomas Rodgers and his wife Elizabeth Baxter, who came from Londonderry, Ireland, to Boston in 1721, and removed to Philadelphia in 1728.* He was born in our city in 1756. He was educated partly here, and partly at Princeton, N. J., and at thirteen years of age received the appointment of Cadet in the British Army. July 26, 1773, his father purchased him commissions as Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 16th Regiment, which was stationed at Pensacola at the beginning of the Revolution. At first he sympathized with the cause of his sovereign,† but finally declined to bear arms against his fellow-countrymen, and tendered his resignation of the service. This was accepted by Sir Henry Clinton, after several months' refusal, on the arrival of his regiment at New York in 1778, Macpherson not being permitted, however, to sell his commission, and being forbidden to leave the city. Towards the close of this year he escaped from the British lines, and joined the American Army on the Hudson, when he was honoured by Congress with a commission as

which he made his country-seat, calling it Mount Pleasant—sold by him, in 1779, to General Benedict Arnold, just before the marriage of the latter to Margaret Shippen, cousin-german to Mary Shippen and Sarah Burd, who married descendants of Jöran Kyn hereafter mentioned.

* Sister to the Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., a noted Presbyterian minister, whose *Memoirs* were written by his successor in charge of the Wall Street Church in New York City, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, brother-in-law to Major John Patten, a descendant of Jöran Kyn elsewhere spoken of. A portrait of this gentleman is in the possession of Mrs. Hornor. Dr. Rodgers's wife, Elizabeth Bayard, was a niece of Sarah Richardson, second wife of Major Patten's great-uncle, Dr. John Finney, of New Castle. An obituary notice of Mrs. Macpherson appears in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 7, 1770.

† *Travels in North America*, by the Marquis de Chastellux, vol. ii. p. 376, foot-note by the English translator (Second Edition, London, 1787). According to the writer, William Macpherson bitterly reproached his brother John for having entered the American Army, in a letter which the latter received a day or two previous to the storming of Quebec. General Montgomery's "Aide-de-Camp immediately returned him an answer full of strong reasoning in defence of his conduct, but by no means attempting to shake the opposite principles of his brother; and not only free from acrimony, but full of expressions of tenderness and affection"—dating the letter "from the spot where Wolfe lost his life, in fighting the cause of England, *in friendship with America*." To the effect of this epistle, immediately followed by the news of Major John Macpherson's death, the author attributes the "instantaneous" conversion of William Macpherson to the side of the Colonies, in whose behalf, after long waiting, he found opportunity to bear arms.

Major by brevet, due to the recommendation of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, "in regard to the memory of his brother Major John Macpherson, who fell before the walls of Quebec, as well as in consideration of his own merit."* He acted for some time as Aide-de-Camp to Generals La Fayette and Arthur St. Clair, and was appointed by General Washington, in 1780, to the command of a partisan corps of cavalry, which performed duty in Virginia. A letter addressed to Generals Wayne and Irvine, in consequence of some dissatisfaction among the officers of the Pennsylvania line at the designation of so young a man for this important charge, proves that the august Commander-in-Chief entertained a high opinion of the qualities of Major Macpherson, as well as a kind appreciation of "the sacrifice he made to his principles, by quitting a service in which he had a handsome existence," and testifies to his being "a man of acknowledged capacity and worth." The regard felt for him by La Fayette is best evinced in the following letter of the Marquis (dated "La Grange, November 7, 1832") to Major Macpherson's son-in-law, Peter Grayson Washington.† "It is to me a matter of patriotic duty and personal gratification to do Justice to the Memory of my Accomplished Companion in Arms the late William Macpherson. I knew him from the time when, after numerous and fruitless Applications to retire from the British Service, he executed his declared determination to withdraw, and at any Loss or Hazard to join his fellow Citizens in their Contest for independence and freedom. His Situation at the Battle of Monmouth had been very particular. Wearing still a British Uniform, but forbearing to act against his

* *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, January 1, 1779. See also those for January 4, 1779. Bancroft's eulogy of John Macpherson is appreciated by the family: "a youth as spotless as the new-fallen snow which was his winding sheet; full of genius for war, lovely in temper, honoured by the affection and confidence of his chief, dear to the army, leaving not his like behind him." A portrait of Major Macpherson is in the possession of Mrs. Hornor. Another brother of William Macpherson was Major Robert Hector Macpherson, U. S. A., who distinguished himself in actions on the St. Lawrence and in Lower Canada during our second war with Great Britain, and was afterwards appointed United States Consul at Madeira.

† Then residing in Washington, where during President Pierce's administration he held the office of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. The original letter (now first printed) is owned by Mr. Washington's daughter, Mrs. Hornor. The delicate situation of Major Macpherson referred to in it was also made the subject of a letter from the British Government to Mr. Washington, acknowledging the honorable behaviour of that officer while he was still nominally in the Royal Army.

Countrymen, a Sense of Honor kept him a Witness, altho not an Agent, on the field, where he received a slight Wound from the friends he had openly avowed, and was determined not to fight. Major Macpherson has since for the greater part of the War been placed under my command, where he distinguished himself on several occasions, namely at the head of a detachment during the Virginia Campaign. He was an excellent patriot, officer, and friend. I am happy in the opportunity to give this testimony of my high esteem and cordial affection for a Beloved Brother Soldier who, being placed at first under uncommon circumstances, and afterwards entrusted with remarkable commands, has ever nobly supported the character of an American Citizen and Warrior." Mr. Macpherson always retained the friendship of General Washington, and was rewarded by the latter, when President of the United States, September 19, 1789, with a commission as Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia. This was followed by another, March 8, 1792, appointing him Inspector of the Revenue for the same city, and by a third, November 28, 1793, constituting him Naval Officer. This last responsible position he occupied throughout the administrations of Presidents Adams and Jefferson, and under President Madison until his death. On occasion of the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794 a large and respectable body of citizens of Philadelphia, forming themselves into companies of militia, invited Major Macpherson to command them as a battalion, called in compliment to him the "Macpherson Blues." This fine corps held the advanced post on the right wing of the army in the expedition to western Pennsylvania, and was universally respected for its patriotism and discipline. Before the return of the troops to Philadelphia, Major Macpherson was promoted by Governor Mifflin to the rank of Colonel, and, subsequently, to that of Brigadier-General in the Militia of our State. On the threat of war with France, in 1798, the "Blues" were reorganized, with the addition of other companies of cavalry, artillery, grenadiers, and riflemen, composing a Legion, which was placed under the command of General Macpherson. On the 11th of March, 1799, Macpherson was appointed by President Adams Brigadier-General of the Provisional Army, and was selected to command the troops despatched to Northampton County, Pa., to quell Fries's insurrection against the house and land tax, the last military duty discharged by him. General Macpherson was an original Member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, of which he was Vice-President from 1807 until the close of his life, being chosen Assistant-Secretary of the General Society in 1790, and Treasurer in 1799. He also became a Member of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia (to which his father likewise belonged) in 1791, and for many years held the honorable position

of President of that Society. During the life of Mrs. Macpherson General Macpherson resided for some time at No. 66 Spruce Street (probably his father-in-law's old residence), and afterwards at No. 8 North Eighth Street, in our city, making his country-seat at Stouton, on Poor Island (already spoken of), inherited by Mrs. Macpherson from her grandfather Peter Keen, her uncle Reynold Keen's interest in the plantation* having been purchased by her husband in 1784. Mrs. Macpherson d. in Philadelphia, December 25, 1797, aged 33 years, and was bur. the next day in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Wicacoa. In 1799 General Macpherson removed to a house on the north side of Chestnut Street, "opposite Morris's building," adjoining that occupied by Commodore Dale the following year. Five years after the death of Mrs. Macpherson, General Macpherson took as his second wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rt. Rev. William White, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, and aunt of Mary Harrison White who married the Rev. James Montgomery, D.D., a descendant of Jöran Kyn already mentioned. General Macpherson d. at Stouton, November 5, 1813, "in the fifty-eighth year of his age, after a long and painful illness which he bore with great fortitude."† "The greater part of his life had been spent in the active service of his country, and he was universally beloved for his urbanity and generosity, and respected for his integrity, honour, and patriotism."‡ His remains repose in a tomb, adjoining his father's, immediately in the rear of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, in Philadelphia.§ He left issue by both wives.

85. REYNOLD KEEN,⁵ son of Peter Keen, was born in the Island of Barbadoes about 1738. He passed most of his life

* Together with Reynold Keen's "undivided half" of twenty-four acres of ground on the opposite side of Gunner's Run, purchased by Reynold Keen and Joseph Stout in 1771. General Macpherson's old mansion, with a portion of Stouton, northwest of the present Indiana and Kensington Avenues, in the Twenty-fifth Ward of Philadelphia, is still held by Mrs. Hornor.

† Obituary notice in Poulson's *Advertiser*, November 19, 1813.

‡ Article on William Macpherson in Thomas J. Rogers's *Biographical Dictionary* (Third Edition, Easton, Penn., 1824)—source of all memoirs of General Macpherson hitherto printed, from which also several statements in the text are drawn. Mr. Rogers gives the long letter of General Washington to Wayne and Irvine, mentioned above (dated "Headquarters, Tappan, August 11, 1780"), from the original in the possession of a member of General Macpherson's family. It is as remarkable for excellence of argument as for the dignity and courtesy of its expostulatory tone.

§ A miniature portrait of General Macpherson is in the possession of Mrs. Hornor.

in Philadelphia, engaged in mercantile pursuits, dwelling for many years before his death at No. 20 South Sixth Street, between Market and Chestnut. Besides owning a considerable amount of property in the city, he also acquired land in Somerset and Wayne Counties, Pa. With George Clymer, John Cadwalader, Lambert Cadwalader, John Nixon, and William Jackson (elsewhere mentioned in this genealogy), and other noted gentlemen, he was elected to represent the City and Liberties of Philadelphia in the Provincial Convention of Pennsylvania, held January 23-28, 1775. A year or so after this, Mr. Keen removed to Reading, Pa., and was appointed April 21, 1777, a "Commissioner for the County of Berks, to audit and settle the Accounts of the Militia and flying Camp of the said County, for Arms and accoutrements purchased by the Officers of those Corps, and the property of persons lost in actual service; also the Accounts of those persons who have been killed, died in the service of the States, or were made prisoners."* Early in the following year Mr. Keen returned to Philadelphia, then occupied by General Howe, leaving his family of eight children, including his young niece, Miss Peggy Stout, in charge of his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Barry, and other persons at Reading. This step induced suspicion of his loyalty to the cause of the Colonies, and a "vendue" of his personal goods was ordered by Colonel Henry Haller on the 21st of February.† He was also required by an Act of General Assembly, passed March 6, 1778,‡ to

* *Colonial Records*, vol. xi. p. 146. Mr. Keen's fellow-commissioners were Francis Richardson, Collinson Read, James Biddle, and Henry Haller.

† For some particulars of this business, see letters between Colonel Haller and Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, printed in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. iii. pp. 176-9.

‡ The first law of the kind enacted for our Commonwealth, prescribing the mode of dealing with property of loyalists. The persons named in it besides Reynold Keen are: Joseph Galloway and Andrew Allen, Esquires, Members of Congress for Pennsylvania; John Allen, Esquire, Member of the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; William Allen, the younger, Esquire, Captain, and afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel, in the service of the United Colonies; James Rankin,

render himself to a Judge of the Supreme Court, or a Justice of the Peace of one of the Counties of Pennsylvania, on or before the 20th^o day of April next, to abide his trial for treason to the Commonwealth. Mr. Keen's situation in Philadelphia preventing his receiving notice of this law until the middle of April, and his being "in the power of the enemy" making it impossible for him to comply with its demands, he incurred the penalty enacted, viz., attainder as a traitor, forfeiting his property to the State. Afterwards, in August, he petitioned the Assembly to relieve him from the effects of the former Act, either by passing "an Act of oblivion and indemnity in his favour, or, at least, admitting him to a trial," accompanying his request by a certificate "from divers inhabitants of Philadelphia, testifying that his conduct and behaviour, while in the city, was innocent and inoffensive, and that he was considered by the British army as inimical to their cause."* This petition was, at first, dismissed by the House, but a renewal of his application secured the passage of an Act, November 26, annulling the former one, so far as it regarded the person of Mr. Keen, provided he rendered himself to one of the Justices of the Supreme Court on or before the first day of December next, abiding his "trial for any treason or misprision of treason, that he is, has been, or may be charged with." The condition was complied with by Mr. Keen's presenting himself on the 28th of the month to the Chief-Justice of the Court, a procedure which resulted in his "discharge from prosecution." Notwithstanding these facts, the Supreme Executive Council of the State conceived Mr. Keen's property to be still liable to

of York County; Jacob Duché, the younger, Chaplain to Congress; Gilbert Hicks, of Bucks County; Samuel Shoemaker, Alderman of the City of Philadelphia; John Potts, of Philadelphia County; Nathaniel Vernon, Sheriff of Chester County; Christian Fouts, Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia of Lancaster County; and John Biddle, Collector of Excise for Berks County, and Deputy-Quartermaster in the Colonial Army. All of these gentlemen suffered confiscation of their estates, except John Allen, who died before the day appointed for trial.

* *Minutes of General Assembly*, August 21, 1778. The petition was dismissed August 31.

sequestration, and June 16, 1779, ordered the Secretary to write to the Agents for Forfeited Estates in Philadelphia, reminding them of their duty in the premises. Mr. Keen's remonstrances were unavailing until the passage, September 14, by General Assembly, of a Resolution granting him "leave to bring in a bill for revesting such parts of his estate in him as were not sold before he surrendered himself to the Justices of the Supreme Court of this Commonwealth"*—enacted into a law October 6. On the 11th of the latter month (with Joseph Stamper and several others) Mr. Keen took an oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania, explicitly affirming, that "since the Declaration of Independence" he had "never abetted or in any wise countenanced the King of Great Britain, his generals, fleets, armies, or their adherents, in their claims upon these United States, and that" he had "ever since the Declaration of Independence thereof demeaned" himself "as a faithful citizen and subject to this or some one of the United States."† Mr. Keen was designated one of the Signers of Bills of Credit authorized by our Province, February 26, 1773, as well as of a later issue of the State under an Act passed in 1785.‡ His name is appended to a petition to the Hon. Richard Penn respecting the improvement of a road in the Northern Liberties in 1773,§ and November 5, 1789, he was accepted, with two other gentlemen, as surety for the faithful performance of his office as Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania by Daniel Brodhead, whose nomination he had solicited from the Supreme Executive Council.¶ In the latter year, under the Act of March 11, 1789, incorporating "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citi-

* *Ibid.*, in loco. Cf. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, June 16 and 21, August 21, and September 14, 1779. Some of the statements in the text are made on the authority of the Acts of Assembly cited.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. iii. pp. 39 and 46.

‡ *A Brief Review of the Financial History of Pennsylvania*, by Benjamin M. Nead, pp. 53 and 54 (Harrisburg, 1881).

§ *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. x. pp. 718-9.

¶ *Ibid.* vol. xi. pp. 631-2. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, November 5, 1789.

zens of Philadelphia," he was elected (with John Nixon and Joseph Swift, elsewhere spoken of) one of the fifteen Aldermen of our city, a position he held the rest of his life. In virtue of this office he became a member of what was known as the Mayor's Court, and exercised the functions of a Justice of the Peace, sometimes sitting in the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia. May 8, 1794, he was duly commissioned Associate-Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for our City and County. Like his father, Peter Keen, he was a Contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was one of the four Wardens to whom (with the Rector, and sixteen Vestrymen, one of them his cousin Jacob Keen) was granted by the Proprietors, Thomas and Richard Penn, the Charter of the "United Swedish Lutheran Churches of Wicacoa, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion," September 25, 1765, and continued to hold the position of Warden or Vestryman of these Congregations until his death. Mr. Keen married, first (Gloria Dei Church Register), October 21, 1762, his cousin Christiana Stille, daughter of John and Sarah (Keen) Stille, already mentioned, born in 1744. Mrs. Keen was heiress-at-law and residuary legatee of Mr. Stille, and inherited the greater part of her father's land in Moyamensing, most of which was subsequently devised by Mr. Keen to their surviving children. She died in Reading, Pa., November 3, 1777, aged thirty-three years, and lies buried in Christ Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, in that city, the inscription on her tombstone testifying to her "life of piety and benevolence." Mr. Keen was married, secondly, by the Rev. William White, rector of Christ and St. Peter's Churches, Philadelphia, June 6, 1780, to Patience, widow of Joseph Worrell,* and daughter of Alexander Barclay, Esq., of Philadelphia,† by his first

* To whom she was married (St. Paul's Church Register, Philadelphia) August 4, 1772.

† Younger son of David Barclay, of London, England (by his first wife, Anne Taylor), founder of the house of David Barclay & Sons, which enjoyed a larger share of the confidence and trade of the mercantile community of Philadelphia, during the middle of the last century, than any other firm in London; and grandson of the noted Quaker Apologist, Robert Barclay, of

wife, Anne, daughter of Robert and Patience Hickman. Mrs. Keen died without issue, in Philadelphia, January 4, 1781, in the twenty-ninth year of her age, and is buried with her father and step-mother, Rebecca (Robinson) Barclay, in St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, in our city. Mr. Keen survived her also, and married, thirdly (Gloria Dei Church Register), May 30, 1782, Anne Lawrence, daughter of Elisha Lawrence, of Chestnut Grove, Upper Freehold Township, Monmouth Co., New Jersey,* by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Doctor John Brown, born in 1741. Mrs. Keen survived her husband, and, in 1806, removed from our city to Burlington, New Jersey, where she died, in the

Urie, some time Governor of East Jersey, head of an honorable Scottish family of great antiquity. Alexander Barclay was born in London about 1712, and was, probably, brought up in the religious belief of his father and grandfather, but, if so, soon abandoned it, and, obtaining a commission in the Royal Army, for several years led a very reckless life, and dissipated a considerable estate derived from his mother. To mend his fortunes, he came to Philadelphia, about 1747, and soon after secured the position of Comptroller of the Customs, an office he held until his death, January 12, 1771, aged fifty-eight years. Mrs. Keen's brother, Robert Barclay, returned to England, and entered his uncle James Barclay's bank, but some years later purchased Thrales's famous brewery, by which he acquired immense wealth. His great-grandson is the present representative of the Barclays of Mathers and Urie. (For further information with regard to this family, tracing their descent from Roger Berchelai, described in Domesday Book as holding land in Gloucestershire, England, *temp.* Edward the Confessor, see *Burke's Landed Gentry*, and Jerome B. Holgate's *American Genealogy*.)

* Son of Elisha Lawrence, b. in 1666, who commenced business as a merchant, in the latter part of the 17th century, at Cheesequakes, on the south side of Raritan Bay, in Monmouth County, N. J., but, after the pillage of his store by the crew of a French privateer, removed to Upper Freehold Township (then a wilderness), giving to his new home the name of "Chestnut Grove." Mr. Lawrence represented his county in the Provincial Assembly for 1707, and d. at "Chestnut Grove," May 27, 1724. His wife (Mrs. Keen's grandmother) was Lucy Stout, of the same family, probably, as Captain Joseph Stout, who m. Reynold Keen's half-sister, Mary Keen. Mrs. Keen's brother, John Brown Lawrence, attorney-at-law, was elected Treasurer of New Jersey soon after the Revolution; and her nephew, Captain James Lawrence, attained distinction in our Navy. (For some account of this family, see Holgate's work just cited, pp. 215-6.)

seventy-second year of her age, August 1, 1823. She lies buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Wicacoa. Mr. Keen died in Philadelphia, August 29, 1800, in the sixty-third year of his age, and was buried in his father's tomb in Gloria Dei Churchyard.*

By his first wife, Christiana Stille, Reynold Keen had eleven children :

241. HENRIETTA, b. July 8, 1763. She resided in Philadelphia, where she d. unm., November 19, 1831, and was bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard.
242. SARAH, b. August 1, 1764; d. August 4, 1765; bur. *ibid.*
243. ANN, b. January 28, 1766; bur. *ibid.* August 10, 1767.
244. PETER. He was a Contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1786, and in 1787 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of the State of Pennsylvania. He removed afterwards to St. Paul's Parish, in the District of Charleston, South Carolina, where he resided in 1800, engaged in the practice of his profession. He d. unm. in South Carolina.
245. REYNOLD, b. January 28, 1768. He removed from Philadelphia to Atsion Furnace, in New Jersey, and d. in Mansfield Township, Burlington Co., about 1835, leaving issue by his wife Sarah. Mrs. Keen d. in the same township in 1843.
246. MARY, b. April 16, 1769. She m. Charles Evans, of Reading, Pa., b. March 30, 1768, a gentleman of fortune, whose character is thus portrayed on a monument in the Charles Evans Cemetery, founded by him, just out of the town where he resided : " An eminent lawyer, learned, faithful, eloquent; an exemplary citizen, publick-spirited, and generous; and in every sphere of his long and useful life conscientious, upright, and honourable." Mr. Evans d. at Reading, September 6, 1847, and is interred in the Cemetery which bears his name. Mrs. Evans was a lady of rare mental accomplishments, including the gift of poesy. She d. s. p. in Reading, August 30, 1838, " beloved and lamented," and was bur. in Christ Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, her remains being afterwards removed to the Charles Evans Cemetery. Her epitaph speaks of her as " eminent for the powers of her mind and the benevolence of her heart," and applies to her the lines of Pope on Rowe :

"Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest,
Blest in thy genius, in thy love, too, blest."

* A life-size portrait of Mr. Keen is in the possession of the family of his daughter, the late Mrs. Charles Kinsey, of Burlington, N. J., and a miniature likeness of him is owned by his son-in-law, the Hon. Alexander Hamilton, of St. Louis, Mo.

247. RICHARD SETTLE, b. December 30, 1770; bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard, June, 1775.
248. JOHN, b. May 29, 1772; bur. *ibid.* the same month.
249. BENJAMIN, bapt. July 7, 1775; d. s. p. before his father.
250. CHRISTIANA, b. in 1776. She d. unm. at the home of her older sister in Reading, Pa., December 15, 1800, "aged twenty-four years," and is bur. in Christ Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, in that city, her tombstone bearing the following verses (of no mean merit) by Mrs. Evans:

"Hers were the virtues, blended and refined,
The soft affections, of a female mind;
Worth, that ne'er sought for praise, yet claimed applause;
Lips, that ne'er swerved from truth's unerring laws;
Hands ever ready to relieve distress:
Her heart was free to give; her tongue to bless.
With patience, firmness, faith, and hope, supplied—
Beloved, lamented, and resigned—she died."

251. SARAH, b. in Reading, Pa., October 14, 1777. She was m. by the Rt. Rev. William White, at Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 25, 1812, to James Cooper,* half-brother of Commodore Richard Dale, who m. her cousin, Dorothy Crathorne. Mr. Cooper was b. at Norfolk, Virginia, and became successfully engaged as a captain in the merchant-service of Philadelphia. He joined the Society for the Relief of Masters of Ships in July, 1802. He d. at his residence on the south side of Walnut Street, above Twelfth, in our city, March 18, 1839, in the 62d year of his age. Mrs. Cooper survived her husband, and d. in the same house, January 19, 1859. They are bur. in the same grave at Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia. They left issue.†

By his third wife, Anne Lawrence, Reynold Keen had nine children:

252. LAWRENCE, b. September 4, 1783. He d. s. p. some years after his father.
253. ELISHA, b. November 12, 1784. He followed his father's occupation of merchant, trading with China, and lived in 1817 in New York City. He d. in New Orleans, La., leaving issue by his wife Isabella.

* Brother of the Rev. Samuel Cooper, a devout priest of the Catholic Church (to which he gave a considerable part of his estate), who died at Bordeaux, France, in 1843.

† For most of my information with regard to the children of Reynold and Christiana (Stille) Keen I am indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Cooper's son-in-law, Mr. Edward E. Law, who possesses a graceful portrait of Mrs. Keen, painted by Charles Wilson Peale about 1774.

254. ELIZABETH, b. September 4, 1786. She accompanied her mother to Burlington, where she m. (St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church Register), April 9, 1812, Charles Kinsey, youngest son of the Hon. James Kinsey, LL.D., some time Member of the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey, and of the Continental Congress, and for the last fourteen years of his life Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, by his wife Hannah Decow, of Burlington,* and grandson of the Hon. John Kinsey,† for many years Member and Speaker of the General Assembly, and Trustee of the Loan Office, Attorney-General, and for the last seven years of his life Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Kinsey was b. in Burlington, N. J., January 31, 1783, and studied law in the office of the Hon. William Griffith, of that place, with whom he afterwards entered into partnership. He continued to dwell in the same city (where he was reputed "a conscientious, well-read lawyer") throughout his life, excepting for a short period, when he held the office of Surrogate of Burlington County, and resided at Mount Holly. He d. in Burlington, May 7, 1850, and was bur. in St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Churchyard in that town. Mrs. Kinsey d. there, also, in the 89th year of her age, July 10, 1875, and is bur. in the same cemetery. They left issue.
255. LUCY ANN, b. March 29, 1788. She m. (Register of St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church, Burlington, N. J.), May 30, 1817, George Keppeler Kuhn, son of Peter Kuhn,‡ of Philadelphia, and

* Daughter of Isaac Decow, Jr., of Burlington, and his wife Hannah, daughter of George Nicholson, of Chesterfield Township, Burlington Co., N. J.; and granddaughter of Isaac Decow, of Burlington, Surveyor-General of New Jersey, and his wife Anne Davenport, of Chesterfield Township.

† By his wife Mary, daughter of Philip Kearney, a merchant of Philadelphia. The certificates of marriage (by Friends' ceremony) of both Charles Kinsey's parents and grandparents are in the possession of the family. Mr. Kinsey's great-grandfather, John Kinsey, was a native of England, who resided for a time in Philadelphia (where he m. Sarah Stevens, mother of Chief-Justice James Kinsey), but removed in 1704 to Woodbridge, East New Jersey. He was a Minister in the Society of Friends, and for many years a Member and Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey. It is said (in Smith's *History of New Jersey*, and elsewhere) that he was a son of John Kinsey, one of the Commissioners sent out by the Proprietors of West Jersey in the ship *Kent* in 1677 (who died at Shackamaxon soon after his arrival on the Delaware)—a statement which seems, however, to require corroboration. Biographical notices of the Kinseys are given in *The Friend*, vol. xxxi. pp. 84, 92-3, and 101. There is a portrait of James Kinsey in the capitol at Trenton, N. J.

‡ Brother of Doctors John and Frederick Kuhn, of Lancaster, and of Adam Kuhn, M.D., Professor of Botany and Materia Medica in the College

grandson of Doctor Adam Simon Kuhn, a native of Swabia, who emigrated with his father, John Christopher Kuhn, to Pennsylvania, in 1733, and settled in Lancaster, where for several years he held the office of Justice of the Peace. Mr. Kuhn's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Henry Kepple, a native of Treschklingen, Baden,* who emigrated to Philadelphia in 1738, and became a prosperous merchant. Mr. Kepple was a Member of the General Assembly of our Province in 1764, and was one of the citizens who signed the "Non-Importation Resolutions" of 1765. He was a prominent member and officer of St. Michael's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia (of which his son-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth, was minister for over forty years), and the first President of the German Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. Kuhn became a partner with his father in the business of auctioneer and commission-merchant in our city, which he afterwards conducted in his own name. Mrs. Kuhn d. in Lewes, Delaware. Mr. Kuhn is also dead. They left issue.

256. RICHARD, bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard, May 20, 1795.
257. ANN LE CONTE. She d. unm. August 14, 1854, and is bur. in St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, Burlington, N. J.
258. JOHN BROWN, b. January 28, 1793. He is supposed to have d. s. p. soon after attaining his majority.
259. LEWIS, b. July 15, 1795. He entered the Navy of the United States, and d. young at sea.
260. JULIANA, b. March 27, 1799. She m., June 6, 1835, Alexander Hamilton, a native of Trenton, N. J., who studied law in Burlington, N. J., and resides, at present, in St. Louis, Mo., where he served for several years as Judge of the State Circuit Court. Mrs. Hamilton d. in St. Louis, April 16, 1880, leaving issue.

of Philadelphia, and of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. For some account of their father see Alexander Harris's *Biographical History of Lancaster County*. He was a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January, 1775.

* Son of Leonhard Kepple, *ritterschaftlicher Amtmann* of that place, and Eva Dorothea, daughter of *Amtmann* Heinrich Schuhmann, of Ittlingen. Mrs. Kuhn's mother was Anna Catharina Barbara Bauer, granddaughter of Caspar Wüster, of Hilsbach, ancestor of the Wister and Wistar families of Philadelphia. For a biographical notice of John Henry Kepple see Prof. Oswald Seidensticker's interesting *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*, pp. 277-9.

(To be continued.)

**A REMINISCENCE OF DOCTOR CHARLES NESBIT
OF DICKINSON COLLEGE.**

BY JAMES DUNCAN.

[The Historical Society has lately received two manuscript notices of Dr. Charles Nesbit of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. The one is by Judge Brackenridge, the other by James Duncan, Auditor-General of Pennsylvania from 1821 to 1824. Mr. Duncan removed to Texas, where he died; he was the brother of Judge Thomas Duncan, and an uncle of the Hon. Robert J. Walker. The sketch by him is here printed.]

Dr. Nesbit was unanimously elected Principal of Dickinson College by the Board of Trustees, the 8th of April, 1784. The meeting was one of the fullest and most respectable that was ever held. In the list of members present on the occasion appeared the names of those accomplished scholars and patrons of science, His Excellency John Dickinson, President of the Board, and Dr. Benj. Rush of Philadelphia. Mr. Dickinson, agreeably to order of the Board, writes to Dr. Nesbit on the 22d of April, notifying him of the appointment. Dr. Nesbit answers this letter from Edinburgh the 30th of June, 1784, acknowledging the receipt of the letter, and of the minute of his appointment; but wishing to put the matter into deliberation by his friends, he begs for further information respecting the nature of the office, the powers and duties of the Principal, and requests to be furnished with a copy of the Charter. Mr. Dickinson lays this communication before the Board, who address Dr. Nesbit in a letter of the 29th Sept., giving in detail every proper explanation and information together with the copy of the Charter as desired. The doctor at length accepts. He sails from Greenock the 23d of April, 1785, and lands in Philadelphia the 9th June following. On his arrival he meets with the warmest reception; and among the literary characters who wait on him, Dr. Rush, who had been so instrumental in his invitation, election, and acceptance of the

charge, is the first to take him by the hand; he receives from him all those marks of politeness and hospitality so pleasing to the stranger, and so grateful to the foreigner. He and his family remain with the doctor until he sets out on his journey for Carlisle, where the college over which he was appointed to preside, was fixed. He arrives at the end of his journey on the 4th of July, that memorable anniversary of American Liberty and Independence, which he had so warmly advocated in his native country. A large concourse of citizens had assembled at the Boiling Spring, the seat of Mr. Ege, to commemorate the day; being apprised of the approach of the doctor, they send a deputation together with the Carlisle Troop of Horse to escort him. He remains with the company assembled on this occasion until the evening, when he enters the town amidst the most general congratulations. On the 5th of July the oath of office is administered to him, but he had scarcely entered upon its duties, ere he and his family were visited with the most afflicting illness, which continued with such unabated violence as to discourage them to such a degree as to bring the doctor to the resolution of relinquishing the charge, and of returning with his family to his own country, in consequence of their bad state of health. He sends in his resignation on the 18th of Oct., which the Board receive with the deepest sorrow, and accept with the utmost reluctance; but health returning with the returning spring, he was unanimously re-elected Principal on the 10th May, 1786. He immediately resumes the duties of the appointment, and such was his zeal, his fidelity and attention to discharge them, *that he was never absent a single day from the college, until he was seized with that fatal illness which deprived us of him.*

In addition to his collegiate charge, he regularly preached in the Presbyterian church alternately with Dr. Davidson the stated pastor; and so great was his devotion to the cause of religion and truth, that he delivered a long course of theological lectures to several classes.

All his various and extensive lectures on logic, metaphysics, on moral philosophy, criticism on the beauties of

the classics, on heathen mythology, and on theology were composed and prepared after he came to this country, and not infrequently were the lectures of the day written only on the night preceding.

The first commencement was held the 26th day of Sept., 1787, when nine young gentlemen received from his hand the first degree into the arts; since which there have graduated no less than 153, and what is no less remarkable than true, and equally honorable to both, no instance ever occurred of any student leaving the walls of the college with the least portion of rancor or ill-will against him—indeed they all loved him as their father—they respected him as their teacher and revered him as a seer.

In his last illness his bodily sufferings appeared most severe, but they were borne without repining. He preserved entire almost to the last all his faculties, except the one which he possessed in such eminent perfection; his memory failed him nearly on the first attack of the disorder, and he never recovered it so collectedly as to enable him to enter upon any lengthy discourse. All his intervals were appropriated to the service of his God, as he lived without attending to the worldly matters of this life, so he died without making any testamentary disposition of his estate. He evaded all conversation which led to this subject, or received it with evident dissatisfaction. When a friend happened to introduce a conversation respecting his works, such was his unaffected modesty, that he appeared offended at the proposition of publishing them.

Every testimonial of respect was paid to his memory; his funeral was large and public. The trustees and students feeling the sincerest grief for their loss, attended his remains to the grave in the character of mourning relations; and a resolution passed the board recommending the wearing of black crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

The friendship which subsisted between Dr. Nesbit and the many literary and dignified characters in Scotland and England, with whom he was connected, was not dissolved by his crossing the Atlantic. After his arrival in this

country, the correspondence was continued till his death; and among the various letters of his numerous correspondents are those of Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, the Earl of Buchan, the Countess of Leven and Melville (formerly Lady Mary Wilhelmina Nesbit), Dr. Thos. Davidson, Dr. McKenzie of Glasgow, Dr. Keith of Morpeth in England, etc.

Few remarkable incidents have happened in his life; indeed there can be but little variety in the life of a man of letters placed in the same sphere of action in which Providence had cast his lot. The occurrences which take place are for the most part not of that dazzling nature which are most likely to attract the admiration of the multitude—to strike the fancy and command the *eclat* of the world. A philosopher who pretends to have made some wonderful discovery in “air” or in the vegetable world, generally receives more flattering notice than the man who composes volumes for the *culture* of “*Mind*,” the advancement of moral and ethical knowledge, and the improvement of youth.

The life of Dr. Nesbit can only be learned from his *death*. It is from his writings and his works that the world will be able to form any correct judgment of his usefulness and worth.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Nov. 8, 1880. Vice-President Mr. Horatio Gates Jones in the chair.

It being the One Hundred and Ninety-eighth Anniversary of the arrival of William Penn at Upland (now Chester), a large number of members of the Society and their friends were present.

On motion, the order of business was suspended, and the reading of the minutes dispensed with.

After some appropriate remarks, the chairman introduced James J. Levick, M.D., who read a paper entitled "John ap Thomas and his Friends," a contribution to the history of the settlement of Merion, Pennsylvania, by the Welsh Quakers, in 1682. (The address of Dr. Levick and the document he exhibited have since been printed in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, see Vol. IV. pp. 301 and 471.)

Upon the conclusion of the reading, Dr. Caspar Wister gave an account of visits he had paid to places in Wales, the names of which had been given to localities in Merion spoken of by Dr. Levick in his address.

Upon motion of Dr. Wister, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Levick for his valuable paper.

A minute prepared by the President, commemorative of the late Peter McCall, who had been a member of the Society since 1830, was then read and ordered to be entered on the minute-book.

An adjourned meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Jan. 14, 1881, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

Gen. Henry B. Carrington, U.S.A., author of the *Battles of the American Revolution*, was introduced to the audience, and read a paper entitled "The Strategy of the American Revolution, or Washington as a Soldier."

At the conclusion of the address, the thanks of the Society, on motion of Mr. Francis S. Hoffman, were voted to Gen. Carrington, for his admirable address.

The chairman called the attention of the meeting to the marble bust of Chief Justice John Marshall, which stood by the side of his chair, and who had been referred to by Gen. Carrington notably at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. The bust had been presented on the previous evening to the Law Association of Philadelphia by the testamentary executors of the late Peter McCall, by whom it had been bequeathed, that Association having met in the Hall of the Society to listen to the reading of a memoir of Mr. McCall by Isaac Hazlehurst, Esq.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS OF MAJ. JOHN ARMSTRONG, JR., TO HIS FATHER GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.—Copies of the letters here given, in the handwriting of the late Winthrop Sargent, are in the collections of the Historical Society. They are printed with Mr. Sargent's remarks.

26th Feb. 178 .

Hon'd Sir—

Your last (and I suppose only letter of the 3d of January, seems to have had a passage of as much violence as delay. It came to my hands open, tattered & late in February. It was not, however, the less welcome, and I thank you very sincerely for it. Your interpretation of my silence was well founded. I waited indeed for a conveyance by Reid, but his business has depended so much upon (the trial?) and so little upon himself, as to have deceived us both, m (? more?) than once. It now begins to assume a more (favourable?) complexion. He is at length acquitted by the Court & the Gen. has approved the sentence—but it is still doubtful whether at this point of time leave of absence can be obtained.

The prospects of peace must have long since extended themselves to you, & founded as they are cannot be an improper subject of congratulation. They were received here with universal pleasure:—from whence I am led to infer that the death of the American Army will carry as strong marks of honor and patriotism as its life. It seems to be the wish of every rank to return to the walks of private life, and live upon the reflection of having sav'd their country. There are some symptoms from New York which seem to corroborate & others from abroad which seem to retard our hopes. The wise ones class the sailing of D'Estaing's fleet under the last head, & so positive are the french officers upon this score as to offer betts of three to one that we shall have another campaign. Among these, are the Duke de Lauzun and Du pertail the Engineer, whose connections and character give them some access to the french Cabinet, & whose Opinion therefore are not to be received as merely speculative. Though I may not wish to risk money upon Opinion, yet I cannot think with them. We once believed it to have been the War of the Minister, we now know it to have been the war of the King—and if we but contemplate the nature of Obstinacy, which is certainly his prevailing passion, we must conclude that necessity alone has driven him into treaty and will force him into peace. Unlike the other passions of the mind, obstinacy yields only to force, and when it breaks it breaks like glass,—there's no uniting the pieces—It wants the power of recruiting itself,—It gives entire way and tho' it yields with reluctance it yields without qualification or reserve. If I cannot have all, I will have none, is the language of an Obstinate Man.

The politicks of your State seem to be as inveterate & not less temporizing. I have seen all the pieces to which you alude & with some few exceptions, they are wretched indeed. Mr. Reid's pamphlet, which had not appeared when your letter was written, will do him much honor. There is a great deal of the dignity of a retiring Governor in it. But do you imagine that a man of Cadwallader's abounding pride and deficient wisdom, will kiss the rod or sit quietly under it. Is anything so sensibly humble to be expected from him? Provocation has already produced reply—Reply will beget rejoinders—& thus the wound will go on festering till the knife becomes necessary for the Cure.

There's a Valerius too—whose papers discover a great deal of fire, & some Genius—an angry, turbulent fellow, who makes our unoffending Presid^t his object. It is cruel to disturb his term of Sufferings & toil till October next—especially when We consider the bed of thorns he has sat upon for 6 long years and the many disappointments Civil & Military he has met with.

I cannot be offended at your decision upon the business in which engaged. But was it not rather premature. Had the place opened itself to my acceptance, I would not have rejected it. The only prospect it held out to introduction. I viewed it in no other point of light. Some objections I think I can foresee. Party Spirit rising high—interest pointing one way, inclination perhaps leading another. But was it necessary that I should mingle in the strife at all—that the second important step of my life should like the first, be made into the fire? Certainly no. As it now stands, I know not how to turn myself. The more I look forward into life, the more I am embarrass'd in my choice. Law has its promises, but not without extreme labor—drudgery. In this profession, assiduity itself will not do—to succeed you must be a Student for life. For trade I feel myself entirely disqualified. I want y^e love of wealth that warms the merchant's breast, & interests him in y^e acquisition of it. I want that kind of industry that can pry into Corners and draw lines, almost invisible, between a good & a bad bargain. If I have anything speculative about me, it exerts itself in another way & upon other subjects. What then am I to do? I believe after all I could accept your proposal and go into the envied quiet of a farmer's life. I may have industry eno' to raise hogs & horses. I must be governed by the length of the Campaign. and desired me to return his compliments to you. Gen. Gates is not without his ache in this cold Climate. My love to my Mother and believe me to be with the highest respect your most obedient servant and affectionate son
JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To GEN. JOHN ARMSTRONG, Carlisle.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th May 1781.

Hon'd Sir,

My brother's stay in town was so short, & his going of so unexpected, as to leave me without a moment to address a line to you. As to the General's affair, it is yet undetermin'd. Like other great men he has his friends & enemies & I hope the first are among the best, if not the most powerful public characters. The civilities of all are readily and cheerfully paid & I am led to hope that their good offices will not be confin'd to the narrow limits of meer politeness. They will eventually do him Justice. His memorial now rest with the General, from whom he expects an answer on the morrow. Bob Morris sets a high price upon his services and absolutely refused to act without an unqualified right of private commerce,—a power to displace and create at pleasure every public officer who stands at all connected with his office and employment and the sole authority of contracting for the various supplies of the army, &c. Congress gave him all—like a young man just come to the possession of a large but intricate estate who after many virtuous and great efforts to clear and ascertain it—in some indolent, wicked or capricious moment he grows tired of acting for himself—and calls in to his aid, one of those fellows who had helped to ruin and squander and perplex it. "Here" says he—"take my papers and my money, but allow me a bare subsistence—Do with them what you will: I am too great a fool to do my own business." I have not sought very long for the simile. It struck me as a just one—You may think differently. McDougal refuses the place of Marine Secretary, without the most express reservation of his Military rank, &c. Dr. Arthur Lee, Lovell and Young Hamilton are in nomination for the foreign correspondence. The War Office is in statu quo. Thus stagnate is every Department. Part of the public provisions, I have been told confi-

dentially, is now selling to transport the rest. Speculative knolege seems to be all that's aimed at—and in the diversity of opinion about the medicine, the patient may perish. Dont be astonished if in the abounding *public Weakness or Wickedness*—a certain Gen—be raised to the obnoxious name and place of Dictator. It has been proposed, and is now in agitation. This amounts to a little less than a plea of Insolvency. C—s confess themselves bankrupt in credit, sense, honesty and spirit: for in giving up the Sword to one and the Purse to another they annihilate their own authority. Your friend Sam. Adams has left this place much displeas'd and in a temper to awaken the jealousies if not the resentments of his countrymen and constituents.

A story prevails that the Enemy have embarked the greater part of their force at N. York. Lord Cornwallis and Graves succeed Clinton and Arbutnot who are recall'd to England. A Rebellion prevails in Scotland and another and more formidable Insurrection begins to appear in Ireland. The so long expected 2d Division of the French fleet has at length sailed for this Coast with 10,000 land forces, to cooperate with those already here and our Army. The Siege of Gibraltar is urged with great prowess and industry. The allied force in the West Indies is increased, and Gen. Conway (our acquaintance) has sailed from France with a large Army against the British Settlements in the East Indies. I have given you the news of the day. Thus you find us willing to accommodate events to our own wants and wishes, and ballance, if possible, the evils we feel, by advantages in prospect. I have almost filled my paper, and must close by telling you that the extravagance and dissipation of this town exceeds any conception of your's at so good a distance from it. I wish to be gone. Adieu. Your's affectly.

GEN. ARMSTRONG.

J. ARMSTRONG.

The Presid^t is well, and all of your friends whom I have seen. Adams told me he had written you,—have you rece'd his letter? Nicholls sent the Spurs. The Gown he has not yet procured. The simple fact is as far as I can collect that he cannot in so great a scarcity and such frequent calls of his own for money, find himself well at liberty to buy it. My love to Mamy. We propose setting off from hence on Tuesday next—we shall take Reading in our Route. Expect us with you sometime in the last of the next Week.

[Mem^o. July the 7th, 1856. The two letters preceding are this evening copied by me from the originals in the possession of Mr. J. C. Fisher, So. 7th St., Philadelphia. The illegible words are left blank in my copies. I am perfectly satisfied that the originals are in the autography throughout of the late John Armstrong, one of Mr. Madison's cabinet, and that they are genuine letters. Addressed to his father, Gen. John Armstrong of Carlisle.—W. SARGENT.]

BRADDOCK'S WILL.—(Extracted from the Principal Registry of Her Majesty's Court of Probate.—In the Prerogative Court of Capterbury.)—**IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I EDWARD BRADDOCK Esquire Major General of His Majesties Forces and Commander in Chief of an Expedition now fitting out for America considering the uncertainty of this life and being now in perfect mind memory and understanding do make and ordain this to be my last will and testament in manner and form following that is to say I give devise and bequeath all my ready money securities for money plate linen furniture and all other my personal estate and effects whatsoever which I am now possessed of or entitled to or which I shall or may be possessed of or entitled to at the time of my decease unto my two good friends Mary Yorke the wife of John Yorke a Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery now on duty at Gibraltar and John Calcraft of Brewer Street**

in the Parish of St. James Westminster Esquire and their heirs and assigns for ever to be equally divided between them share and share alike I do hereby also I give devise and bequeath all and every real estate I may be now entitled to or which I may be in possession of or entitled to at the time of my decease either by purchase or otherwise unto the said Mary Yorke and John Calcraft their heirs and assigns for ever to be equally divided between them share and share alike and it is my will and pleasure and I do hereby declare the same so to be that all moneys or other advantage whatsoever which may accrue to the said Mary Yorke from this my will shall not be subject or liable to the debts or controul of her said husband John Yorke or any future husband but shall be to her own separate use benefit and advantage and I do hereby give her full power and authority to join with the said John Calcraft in giving acquittances or any other necessary discharges in her own name and which shall be as good and effectual notwithstanding her coverture as she could or might have done had she been sole and unmarried and I do hereby nominate constitute and appoint the said Mary Yorke and the said John Calcraft joint EXECUTRIX and EXECUTOR of this my will hereby revoking all former wills by me at any time heretofore made In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty fifth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty four—E. BRADDOCK Signed sealed published and declared by the said testator as and for his last will and testament in our presence who in his presence and at his request and in the presence of each other have subscribed our names as witnesses hereto—THO^s MORGAN—JOS ADDY—JAS RUBINS.

PROVED at London on the 3^d day of September 1755 before the Worshipful Andrew Coltee Ducarel Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the oath of John Calcraft Esquire one of the executors named in the said will to whom admōn was granted he having been first sworn duly to administer Power reserved of making the like grant to Mary Yorke wife of John Yorke the other executor named in the same will when he shall apply for the same.

[We are indebted to Mr. William M. Darlington, of Pittsburg, for the above which is transcribed from a certified copy in his possession.—Ed.]

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO MISS SALLY DROWNE, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 5th, 1774.

Sister Sally,—

With most unfeigned Pleasure I embrace the Opportunity by Mr. Olney to acquaint you of my Welfare, and present situation. I hope this Letter will be received by you, in the peaceful Abode of our honoured indulgent Parents, and in perfect Health. I wrote you word that I arrived here on Sunday about three o'clock, P. M. Monday Afternoon Mr. & Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Rees and her Sister, Polly Morgan, who is sister in Law to Evan Edwards, Bobby Rogers and I took a Walk to the River Schuylkill (about two miles west of [the] Delaware, which runs by the City) to drink 'Tea. You can scarcely conceive of a more delightful Place, than on the Banks of this Beautiful River. There is a small House here for the conveniency of changing Cloaths for those who are baptized here, this being the Place of Baptizing. In this House there is kept Tea Tackling for the convenience of those who drink Tea here. In short, in the aforesaid House we drank 'Tea.

A Day or two after

By Curiosity led forth (all conqu'ring
Pow'r,) my willing Feet transferr'd me where
I might survey America's great Patriots,
Retire from weighty Council.—A Prospect
Glorious!—At the pleasing View; how glow'd
My Bosom!—As many, as the Weeks
The Year contains, so many constitute
Th' illustrious Band.—With manly Gait,
His faithful Steel suspended by his Side,
Pass'd W^l—shl—gt—n along, Virginia's Hero.
* * * * * much is wanting. * * * * *

I am in great Haste, and can go no further in this *heroic and truly sublime* Strain. I have not even time to give the lines their proper measure. 'This Col^d. W'—hi—gt—n is a man noted as well for his good Sense, as his Bravery. I heard, he said, he wished to God! the Liberties of America were to be determined by a single Combat between himself and G—e. I am writing in Mr. W^m. Roger's Study; past 10 o'Clock, and have a great ways to walk to Jere^h Olney's Lodgings. Pray write to me soon and tell D. Kennedy, John Dabney *et als.* to write to me. Give my Love to them, Evan Edwards and any of my acquaintance that make Enquiry after me. Remember me to all Aunt Kinnicutt's Folks, *et als.* Love to Sister Aplin.

Farewell,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO SOLOMON DROWNE, SEN^r, PROVIDENCE, R. I.
PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 5th, 1774.

Honoured Sir,—

In my Letter of the 3^d Instant I wrote but little more than that I had ~~safe~~ arrived; and, indeed, I am so much hurried now that I must be very concise. Soon after my arrival here, having the Curiosity to see all the Delegates together, who constitute the grand Congress, Henry Tillinghast, Bobby Rogers and I went up to the Hall where they meet, for that Purpose. But they had retired before we got there. They assemble at about 9 or 10 o'clock A. M., and break up at about 3 P. M., not meeting but once in a Day. The Lodgings of our Delegates being opposite Carpenter's Hall, we went in to see them, and sat some Time. Gov^r. Hopkins went with us into the Hall, which is a very convenient and somewhat retired Place. He told us there were 52 Delegates in the Whole, whom I have seen since retiring together from Council. My Blood thrilled thro' my Veins at the agreeable, pleasant View of so many noble and sage Patriots, met in the great Cause of Liberty. I saw Mr. Downer, the Day we went into the Hall with Mr. Hopkins, who, I believe, is not a little disappointed (as well as Tho^s. Arnold, who has gone to New York), that he was not admitted into the Congress. However, he told me, that he spent his Time very agreeably in going about the City, and making Observations upon whatever he saw; and indeed nothing escapes his Notice; so that when he returns, he will be capable of giving as good a Description of Philadelphia, its Inhabitants and their Genius, Manners, &c., perhaps as any Man living.

It may be, you heard sometime ago that Gov^r. Hopkins was ill, as indeed he has been since he came here; but he is now well. The Bostonian, Rhode Island and Virginian Delegates, stand among the foremost on the illustrious Roll of true Patriots. I have nothing remarkable to communicate, and must draw to a Conclusion, as I have two Letters to write yet, and carry to Mr. Olney's Lodgings, tho' the Evening is far advanced. I shall board at Mr. W^m. Rogers's where I am now, tho' it is some Distance from where the Lectures was held, and from the Hospitals. I went to Mr. Kinnersley's with Mr. Rogers, a Place which is highly recommended to me, and which is considerably nearer to the College: but he has five Boarders already: So that I could not get a Place more agreeable on all accounts than where I am. Mr. Rogers, M^{rs}. Rogers and Bobby desire to be remembered to yourself, Mother and Sally, and to all enquiring Friends. Pray give my Respects to Aunts Kinnicut and Arnold, and M^r. & M^{rs}. Fenner; And with Mamma accept of my Duty, and hearty Wishes for all your Welfare.

S. DROWNE.

[P. S.] The Report we heard in Providence that Dr. Franklin had arrived here was entirely groundless.

S. D.

[Addressed.] Solomon Drowne, Esq^r. Providence.

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO MISS SALLY DROWNE, PROVIDENCE, R. I.
PHILADELPHIA, NOV^r. 12th, 1775.

Sister Sally,—

Tho' I set in our Chamber alone, retired on purpose to write Letters home; yet so many Things crowd upon my Mind that I scarce know what to begin with, or how to do as I could wish. In short I want to write more Letters and concerning more Affairs than I shall any how have time for. It is some time since the Lectures have begun. To attend five Courses of Lectures (sometimes 3 and 4 Lectures a Day) to copy Notes taken at them, and read on the Subjects the several Professors lecture upon,—add to these attending the Hospital,—these, you must judge, will take up all, I may say more than all the Time of any person studiously disposed. However, I am determin'd to write to you and our dear Parents every good Opportunity: but you must take it as it comes,—Butt end foremost. Not long after we got here, that truly worthy Man, that Friend to America, Peyton Randolph, Esq^r. who was the first President of the Congress, suddenly expired. On the Day his Remains were interred there was a greater collection of People than I had ever seen. The three Battalions were under Arms. Their Standards and Colours were furled with black Gauze: their Drums muffled, and covered with Gauze. The Bells at Christ Church were muffled. There, M^r. Duché preached a most excellent Sermon:—thence the Corpse was carried to the Burying-yard, the way being lined on each side by the Battalions, leaning on their arms reversed. Who, that had a spark of Sensibility, or true Patriotism, could behold the scene and reflect on the occasion, without being melanchollily affected:—yet how many I saw who behaved as if they had come on a Frolic. Sure such Instances sing Reproach on Human Nature.

Saturday before last, afternoon, M^r. Binney, M^r. Dorsey (an amiable young Gentleman from Maryland, who belongs to the College and boards at M^r. Stillman's) and I, took a walk 3 or 4 Miles down the Bank of Delaware; then crossed the River to the Jersey Shore to look at some Chevaux de Frise they were making. They seem well calculated for the Purpose of keeping off piratical Ships, &c. We then walked up on the Jersey-side, and repassed the River at the Ferry opposite the City. Thus we had an agreeable Walk of only 8 or 9 miles. Tomorrow there is to be a Review of the three Battalions, and Tomorrow I suppose we shall move into the House Doc^r. Morgan leaves, who is then with his wife to set out for the Camp. It will not be so convenient for us on account of attending Lectures and Hospital; as where we now live; however, we *must* be reconciled. 14th, Evening. Not moved yet. We were out to see the Battalions, 3 Artillery Companies and Light Horse in their Uniforms reviewed by the Pennsylvania Farmer (who is Col^l. of the 1st Battalion) and the Members of Assembly. Their appearance was very martial. The Day was unpleasant being somewhat rainy. In the Forenoon, before they had all got into the Field, News was brought that St. John's was taken; and they made a fine huzzaing.
* * *

When you go to M^r. Wart's remember me to them all;—tell him I enquired of one of the Members of the Philosophical Society, and that the Troubles of the times have prevented their Transactions being published.
* * * I intend to write to William when Gov^r. Hopkins returns. Give my Compliments to [Miss] E. Russell. I wish you, from my Heart, Health and every Good. Adieu.

Your affectionate Brother,
SOLOMON DROWNE.

[Addressed.] Miss Sally Drowne, Providence.

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO QUARTERMASTER WILLIAM DROWNE, ROXBURY,
MASS.

PHILADELPHIA, Decr. 27th, 1775.

Dear Brother,—

I hope this long silence has not been occasioned by awaiting, each for the other to write first. I am sure if you knew my many Avocations, you would excuse me for not writing before—besides, I wrote last to you. But setting aside Ceremonies and Excuses, which ought to have no Place 'betwixt Friends and Brothers, as we two are,' I will improve this good Opportunity in writing to you,—because I have a sincere Regard for you ;—and make not the least Doubt you will do the same whenever it shall be convenient for you.

At present I am very hearty, tho' I was a good deal indisposed not long after I reached here. I hope you have been so favoured, as that the Diseases most prevalent in Camps, have passed you by. As to News, there is so much flying, that I don't know whether 'tis worth while to begin anything under that head. I suppose the News of Dunmore's Defeat in Virginia will reach you before this Letter. The Ships and Brigs of War fitting out here, are almost ready for a Cruise. Two of them were to have gone down the River last Sunday, had not the plenty of Ice hindered. The Alfred, which is the Commodore's Ship, makes a formidable appearance. She is fitted to carry upwards of 30 Guns. The Columbus, is another noble Ship, upwards of 30 also. The Brigs 16 each. Esek Hopkins is Commodore. Abr^m. Whipple Captain of the Columbus. John Hopkins Captain of the Brig Cabot. Henry Tillinghast, Surgeon's Mate of the Alfred, and Esek Hopkins Jun^r. and Rufus Jenkes Midshipmen. By this you may judge in how high Estimation New England Men are here.

Sally wrote that you had been home, and that when the time of your Inlistment was up, you would return for good and all. Indeed, I applaud you for it. Who would stay in such a berth, and for such wages? First let me go forth as a common Soldier, (say I,) when the Defence of my Country really renders it necessary. My Brother, wherever you are, and whatever you do, provided it be virtuous,—may *HE, who* walketh upon the Wings of the Wind, and looketh with Complacency on the just, beneficent Person,—smile upon you ; keep you from Danger ; surround you with every Blessing.

I am your affectionate Brother,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

[Addressed.] To M^r. William Drowne, Quarter Master, Serg^t. Col. Read's Reg^t. Roxbury.

DR. SOLOMON DROWNE TO LIEUT. WILLIAM DROWNE, RHODE ISLAND.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb^r. 5th, 1776.

Kind Brother,—

I received yours the 2^d Inst. and Sally's, by M^r. Russell, which were to me like a grateful Repast to a hungry Traveller. I congratulate you on your Lieutenancy, and rejoice that in your native Town you are not slighted, however you may have been where you were. Then that Wallace won't be still yet? Perhaps Commodore Hopkins will pay him a Visit soon. You wrote that you had been to Newport, and that Sally and Betsy Cozzens inquired after my Health. I have a good Regard for them, and am very sorry for their, at present, unhappy Situation. If you should go there again soon, give my *best* Compliments to them. You mentioned in your Letter something of the regretted Death of the brave Montgomery. On the Plains of Abraham, "how have the mighty fallen!" *There, heroic Wolfe*.—brave Montcalm fell *there*. There too, the generous Soul of magnanimous *Montgomery* burst forth.

VOL. V.—8

You were misinformed in Regard to Col. Arnold: he was carried out, wounded; but is in a likely way to recover. Captⁿ. Samuel Ward, I heard, is Prisoner in the City. Prescott, who, 'tis said, ordered Allen to be put in Irons, is a prisoner in this City.

You write, a Chief Surgeon, and three Assistants are appointed to the Brigade raising in the Colony, and that you think I might get a berth, as an Assistant. I thank you for advice,—but can't tell what I shall do 'till I get home.

The four Frigates, building here, are very forward. They are making a Chain, to stretch across below the City, each Link of which is so heavy, that I could scarce lift one of them from the Ground. They have a large Number of fire Rafts made, to be chained together, and sent down against any Ship that has no business here. You may rely upon it Mr. Rogers is not aboard of any Ship for I saw him this afternoon.

My Brother, 'tis considerable apast Midnight: I feel weary, and hope you will excuse me if I only write

I am your hearty Well-wisher
and loving Brother,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

[Addressed.] To Mr. William Drowne, Lieut. of Col. Babcock's Company, Rhode Island.

[We are indebted to Henry T. Drowne, Esq., of New York, for the copies from which the letters of Dr. Solomon Drowne are printed.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

FIRST EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN WEST JERSEY.—[We reprint in the Notes an article furnished by Judge Clement to one of the New Jersey papers.]—The following letters may be of interest, showing the first efforts to have the Church of England built up in West New Jersey. Dr. Coxe, a leading member of the established Church, and a favorite at court—he being physician to Queen Anne—became largely interested in West New Jersey, and took steps to secure the services of Mr. Bridges in the undertaking suggested. These letters, for some reasons, were recorded in the office of the Secretary of State, at Trenton, N. J., and have been copied therefrom.

A letter from Daniel Coxe, of London, to Mr. Thomas Bridges, dated August 15, 1692:

“SIR.—I received yours and returned an answer ye last month, but fearing that should not come seasonably to yr hands, and having I hope a safe conveyance, I determined to neglect no opportunity whereby I might manifest ye friendship I cherish for you, and confirm you in favoring a country wherein I am deeply concerned, and whose welfare I would promote, for ye sake of ye inhabitants, abstracted from my own interests, which will, I am very confident, be much advanced by your presence, sound doctrine and exemplary life, and I hope you will thereby reap, not only ye satisfaction of having faithfully served our great master in ye great work of converting and confirming precious immortal souls. But, I verily believe you will be rewarded with ye blessing of a quiet, pleasant, healthful residence, and in ye love and esteem of those who shall voluntarily come under yr pastoral care, with due

maintenance, together with civil and Christian respects for others of different persuasions, besides which you will have ye authority, encouragement, and assistance of those unto whom I have delegated the government of West Jersey, unto whom I have given a character of yr person, an account of your behavior in diverse parts where you have been providentially called. They have signified their satisfaction in a letter which you will receive, I suppose by ye same conveyance which brings this, besides what they have proposed. I doe hereby assure you I will make you a considerable annual allowance, to be paid you in money during my life, if you soe long continue your residence in our provinces. That ye only wise God would counsell you in ye disposall of yourself, prosper and succeed all your generous, pious designs and undertakings, is and shall be the constant, fervent prayer of him who is, d'r sir, your most affectionate friend and faithful servant,

DAN'L COXE.

"August 15, 1692."

"A letter from ye West Jersey Society in England, to Mr. Bridges, dated July 29, 1692 :

" LONDON, ye 29 July, 1692.

SIR.—Wee are informed by Mr. Coxe that you declare yourself inclined, together with diverse other inhabitants of the Bermudas, to remove unto and reside in West Jersey. Wee are very glad a person of yr principles and profession entertain such thoughts, for having received an Hon'll character of you from diverse, wee expect not only benefit should accrue unto the inhabitants by yr pious instructions, accompanied with an exemplary life, but also by your prudential council, in reference to civill and secular affairs whether you have been providentially necessitated to express yourselfe, and as we have been assured, very successfully.

"S'r, if you are confirmed in yr resolution, wee shall give you all ye encouragement, countenance and authority wee are capable of. Many persons in diverse parts of ye country have frequently expressed their desire of a Minister, and assure us they will contribute toward his comfortable subsistence, and pay him all that duty, respect and deference his work deserves, and for that Mr. Coxe hath conveyed unto us ye government of ye country with great part of his land, for your encouragement on your arrivial. Wee will give orders that you may, in what situation you please, take up two thousand acres, one thousand to be your own fee forever, the other to be annexed unto ye office and descend unto him who shall succeed you, whenever it shall please God by your death or otherwise to cause a vacancy. Wee are, besides, contriving some other method whereby to render your station more comfortable, honorable and profitable, and doubt not but wee shall conclude to your full satisfaction, and all those who accompany you shall find fair dealing, encouragement, protection and assistance from

"S'r, your affectionate friends and servants,

" THOS. LANE,
 " EDW. HARRISON,
 " EE. RITCHIE,
 " WM. WRIGHTSMAN,
 " JAMES BIDDINGTON,
 " ROBT. MITCHELL,
 " JOHN JURIN,
 " JAMES ST. JOHN."

Revel's book, page 138, "Surveyed then for Mr. Thomas Bridges on ye east side of Cohansie—alias Caesaria River being part of ye land belonging to ye Hon'ble ye West Jersey Societie one tract of land. Beginning at a corner tree of ye land of said Societie and running from thence east thirty four degrees northerly three hundred and ninety two perches to a corner tree. Then north fourteen degrees easterly seventy perches to ye ridge on ye north

side of Fuller's Creek. Then down ye ridge bounding therewith to ye lines of said township to ye aforesaid ridge. Then down ye said ridge bounding therewith to ye flats. Then west thirty four degrees southerly to Cohansie River. Then down the river bounding therewith till it intersects with a line drawn west from ye first beginning. Then east to ye first mentioned tree—containing two hundred and twenty acres of land with allowances for roads. Surveyed May 17th. 1697, per Josh Barkstead, Surveyor."

Revel's book, page 3 (reversed), May 17, 1699. "By virtue of a warrant from Tho. Revel then surveyed & laid out for Mr. Thomas Bridges & Mr. Collett a tract of land being pt. of the Hon'ble ye West New Jersey Societie's land situate & being in ye county or jurisdiction of Salem in ye Province of West New Jersey, and on ye east side of Cohansie River & on ye Saw Mill Creek. Beginning at a pine corner tree standing on ye north side of Saw Mill & ye going over of a road run into the Indian fields & running from thence north three hundred and thirty six perches to a corner tree—then east five hundred and twenty five perches to a corner tree—then west five hundred and twenty five perches to the first beginning, containing & laid out for a thousand and fifty acres, one thousand whereof to ye said Thomas Bridges & ye other fifty acres Collett of Barbadoes—to be held in common with sd Mr. Bridges & to have a proportionable share of ye Indian fields, according to ye quantity held by ye sd Mr. Collett—with allowances for highways included.

PT JOSH BARKSTEAD."

The foregoing show that Mr. Bridges accepted the offer extended to him by Dr. Coxe and the West New Jersey Society, and in all probability had a church in the lower part of West New Jersey. It is not too much to say he preached at "Coxe Hall," a building erected by Dr. Coxe near where Cape Island City now stands, but on the bay side, and around which those engaged in the whale fishery had their homes. This was the manor house to Dr. Coxe's possessions in that part of West New Jersey—he owning in one tract what now constitutes the county of Cape May. In the deeds made to purchasers by the Attorney of the Society—which succeeded Dr. Coxe in the title—a royalty of "two fat capons or hens delivered at Coxe Hall, Cape May, December 24th, yearly," shows that the celebration of Christmas was anticipated.

Here a "Courts baron and a Courts leet" was also held, and where justice was dispensed after the manner of our rude ancestors upon their estates in England.

On some of the old maps this little settlement is called "Cape Town," and was a place of considerable trade in "oyl and bone" at that time.

The agents in writing to the Society in London, made frequent mention of this trade and regarded it as profitable to the owners.

A few years since the "Hall" was standing, but its occupants knew nothing of its early importance, nor appreciated the interest felt in the place by such as regarded old things.

Some earnest antiquarian would do a good work in searching for the old spot, and grouping together the facts that may remain of its connection with the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in West New Jersey.

EARLY NORTHAMPTON COUNTY PRINTING.—The library of the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa., contains a copy of a rare octavo of 60 pages, entitled "Die täglichen Loosungen der Brüder Gemeine für das Jahr, 1767." and bearing the imprint, "Gedruckt bey Bethlehem in der Fork Dellawar, by Johann Braudmiller, MDCCLXVII." (The daily texts of the United Brethren for the year 1767. Printed near Bethlehem in the Forks of Delaware, by John Braudmiller, MDCCLXVII.)

The headpiece on the first page is composed of heraldic charges and crests peculiar to the armory of the sovereigns of Great Britain, subsequent to the accession of James I., showing among others, the fleur-de-lys, the crown, the Irish harp, and the rose and thistle of the Tudors. The printing was done in Roman characters, with the press and type which had been sent to Bethlehem in the autumn of 1761, from Lindsay House, Chelsea, Kensington Division of the Hundred of Ossulstone, Middlesex, England. The press and type weighed 1023 pounds, and for a long time was not used. John Braudmiller, born Nov. 24, 1704, in Basel, Switzerland, was by trade a printer. In 1743 he emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania, and settled in Bethlehem. On the morning of August 16, 1777, he was found drowned in the mill race at Bethlehem. Friedensthal, the village in which these "Scripture Texts" were printed, was settled by the Moravians in 1749, and is located about two miles E. N. E. from Nazareth. It is probable this was the first printing press used, and book printed, in the present Northampton County.

VIOLIN OF AMERICAN MAKE, 1759.—In the museum of the Moravian Historical Society, in the "Whitfield House," Nazareth, Penna., is a violin made by Azariah Smith of Christian's Spring, in which is the name of "John Antes, 1759." Christian's Spring (named in honor of Count Zinzendorf's son Christian Renatus) was the seat of a Moravian Economy until 1796. Azariah Smith was b. December, 1742, in Connecticut, d. Sept. 1783. John, son of Henry Antes, was born March, 1740. He entered the service of the Moravian Church, became a missionary, and died at Bristol, England, December, 1811.

THE SCOT IN NEW FRANCE; AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY.—The foregoing is the title of an inaugural address read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec by its President, Mr. J. M. Le Moine. The address is interesting and spirited, and can be read with profit by any one. Mr. Le Moine points out the fact that as early as the days of Champlain there was a "full fledged Scot—an extensive land proprietor"—in Canada. Abraham Martin dit' l'Écossais, the King's St. Lawrence pilot. How the Scots came in with the regiments in the British service is also shown, and among other names we find one that will be familiar to students of Pennsylvania history, Robert Stobo the hostage of Fort Du Quesne.

EARLY PRINTING IN PHILADELPHIA.—Mr. Wallace, to whom our readers are indebted for the paper in our last number on *Early Printing in Philadelphia*, desires us to say that since that article appeared, Mr. Henry Phillips of this city, well known by his antiquarian tastes in the department of Numismatics, has shown to him an almanack of the year 1703 with the imprint of *Tiberius Johnson*, a son of Reynier Jansen. Mr. Wallace remarks: "This, I think, is a revelation to Typographical Antiquaries. Neither Isaiah Thomas nor any other writer that I know of in the history of printing seems to have known that Tiberius Jansen ever actually issued anything from a press called his. Mr. Phillips is entitled, I think, to the name of a *discoverer*."

MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS have issued a beautiful volume entitled *Old Times in the Colonies*, by Charles Carleton Coffin. It is exquisitely illustrated with attractive wood-cuts, and will no doubt be extensively read by the young people throughout the country, for whom it is especially written. It is to be regretted that under these circumstances there has not been greater care taken in the statement of facts, and that such an error as the following should be allowed to appear in a book, the perusal of which

will doubtless imbue the minds of its young readers with impressions that may prove lifelong.

On page 301 is the passage we allude to. It reads: "William Penn remained two years [in America], and then returned to England, leaving his secretary James Logan to look after affairs.

"After he was gone the great 'Walking Purchase' of land took place. The settlers wanted more land, and made a bargain with the Indians to give them so many blankets, kettles, knives, and axes for what land a man could walk around in a day. The Quakers laid out a path, removed the fallen trees, made a smooth way, picked out the fastest walker that they could find and put him in training. The Indians came to see him walk, and were astounded when they saw him walking so fast that they had to run to keep up with him going round a great tract. 'This land is ours; now, you must build your wigwams somewhere else,' said the Quakers. 'We have been cheated; we will not leave,' said the Indians. It was the beginning of no end of trouble, but the white men were the strongest and the Indians had to leave.

"In December, 1699, William Penn, after being fifteen years in England, revisited Pennsylvania once more."

We do not think any one can read this without understanding it to mean that the walking purchase was made between Penn's first and second visit, and that his agent and the Quakers cheated the Indians.

The true state of the case is this: The walking purchase was based on the treaty of 1686, but was not consummated until 1737, after Penn had been dead 19 years, and 25 years after he had been unable to attend to business. If Penn's descendants were Quakers at the time the walk was made, they had little in sympathy with the Society, for they left it shortly afterwards and joined the Episcopal Church. To make the Quakers accountable for the actions of the Colonial Governors and for those of Penn's children and grandchildren and their representatives, and to say that they cheated the Indians is simply to make charges which the plain facts will stultify.

WILLIAM PENN'S CHARTERS OF YE PUBLICK SCHOOL, ETC. ETC., is the title of a little volume of 31 pages that has been issued by J. B. Lippincott & Co. It contains certified copies of the three charters given to the Public School of Philadelphia, by William Penn in 1701, 1708, and 1711.

Queries.

OLD CLOCK.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform the undersigned at what time George Crow, of Wilmington, was engaged in the manufacture of clocks at that place? The subscriber has in his possession a clock made by the said George Crow some time before the Revolution. The clock has been in the possession of the ancestors of the subscriber from about 1758. Information in relation to the matter would be quite desirable.

W. A. YEAKLE.

THE MORAVIAN BOARDING SCHOOL IN GERMANTOWN, in 1747, occupied the house of "John Bechtels, which was next to Theobald Endts, and also near John Stephen Benzets."

A Synod of this Church was held in Germantown, May 10-14, 1747, in the house of Engelbert Lock. "It stands on the left of the road going down

to Philadelphia, a little below the cooper Vende. It is a bakery with rooms enough to lodge all the deputies, and a fine hall for sessions, with two doors for entrance." Can you locate either of the above houses or lots for me?

J. W. J.

CAPTAIN LEE.—In Sherman Day's Historical Collection of Pennsylvania, under Lancaster Co., there is a thrilling account of the adventures of one Captain, afterwards Major, Lee, abridged, it is said, from the New England Magazine, 1833. A foot-note to the name of Lee refers the reader to p. 242 [it should read 214], where Major Henry Lee of Va. is spoken of, and following his name the words (See Lancaster Co.). This could not have been Light Horse Harry, as Mr. Day evidently supposes, for in Mombert's History of Lancaster Co. the article from the N. E. Mag. is given in full, and Lee is spoken of as a subordinate to Gen. Hazen, which Harry Lee was not. Can there be any doubt that *the* Capt. Lee was either Andrew or William of Hazen's Regiment? Extracts from the diary of the former will be found on page 167 of Vol. III. PA. MAG. The adventures spoken of occurred while Capt. Lee was endeavoring to discover the means by which British prisoners found it possible to escape from their place of confinement in Lancaster and to leave no clue behind them of how it was done. Lee disguised himself as one of the prisoners, and mixed with them. He discovered the treachery which enabled them to get out of the prison, and, joining one of the parties was passed from one tory agent to another until near New York, when the the squad was arrested and sent to Philadelphia. Here Lee made himself known, was released, returned to Lancaster, and broke up the system by which the prisoners were spirited away.

LANCASTER.

CHRISTIAN FREDERIC POST, a well-known missionary to the aborigines of North and Central America, died in Germantown, April 29, 1785; and on the 1st of May his remains were interred in the "Lower graveyard of that place, the Rev. William White, then rector of Christ Church," conducting the funeral service. The Bethlehem Diarist states that Bishop White's address was to be published. Was it?

J.

MORAVIANS IN NEW JERSEY.—The Moravians owned a plot of 2 acres and 4 perches of land, on the east bank of Maurice River, New Jersey, on which a church was erected in 1746. It was part of two tracts, together measuring 800 acres, deeded to John Hopman of Maurice River, by Edward Lommers, Jr., of Cohansey, February 20, 1727. John Hopman jointly with John Hopman, Jr., Nicholas Hopman, Frederic Hopman, Peter Hopman, David Van Immen, Gabriel Van Immen, Joseph Jones, Eric Kyn, Eric Mullicas, Paul Kemp, Thomas Peterson, Luke Peterson, Samuel Cabb, Samuel Van Immen, and Jonas Van Immen, members of the congregation, deeded the land and church to Laurence Theop. Nyberg, Abram Reincke, Owen Rice (Moravian clergymen), and Abram Jones, on Dec. 8, 1746. Is this church edifice still standing?

J. W. J.

Replies.

JOHN COATES (Vol. IV. p. 515).—In the Easton Star of Jan. 18, 1881, published at Easton, Md., there is a history of the Grand Lodge, and an interesting account of Dr. John Coates. From it we extract the following:

He was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 11th of July, 1751. He received an academic and professional education, and on the death of his parent a handsome patrimony. As is said in Vol. IV. p. 515, he served in the expedition to Quebec, in 1775, and was wounded in the assault. He subsequently raised a company at his expense, it is said, and continued in the army until about the year 1779, when he again resumed the practice of medicine in Philadelphia, and was soon acting as Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, of Pa. In 1780 he removed to Easton, Maryland, where for a time he followed his calling. He was active in Masonic affairs and was Grand Master of Maryland until 1793. He was Register of the Land Office for the Eastern Shore at the time of his death, having held the office for a number of years. He died Nov. 30th, 1810. He married, June 22d, 1779, Susannah Murry. He had several children, two of whom were married, but it is not known if they left any descendants. A son, John H. Coates, was a Lt. in the U. S. Navy, and died in 1807, in the 21st year of his age. F. D. S.

LEWIS NICHOLA.—(Vol. IV. p. 255, 400.) The name of Lewis Nichola does not appear in the list of Generals of the Revolution given in Sparks' Writings of Washington (Vol. 12. p. 415), but from the following there can be no doubt that his claim to the honor is equal to that of those there mentioned on whom commissions were conferred by brevet:—

In pursuance of an Act of Congress of the Thirtieth Day of September, A. D. 1783, Lewis Nichola, Esquire, is to Rank as a Brigadier-General, by Brevet, in the Army of the United States of America, Given under my Hand, at Annapolis, the twenty-seventh day of November, 1783.

[SEAL]

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

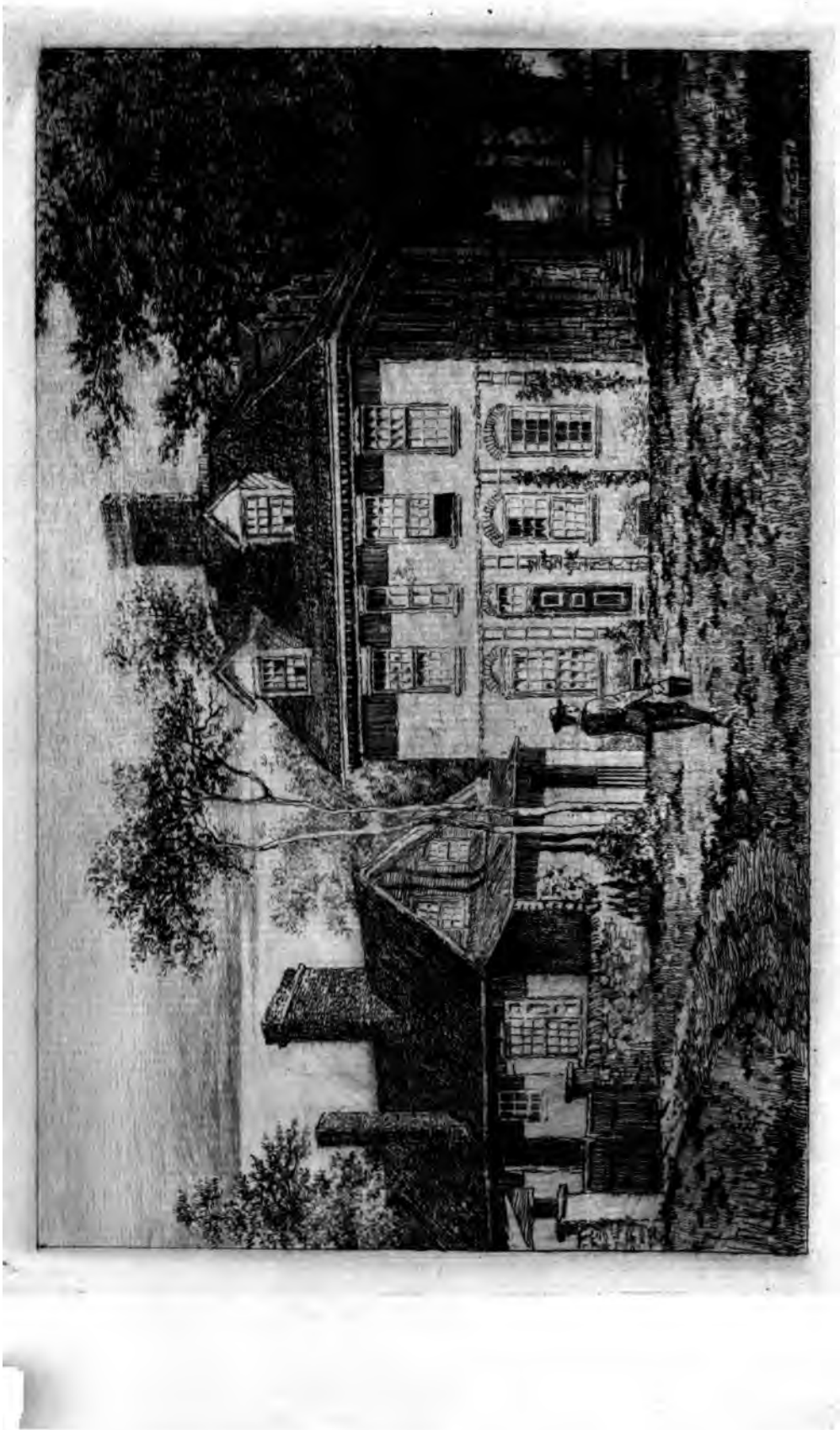
Entered in the War Office.

Attest,

Joseph Carleton, *Sec.*

A photograph of this commission has been loaned to us by Mr. William F. Cregar. The Act of Congress under which it was issued reads: "That the Secretary of War issue to all officers in the army, under the rank of Major-General, who hold the same rank now that they held in the year 1777, a brevet commission one grade higher than their present rank." Nichola was commissioned as Colonel, June 20, 1777, and was, therefore, entitled to the rank of brigadier by brevet. How many others received similar commissions and are not known as Generals on account of their names not appearing on the Journals of Congress is a question of interest which will probably never be settled. E.D.





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No. 2.



GERMANTOWN ROAD
AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.¹

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

PART SECOND.

INCE the First Part of this Walk was printed I find that in 1710 it was proposed to Council to have a road to lead from Bucks County into Philadelphia by the way of the present Old York Road, but that route, as to its entrance into the city, was afterwards changed for Front Street. In 1771 a petition, signed by about sixty-five persons, was presented to the authorities, praying that "a public road which led from the upper end of Fourth Street to the widow Masters land, near her mill-dam, should be opened into the Germantown Road." The extension from the mill-dam to the Germantown Road was

authorized, and thus another outlet was made in the upper part of the town. A copy, executed by Mr. George W. Spiese, of a plan of survey made in 1750 shows an Indian Path crossing the Cohocksink at a point just where Third Street now is. I suppose it led to Shackamaxon, and no doubt it was long used by the early colonists when going to the "Governor's Mill." Two houses that appear on Scull and Heap's Map of 1750 might well have been noticed. They are marked "Jones" and "Neglee," and are on the west side of the Germantown Road, a little north of Masters' house. The first, which was standing until about twenty years ago, is believed to have been the house of Thomas Story, who was bred to the law in England, became a Friend, and came here to be Master of Rolls of the Province, etc. He was a distinguished Minister among Friends, and a son-in-law of the first Edward Shippen. The house was of solid brick, and about thirty feet square, with the old-fashioned pediment eaves. Its site was quite near where now is the intersection of Tenth Street and Susquehanna Avenue.

In the First Walk, it may be remembered, we paused at the site of the old stone bridge of the turnpike; the etching of which, of the year 1876, represents some houses which had been erected on the east side of the road not long before the bridge disappeared. Just before that site was reached, on the east of the road, about where Eighteenth Street is to cross, stands a house whence, in the earlier part of the century, strains of music often issued, and the gayety of whose occupants seemed to betoken their origin in another land. A gentleman known in Nicetown and its vicinity as Dr. Joseph Martin, lived in it with his family from 1827 to the time of his death in 1846. His daughter, Mrs. McKee, now lives in Germantown, and two of his grandchildren are Mr. Prosper D. Martin and Mrs. Gillies Dallett of this city. With something of Gallic pride, the place was called Fontenoy.

Martin du Colombier, of Lille, formerly the capital of French Flanders, emigrated from France in 1737. He did so under the patronage of the Government, going to its

island of St. Domingo, or Hayti. He prospered there; for at his death he left a plantation with five hundred Negroes on it, and an annual income of 150,000 livres. Joseph Martin du Colombier, his youngest son, was born in 1760, and at an early age was sent to Paris to be educated. Such was the fertility of the island of St. Domingo, well called the garden of the world, and so great was the wealth of its planters, that their children, by virtue of a Royal Edict, had the right to enter those schools in France reserved exclusively for the children of the nobility. Joseph had some advantage from this, but it so happened that after his father's death, which was early, his mother married again, and he was sent to a seminary to be educated as a priest. Now he did not approve of this, so he escaped and made his way back to St. Domingo and to the old plantation. It may be that he soon returned to France, for during the War of American Independence, he came here, and was present at the execution of Major André. At that time, or afterwards, he was a surgeon in the French Army, but his visit here was with a view to offer his services to the American Army. He entered it, but the fate of war soon made him a captive, consigned to the deadly Prison Ship Jersey. From its deck, of a morning, he would witness the consignment to a watery grave of the bodies of ten or twelve of the unfortunates who had been stifled to death during the night. He often saw prisoners in the hold "fighting like wild beasts to get near the small air ports, that they might breathe." He sang, accompanying himself on the guitar, an accomplishment that often led to the British officers' and their wives' inviting him on deck. This, he was used to say, secured him sufficient food and fresh air to save his life.

After our war he returned to the plantation and soon afterwards married Mademoiselle Charlotte Fillon, a daughter of the Lieutenant-Governor of St. Domingo, by whom he had five children, three of whom, Celia, Prosper, and Caroline, reached maturity. The servile war, that soon came in the island, found him still in the vigor of youth, and offering his services, he was made Captain of Dragoons and Commander-

in-Chief of Cavalry. It was a horrible war there, for no quarter was shown. He used to say, "We could meet the Negroes, one to ten, and easily defeat them, but when the French Government of the Revolution sent over regiments of artillery to aid the Negroes it was then one to one." Among his papers is the following:—

"The Assembly General of the French Part of St. Domingo.

To Mons. Martin, Citizen of Port Margot.

The Assembly having learned with what courage you have devoted yourself to the defence of your country, your glorious actions have raised its admiration and you are worthy of its gratitude. The Assembly has decreed that there should be an honourable mention made of you in its *procès verbal* of this day, and I am commissioned to announce it to you. Your name inscribed in the archives of St. Domingo shall pass to posterity, and you will be given as a model for those who fight for their country.

Cap.

Salut,

Octr. 4th, 1791.

PL. CADUCHE, *President.*"

In the action of the 6th of October, 1792, charging at the head of his dragoons, Martin's horse was killed under him; at another time, in a parley with the rebels, for the purpose of gaining time, he was only saved by the swiftness of his horse.

He was now no longer "of the Dovecot," for the French Revolution, by prohibiting any person being of anything, changed Joseph Martin *du Colombier* into Joseph Martin. In the winter of 1792-3 he returned to the United States, whither he had already sent part of his family, and settled near Wilmington, in Delaware. There he engaged in commerce, trading with St. Domingo, and before many years he acquired what was at that time a handsome fortune. Business alone, however, did not engross his mind, for when the yellow fever appeared in that place, he devoted himself to its victims, taking his son Prosper with him in his visits, whose only protection was a handkerchief saturated with vinegar. Refusing compensation for his important services, the authori-

ties of the place voted him their thanks. His wife died in 1805, when, with his family, he came to Philadelphia. In 1827 he removed to the house spoken of, at Nicetown, and during the nineteen years he lived in it, his life was one of usefulness. Every day he would visit the blacksmith shop to learn the news; but daily also did he practise his vocation as a physician, never in any instance accepting fee or reward. Driving out with his daughter on the 16th of November, 1846, as they returned in the evening and were beholding the glory of the stars, gently bowing his head on her arm, the aged man said, "How beautiful is Venus!" and in the same instant found peace in death.

And now it seems proper to recall what has been said of the appearance of the country by the early comers here, whose writings have been preserved. The Swedes and Dutch, as they travelled to and fro, no doubt adhered closely to the dearly loved watercourses, so that it is doubtful if the views of any of these earliest comers, as to the interior of the region, are extant. Penn's cousin and first Deputy Governor, Captain Markham, writing in 1681, says: "It is a very fine country, if it were not so overgrown with woods." This, however, could not have been entirely so, for Markham goes on to say, "We have very good horses, and the men ride madly on them. They think nothing of riding eighty miles of a day; and when they get to their journey's end, turn their horses into the field. They never shoe them." There must then have been somewhat of the open to have had such riding, and indeed we know that where the beaver abounds, as it did here, this must have been the case.

Major Robert Rogers, who published his travels at London in the year 1765, in speaking of Philadelphia says, "In short, scarce anything can afford a more beautiful landscape than this city and the adjacent country, which for some miles may be compared to a well-regulated, flourishing garden, being improved, as I have been informed, to as great advantage as almost any lands in Europe." Some years later than this Silas Deane, of Connecticut, gives an account, quite interesting but requiring a word of criticism. He was a

member of Congress here, and on the 9th of July, 1775, writes to his wife, "I must not forget my ride to Germantown, five miles from hence, famous for stocking manufacture. I cannot describe pompous villas or elegant gardens where there are none, unless I meant a romance, and as I mean only to divert you with honest chat, I describe the country as it is. Between this city and Germantown there is not one elegant seat, and the greatest improvement on nature is that on their groves, owing by no means to luxury but to penury and want. The growth is red oak, interspersed with black walnut, etc. The poor are allowed to cut up the brush and trim the lower limbs; this leaves the groves in the most beautiful order you can imagine. All is clean on the ground; removing every shrub and bush leaves the wind free play to sweep the floor, and the soil, by no means luxuriant, shooting up the trees rather *sparingly*, so much grass starts as to give a pale-green carpet; while the trees are trimmed up ten to fifteen feet on their trunks, and give the eye a prospect far into the grove, and the footman or horseman free access. This is the state of the groves near this city—by a stranger supposed to be natural entirely, which (this trimming and gleaning of the poor excepted) is really the case. I am the more particular on this, as the London or Gentleman's Magazine mentions this appearance of their groves as the simple effect of nature, in which opinion I joined, until ocular demonstration convinced me of the contrary."

As to Mr. Deane's remark on the absence of villas, it may be said that in New England it appears to have been always the custom to build houses very near to the roadside, but it was never so here, nor to the south of us. Mr. Deane, therefore, was not aware that there was on the road to Germantown, at least "one elegant seat," Fair Hill, obscured by the beautiful grove, to say nothing of Stenton. And, perhaps, it was thrift, rather than "penury and want," that effected the charming result he so greatly admired. Ample provision for the poor existed in Philadelphia at that time, for in another letter he says, the poor house "vastly exceeds all

of the kind in America put together, and, I guess, equals in its excellent institutions anything in Europe. It has ample room for five hundred lodgers. There are about three hundred in it." At that time there were many Germans here, and those who have not witnessed the thrift of this people are without a comprehension of what is possible to be effected by it. A German knows that to

"Cover his daughter with silks and furs,
His farm shall cover itself with burra."

Among these people, in the interior of the State, I have seen vast stacks of fagots of light wood their children had gathered, thus cleaning the ground, as well as securing an ample supply of fuel that often elsewhere I have seen wasted.

Perhaps it is not too much to say of the country north of Philadelphia, and indeed the remark will apply to that west and southwest of it, that it is justly considered to be not only the most fertile, but also the most beautiful, region adjoining any very large city in the world. This is better appreciated by those who have studied English Landscape Gardening, and read Horace Walpole's essay thereon. The subject, however, becomes doubly attractive to those who learn from Tacitus, how Nero, the Roman Emperor, by the aid of "men possessed of genius and courage to attempt by art what nature had denied," achieved just such effects as are often met here. After this it is easy to understand how Milton, who in early life makes

"Leisure
"In trim gardens take his pleasure,"

could, after he became blind, see with his poetic but truthful intellectual eye, the paradise that so often enchants us as we wander about Germantown.

The branch of the Wingohocking which we have just crossed at the northern border of Nicetown, was often called Logan's Run. It passes through the southern part of Stenton, a noble place, originally of about five hundred acres, of which until some twenty-five years ago two hundred and fifty acres were unsold. Many of its ancient oaks and

hemlocks and lofty pines still remain, as also its venerable mansion, erected in 1727-34, of which an etching is given. In the paved way that leads to the house, a brick bears upon its face the perfect impression of a small and apparently a gentle hand, pressed there while the clay was still soft. The house, built of brick, is fifty-five feet front by forty-two feet in depth, with a separate range of servants' rooms, kitchens and greenhouses, extending backward one hundred and ten feet further. The hall, paved with brick, is wainscoted to the ceiling. On the left hand is what was probably the dining-room, also wainscoted, and with a well-laid floor in which no nails' heads are exhibited. In this room is a tasteful cupboard for china. Its circular back is arched at the top, and scalloped. The large fireplace has in it a back plate of iron with "J. L. 1728," on it. The other rooms are wainscoted on the fireplace sides, one of which still retains the Dutch tiles that ornamented them. They are represented in the initial piece of this Walk. The staircase is decidedly fine; and the upper rooms are in keeping with the lower ones. From the cellar is the entrance to the solidly arched, underground long passage way that led to the old barn and stables. This must have been a great convenience in times of storm. The family burial ground, a few hundred feet to the north, still remains. The founder of this place was James Logan, who in 1699, at the age of about twenty-three, came here with William Penn, as Secretary of the Province. His name is one of those derived from locality, and is said to mean a rocking stone, of the Druidical era. It occurs in Scottish history in the time of William the Lion; and in subsequent ages it was connected with important national transactions. The chief Logan was Laird, or Baron, of Restalrig, which in early times was called Lestalric. One of the interesting particulars recorded in the history of the clan is of 1329:—"When that solemn embassy was undertaken, in compliance with the death-bed request of the great King, Robert Bruce, that his heart might be taken to the holy sepulchre, Sir Robert Logan and Sir Walter Logan were the chief associates of Sir James

Douglass in that illustrious band which comprised the flower of Scottish chivalry. The fatal termination of their mission under the walls of Grenada, where an excess of heroism led them to battle with the Moors, finished in martial glory the career of most of the troop; and, in attempting the rescue of their friend, the Lord Sinclair, the Logans fell in the thickest of the fight."

"In 1400, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, Lord Admiral of Scotland, defeated an English fleet in the Frith of Forth." Two centuries later, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, "who married a daughter of Lord John Somerville, was the owner of Fast Castle, on the borders of the German Ocean, in Scotland, and was connected with the troubles of that country occasioned by the affair of the Earl of Gowrie. The strange and illegal accusation of Baron Logan, in 1608, eight years after his death, for an alleged participation in the 'Gowrie Conspiracy,' and the singular trial of his mouldering remains, are among the most mysterious transactions of King James's reign. The sentence of 'guilty' threw his forfeited estates into the hands of the Earl of Dunbar. The proscription of the name of Sprot, the accuser, who was hanged for his perjury, was the last act of this tragedy." Fast Castle, commanding the promontory of St. Abb's Head on the coast of Berwickshire, sat for its picture to Sir Walter Scott, who in his *Bride of Lammermoor*, gives a spirited and faithful description of it under the name of Wolf's Crag.

The reduced circumstances of the Logans threw them into an obscurity from which they have been partially retrieved by David Masson who, in his memoir of Drummond of Hawthornden, gives the marriage of that poet, in 1632, with Elizabeth Logan. According to Wilson Armistead, biographer of James Logan, the sons of the unfortunate Baron left the country, and fixed their residence at Lurgan, in Ireland. Robert, the younger, subsequently returned to Scotland, received the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Edinburgh, entered the ministry, served some time as chaplain, and married Isabella Hume. He now relinquished

his clerical profession, and returned to Ireland, where he sought rest from the centuries of turmoil in which the family had lived, by becoming a member of the peaceful Society of Friends. Of his children, none lived long except William, who settled at Bristol and became an eminent physician there, and James, born the 20th of the 8th mo. 1674.

James Logan attained the Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew, before he was thirteen years of age; in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of Leybourn's on mathematics, he made himself master of that science without any manner of instruction. He had been put apprentice to a considerable linen-draper in Dublin, but the Prince of Orange landing, and the war in Ireland coming on before he was bound, he was returned to his parents, and went with them, first to Edinburgh, and then to London and Bristol. Here, he says, whilst employed in the instruction of others, he improved himself in Greek and Hebrew, and also learned French, Italian, and some Spanish. In 1698, he had a prospect of engaging in trade between Dublin and Bristol, and had commenced it with good promise of success; but, in the spring of 1699, he was invited by William Penn to accompany him to his colony in America. He accepted the proposal, and sailed with Penn in the *Canterbury*, in September, 1699, arriving at Philadelphia in the beginning of December. An old story, here, but I know not whether in print or not, is that on the voyage a supposed piratical vessel bore down on the *Canterbury*. Her crew, and Logan with them, prepared to resist an attack, while the peaceful Penn went below. Reappearing when the strange sail had left, he greatly upbraided Logan for having yielded to a belligerent feeling, and received for a reply, "Thou didst not condemn me before going below."

On their arrival here Penn made him not only secretary to the Province, but gave him a general charge both of the government and property, saying, "I have left thee in an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care." Logan died in 1751, and throughout this long term of half a century, most faithfully observed the trust.

The estate he left was not a great one, considering his unusual opportunities. When Penn offered to give him one thousand acres of land in Bucks County, he would accept but one-half of that amount, and it is, I believe, this tract that went to the support of the Loganian Library.

After a residence in Philadelphia of several years, James Logan married Sarah Reed, sister to the wife of the elder Israel Pemberton. His time was mainly employed in public affairs—for besides being Chief Justice for many years, he continued to hold the offices of Provincial Secretary and Commissioner of Property, and for nearly two years governed the Province as President of the Council. Yet with all this his fondness for literary pursuits has given the name of James Logan a conspicuous place among the scholars of our colonial era. This was achieved, although the inconsiderable remuneration of his offices involved his supplementing his salary by engaging in business with Edward Shippen under the name of Logan & Shippen. Throughout his career in this country, his name so constantly appears in the annals of the province, that it would be idle to attempt by a few paragraphs to give any sketch of it. His last years of life were subjected to the infirmities of disease, and the weight of age, aggravated by an injury to one of his limbs, received in 1728, which confined him long to his house, and permanently maimed him. Canassatego, Chief of the Onondagas, in his speech at Philadelphia, 1742, at the treaty held with the Six Nations, said, "Brethren, we called at our old friend, James Logan's, in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business."

The Indians of the primitive time were warriors, and it was their aim to excel; for each member of the little tribe felt that he belonged to what he believed to be the mightiest nation of the earth. This engendered a pride equal, perhaps, to any ever felt by man. At the acme of their power such races possess a nice regard for truth and a keen sense of honour. When brought into contact with another and more potent civilization, they do not, however, become incorporated with

it, but, unfortunately, only adopting the vices of the baser part of the superior race, soon become debased. It is not fair, therefore, to describe them in their degradation, and then present the picture as a truthful representation of a race, once great, but that has, hardly however by its own act, lost its character and its honour. Thomas Fisher well describes the Indian's fate:—

He wanders 'neath the evening star;
Forc'd from the land that gave him birth
He dwindles from the face of earth.

Though o'er his native soil we trace
The footsteps of a prouder race,
Though the pavilioned waste of oak
Has bowed beneath the woodman's stroke;
But lately from the glen or hill
His cheerful whoop has ceased to thrill.

The vast forest of Pennsylvania, as yet but little broken, adjoined Stenton, and in 1728 "a bear of large size leaped over the fence into the garden." The Indian trail from the interior country was, I doubt not, about the route of the old turnpike, and along it would come the children of the forest, in bands of twenty-five to thirty each, to visit Logan, where they would make their huts, on his grounds, remaining perhaps a year at a time, "making and selling baskets, ladles, and tolerably good fiddles." It is probable that these visits ceased about the time of Braddock's defeat. Shorter visits, however, than these were also made. "He often had the Indians for his guests at Stenton, three or four hundred of them at a time, for several weeks." At night they would line the staircase in their sleep and pass their days in the beautiful maple grove. Tradition says that here the Good Chief Wingohocking, standing with Logan on the border of the beautiful stream that wound through the place, proposed to change their names, for he loved the white man and this was the Indian mode of showing it. Logan told him the law would make it difficult to give up his name, but said, "Do thou, chief, take mine, and give thine to this stream which passes through my fields, and when I am passed away,

and while the earth shall endure, it shall flow and bear thy name."

James Logan died on the 31st of the 10th mo., 1751, and was buried in Friends' Grounds at Fourth and Arch Streets. Of his children, Sarah married Isaac Norris the Speaker; William married Hannah Emlen; and Hannah married John Smith, of New Jersey, ancestor of Mr. John Jay Smith, who was so long connected with the Philadelphia Library. The first child mentioned, Sarah, corresponded with the venerable Thomas Story. An extract from a letter written by her father to him, in 1724, gives an agreeable glimpse of the life in the wilds of Pennsylvania at that day. He says, "Sally, besides her needle, has been learning French, and, this last week, has been very busy in the dairy at the plantation, in which she delights as well as in spinning; but is this moment at the table with me, reading the 34th Psalm in Hebrew, the letters of which she learned very perfectly in less than two hours' time." For more of the ladies of this family I must refer the reader to the Journal of William Black, Volume I., p. 407, of this Magazine. It was James Logan's intention to make his library a public one and to endow it with some property for its support. He erected a building in Sixth Street, north of Walnut, in which his books remained a number of years. Eventually an Act of Assembly, of 1792, annexed an estate of near six hundred acres in Bucks County, together with the library, to the Philadelphia Library Company. This property, situated on both sides of the Lahaska Turnpike, near New Hope, comprises the "Ingham Tract" of 409 acres and 66 perches, and the "Dean Tract," of 202 acres and 82 perches. The first tract is held at a yearly rent to be determined at intervals of every one hundred and twenty-one years forever. The re-valuation of rent of the second is to be made every one hundred and seven years. Both are subject to the privilege of Logan, his heirs and assigns and their *walkeny*, of viewing the land.

William Logan, the son of James, was born at Stenton on the 14th of the 5th mo., 1718. He married Hannah, a daughter of George Emlen, and died in 1776. His educa-

The Germantown Road and its Associations.

tion, conducted here under the eye of his father, was completed in England. He was a friend of the Proprietary interests, and a protector of the Indian race, members of which were cordially received by him. To their aged he gave a settlement on his land at Stenton, called the "Indian Field," and provided at his own cost for the education of their young. In the time of the "Paxton Boys," notwithstanding his being a Friend, he joined others similarly endangered, in taking measures to defend their lives by force. He travelled extensively in America, and before the war of the Revolution had gone to Europe. Imbued with the liberal spirit of his father, he executed the conveyance of the Loganian Library to public use.

Dr. George Logan, a son of William, was born at Stenton on the 9th of the 9th month, 1753, married Deborah, a daughter of Charles Norris of Fair Hill, and died at Stenton on the 9th of April, 1821. He received his education in England, but he desired to study medicine, and this he afterwards did at Edinburgh. On completing this course, he travelled through France, Italy, Germany, and Holland, returning home in 1779. While absent the region around his home had been the theatre of war. Sir William Howe, when he held Philadelphia, gave orders to destroy the country seats and other places of obnoxious persons, in its vicinity. In consequence of this, on Saturday, the 22d of November, 1777, the house at Fair Hill and sixteen others, including that at Somerville, then the residence of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, were burned. By orders of Col. Twistleton, two dragoons came to fire Stenton, telling the negro woman servant there, what they intended to do, and that she could remove her bedding and clothing while they were gone to the barn for straw. An officer, with his command, happening to come up at this time, inquired of the woman if any deserters had been about the place. With the quick apprehension that so often marks the well-trained negro servant, and the fidelity, too, quite as characteristic of them, she told him that at that very moment, two were in the barn.

The supposed deserters were at once secured, and notwithstanding their protestation, were carried away as prisoners. The burning of so many buildings naturally excited much remark, and no doubt led to a reconsideration of the orders, which were revoked, and so Stenton was saved. In the movements of the contending armies around Philadelphia, the house was alternately used as head-quarters by Sir William Howe and by General Washington.

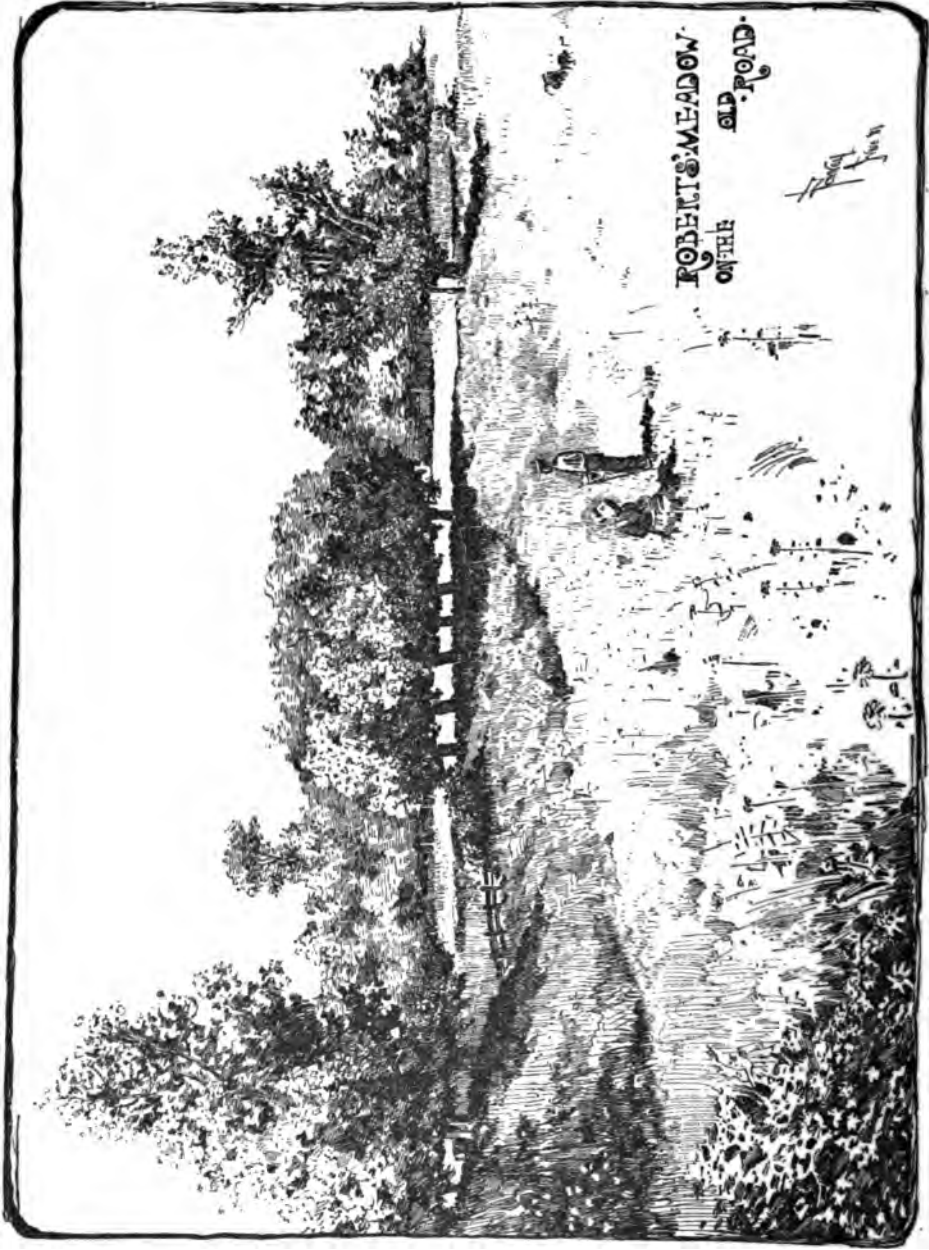
Owing to the war Stenton fell into a situation that required Dr. Logan's undivided attention. He therefore abandoned medicine and applied himself to agricultural pursuits, in which he delighted; and soon the improved state of the plantation evinced the correctness of his judgment. He was an active member of the Agricultural and Philosophical Societies, was instrumental in establishing the Agricultural Society in Lancaster, and employed his leisure with studies that enlarged his capacities for usefulness, and fitted him for the situation in which he afterwards appeared. In view of the probable war of the United States with France, Dr. Logan went to Europe in 1798 with a hope to prevent it. This led to an Act of Congress, popularly called "The Logan Act," of the 30th of January, 1799, aimed at such personal interference. It is most remarkable that, nearly half a century afterwards, this law was raked up against Nicholas P. Trist, also a Philadelphian, who humanely persisted in negotiating a treaty with prostrate Mexico, after his mission had been revoked by the Administration which sent him. After this Dr. Logan became a Senator from Pennsylvania, serving from 1801 to 1807. In 1810 he visited England as formerly France with the same philanthropic desire of preserving peace between the two countries, but it was not his good fortune to effect it. On his death, in 1821, Du Ponceau said of him, "And art thou too gone? friend of man! friend of peace! friend of science! Thou whose persuasive accents could still the angry passions of the rulers of men, and dispose their minds to listen to the voice of reason and justice."

Mrs. Deborah Logan survived her husband eighteen years, dying at Stenton on the 2d of Feb., 1839. Well fitted by

her intellectual endowments for general society, she had a most extensive acquaintance with her countrymen of the era in which she lived. Most of the distinguished foreigners who visited Philadelphia shared her hospitality. It was her habit to rise very early, often by candlelight, and seek the long old library room at Stenton, there to write and study several hours before the morning meal. Her collection of manuscripts was large, and earned for her the title of "the female historian of Pennsylvania." On her death a special meeting was called of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of which she was an associate, and one of the members pronounced an oration on her worth. Two of the public libraries of the city were closed on account of her demise.

An elder brother of Dr. George Logan was William, who married a Miss Portsmouth. Their only child, William Portsmouth Logan, died without issue. A sister, Sarah, also older, married on the 17th of March, 1772, Thomas Fisher, of the family from Lewes. A younger brother, Charles, married Mary Pleasants, of Powhatan County, Virginia. Of their children, Sarah Pleasants Logan married Dr. James Carter; Maria Virginia Logan married first, Mr. Woodson, secondly, William F. Carter; Hannah Logan, married first, Mr. St. John, secondly, Mr. Howard; Juliana Logan married Mr. McCoul; and Charles F. Logan married, and had a daughter named Sarah Robeson Logan, who married James S. Newbold of this city.

Dr. George Logan was succeeded by his son Albanus, who was born on the 22d of Nov., 1783, and died the 10th Feby., 1854. He married Maria a daughter of John Dickinson, author of the Farmer's Letters. He was an agriculturist, and was also devoted to field sports. With a robust frame and great physical vigour, he seemed to be superior to the ills of life, and in his last illness, a most painful one, his spirit was not chafed. The late Doctor George W. Norris told me that throughout his long protracted suffering—when for weeks together he never once lay down, but could only recline in a chair, and that but upon one side—he never uttered a complaint, and was as gentle as a girl. Of his children, Gustavus Logan married Miss Armat. The late Dr. J. Dick-



ROBERTS MEADOW
ON THE OLD ROAD

H. H. H.

inson Logan married Miss Susan Wister; a daughter married the late Dr. Thomas Forrest Betton; and the survivor is Miss Mary Logan.

In March, 1863, during the late war, the McClellan Hospital was opened on that part of Stenton which lies alongside the Germantown Road. It had accommodations for about one thousand of the sick and wounded, but at times, by resorting to hospital tents, nigh twice this number could be admitted. Its use ended with the war. The "Young America Cricket Club" of Germantown was established in 1855, and for three years had their grounds at the residence of Mr. Thomas A. Newhall, on Manheim Street. After several changes, they at last, in 1879, obtained their present fine ground, which is that part of Stenton that lies north of where the hospital stood. In front of the site of the hospital, as a dreaded reminder of a probable fate that awaits me, is the "Five Mile Stone" of the old turnpike. Jenny McGee, an ancient Hibernian nurse in the family of Genl. Callender Irvine, of the War of 1812, had a habit of attempting to amuse the children by an account of her walk to Germantown, a fair enough story, no doubt, had it ever been fully told. Whether the poor woman was rather prosaic, or the children unusually restive, certain it was she could never end the tale, for they would soon insist that she had reached Germantown. Her stereotyped reply was, "No! I am only at the 'Five Mile Stone.'" I trust my readers may be more considerate.

On the west of the road, opposite Stenton, and on the low ground of the branch of the Wingohocking, stand two old houses belonging to descendants of Joseph Roberts, cashier of Stephen Girard's Bank. On the map of 1750 two houses, perhaps these, are marked with the names of "Neglee" and "Dewalden." The latter place, no doubt, was that of the family of Dewald living in the vicinity. The houses are sequestered in a grove of weeping willows of a beauty so unusual as to attract the eyes of all lovers of nature who may happen, when the foilage is full, to be in the Germantown train as it sweeps by Wayne Station.

To the west of Wayne Station is Fern Hill, formerly the seat of Louis Clapier, who was born in Marseilles in the year 1764 or '65, and in his youth went to St. Domingo, but left there about 1796, on account of the insurrection. He came thence to Philadelphia and embarked in commerce. In this career he was soon so successful as to have become the owner of seven Indiamen, and of the merchants here he was among those most largely engaged in the China trade, and that at a time when this city was noted for its widely extended commerce. Later he had much trade elsewhere, particularly with Mexico. In after years he became President of the Union Insurance Company, and his portrait appropriately hangs in the fine new office at Third and Walnut Streets. He died on the 4th of May, 1837, and was buried at St. Peter's, at Third and Pine Streets.

When Mr. Clapier had reaped some success, he bought John Barclay's house, situated on the west side of Front Street, one door south of, or, in the quaint language of the old directory, "cross the mouth of Lombard Street." With his broad views he added most largely to its width. The stables, too, were of ample dimensions, for they were sufficient for the accommodation of his six horses. His counting-house was near at hand, in Lombard Street—and there Mons. Badaraque, his faithful Gascon, whose portrait was engraved by St. Memin, could always be found, unless he might chance to be at the warehouse on the wharf. Early in his successful career Mr. Clapier bought a place of one hundred and forty-nine acres lying a little to the west of the Germantown Road, and mainly on the rising ground which begins to the north of Nicetown. On this place he erected a handsome house, for a summer residence, and a large barn with a ship on it for a weathercock. The barn is preserved by Mr. Henry Pratt McKean, the present owner, whose fine mansion house occupies the site of the former house. On the same place, at no great distance, is the residence of Mr. Edward Ingersoll. The grounds attached to Fern Hill are now but about one-fourth of the original extent. The cricket field of the Germantown Cricket Club,

on the southernmost part of the property, though lying low, is so perfectly underdrained as to be quite equal to any other field. In connection with the family of the present owner I am able to state an interesting fact. None of the biographers of Chief Justice, afterwards Governor, McKean, speak of his having received his legal training abroad; yet it is possible that such was the case. Mr. John C. Bullitt has shown me a book that he recently purchased in London, Keble's *Statutes at Large*, printed in 1684, which bears on its title page, in the Governor's handwriting, "Thomas McKean of the Middle Temple." The late William B. Reed, in his life of Esther deBerdt Reed, gives partial lists of Americans who before and during the Revolution completed their professional studies in Great Britain. They are, however, exclusively of those who were students at the Inner Temple and at Lincoln's Inn. At the Middle Temple, whither the largest number of Americans resorted, the office charges were so enormous as to prevent Mr. Reed obtaining its list. If McKean did not enter there, it may be that, intending to do so, he wrote the address in anticipation thereof.

In the Butchers' Parade, on the 13th of March, 1820, there was a boat on wheels, in which were persons dressed as sailors who executed nautical manœuvres. Some heaved the lead crying aloud, no doubt, at times, "By the mark, twain," in the declamatory cadence that never failed to impress with delight those who heard the ringing, musical sound.¹ The boat was called the "Louis Clapier," in honour of the person "who raised eighteen of the beeves the flesh of which was exhibited." Besides a fondness for raising fat cattle, he had an equal passion for fruits and flowers, and no visitor left him without a basketful of flowers, or of grapes, should they be in season. He was a generous-hearted man, indeed most lavish in his benefactions, but he was not without a keen sense of humour. At the Merchant's Coffee House, there was once a group of Frenchmen, so common here in the earlier part of the century, gathered together, when an

¹ For Mark Twain, see *Notes and Queries*, p. 238.

aged man sought alms of them. Mr. Clapier proposed that each one present should put a half dollar in the old man's hat. This was done, but the question was raised whether one of the group, a person somewhat noted for an extreme reluctance to parting with his coin, had made the proposed contribution. "Undoubtedly, I saw him put the piece in the hat," said Mr. Clapier, "but, nevertheless, I cannot believe it." Once when much pity was expressed for a poor woman whose house had been burned, he said, "Ah! gentlemen, I pity her fifty dollars. How much do you?" and his earnest, practical manner soon led nine others each to do the same.

Returning to the Germantown Avenue, to continue our walk, we pass at once under the bridges of the railway that bifurcates here, one branch for New York, the other for Germantown and Chestnut Hill. The southern boundary of an ancient Germantown crosses what is now called the avenue, almost precisely at this point; and here we begin to ascend Naglee's Hill. On the left hand, to the west, is the "Side lot No. 2," which in primitive days fell to Thones Kunders. No better mode than a lottery was known in early times for determining a question, and so, "soon after our arrival in this Province of Pennsylvania, in October, 1683, to our certain knowledge, Herman op den Graff, Dirk op den Graff and Abraham op den Graff, as well as we ourselves, in the cave of Francis Daniel Pastorius, at Philadelphia, did cast lots for the respective lots which they and we then began to settle in Germantown." This certificate bears the date of 1709. It is signed by, I suppose, the seven survivors, and is still in existence. Thones Kunders, with the name anglicized into Conrad, is now represented by the Rev. Thomas K. Conrad, who was the first rector of Calvary Church on Manheim Street. His uncle, Robert T. Conrad, was the first Mayor of consolidated Philadelphia. Naglee's Hill is a good halting-place, and, as the limit for this number is reached, it is a compulsory one. Several illustrations, already prepared, will appear in the next number, as the text they illustrate is carried over to it.

THE COURTS OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAWRENCE LEWIS, JR.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 14, 1881.

The early judicial history of Pennsylvania necessarily presents striking features of interest to the minds of at least two classes in the community. To the professional lawyer it must always be a matter not only of curiosity but of importance, to study the first rude means devised to administer justice between man and man, to trace among the scanty records of the past that have descended to us the original of doctrines which constitute a distinctive part of modern jurisprudence, and to discern, among the transactions of those early times, the rise and development of institutions and practices which, moulded by changing circumstances and the lapse of time, have become familiar to him in the ordinary discharge of his professional duties.

To the student of history the subject affords a different kind of interest. Little attracted by the tedious accounts of routine practice or the fine distinctions between one jurisdiction and another, he finds gratification rather in contemplating the manners, customs, and modes of thought once prevalent in reference to judicial subjects. His eye looks to the accounts of the contentions of long ago with eagerness to glean from them some traces of the past life of the nation, to note upon what matters the interests of its people have been centred, what has been the nature of their industries, the extent of their commerce, the character of their education, the laxity or strictness of their morals, the depth or shallowness of their religious convictions. Nor does he scan those musty records less closely to aid him in forming a just estimate of the characters and dispositions of our forefathers. From no other source can he obtain a clearer knowledge of

their private foibles or their public merits. Whether judges, counsel, or parties, their natural dispositions, mental and moral training and the real extent of their talents are frequently laid bare to investigation, and if the voice of calumny is found sometimes to detract from the merits of those whose memory we would wish only to honor and esteem, ample compensation is afforded in the perusal of bygone transactions which serve as new instances of their virtues and abilities. A review of these considerations has induced me to attempt some slight account of the constitution, jurisdiction, and practice of the Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century. Peculiar facilities have been at length afforded for a thorough investigation of this subject. The late publication of all the Provincial Laws prior to 1700 has thrown new light upon much that was before obscure.¹ The origin of many distinctive features in our peculiar jurisprudence has been disclosed, the primitive constitution of the courts has been thoroughly explained, and the limits of their respective jurisdictions in early days for the first time clearly defined. I cannot but feel, therefore, that in the preparation of this sketch I have had notable advantages over those who have preceded me, and while despairing of success in attempting to do justice to so large and curious a subject, may perhaps venture to hope that even within the brief limits of this paper I shall be able to present its most striking and interesting features.

The power to erect courts of justice and to appoint all judicial officers in and for the Province of Pennsylvania, was by the express terms of the Charter conferred upon the Proprietary.² But, in deference to the wishes of the people,

¹ The title of this volume reads : *Charters to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, passed between the years 1682 and 1700, preceded by Duke of York's Laws in Force from the year 1676 to the year 1682, with an Appendix containing Laws relating to the organization of the Provincial Courts and Historical Matter.* Published under the direction of John Blair Linn, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Harrisburg, 1879. It is better known as the *Duke of York's Laws*, and will be referred to as *D. of Y. L.*

² *Charter of Pennsylvania.*

Penn was willing to forego to some degree the exercise of this extraordinary right. By the Frame of Government¹ upon which he modelled his infant colony, he entrusted to the Governor and Council the erection of all necessary courts of justice, at such places and in such numbers as they should see fit, while he reserved to himself for the term of his life only, the exclusive right to nominate to judicial office. Practically neither of these provisions was very strictly carried out. When new courts were to be constituted in the Province, the concurrence of the Assembly was invariably required to the bill for their erection.² And as to the judiciary, though theoretically nominated by the Governor, they were at least during the Seventeenth Century usually selected by the Council, to whom during the absence of the Proprietary in England, the executive powers of government were frequently solely entrusted. The Council was elected annually by the people in accordance with the provisions of the Frame, so that generally the constitution of the Provincial Bench was at least to some degree within the popular control. All commissions to those in judicial office during the early periods of our history were issued in the name of the Proprietary, were signed by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or President of the Council, and attested with the great seal of Pennsylvania.³

Having premised so much as to the common origin of all the provincial tribunals, it remains to point out in detail the characteristic features of each.

The County Courts of the Province first claim notice and attention. They had their origin in 1673, under the Government of James Duke of York, and were established in every county, "to decide all matters under twenty pounds without appeal," and to have exclusive jurisdiction in the administration of criminal justice, with an appeal, however,

¹ Frame of Government of 1682: D. of Y. L. 97.

² Laws May 10, 1685, c. 182, D. of Y. L. 177, etc. Laws March 10, 1685, c. 77, D. of Y. L. 131, etc.

³ Introduction to Court Laws; D. of Y. L. 298.

in cases extending to "Life, Limbo and Banishment," to the Court of Assizes in New York.¹ They were originally composed each of five or six justices appointed by the Governor and had a jurisdiction so vague and undefined that they can scarcely be said to have been bound by any positive law. The records that have come down to us, "are not satisfactory enough to justify any attempt at analyzing the conglomerate condition of law and justice . . . with the view of accurately making out the precise code and practice."³ Some of these courts met quarterly, some monthly, no one learned in law presided on the bench, no attorney was allowed to practise for pay,⁴ juries were only allowed to consist of six or seven men, except in cases of life and death, and in all save those instances, the conclusions of the majority were allowed to prevail.⁵ In short those courts lacked almost every element of distinctively English procedure.

But, irregular as these tribunals were, they were continued by Penn upon his acquisition of Pennsylvania as well calculated to administer justice to the people. Justices of the Peace were from time to time commissioned, some for the whole Province, some for the particular county, upon whom the duty devolved of holding the County Courts.⁶ Their number varied from time to time with the press of business or the caprice of the Executive. Their attendance at court was secured by the penalty of a fine.⁷ But to relieve them as much as possible they were occasionally assisted in their labors by the Proprietary in person or by the members of the council and judges of the Provincial Court, all of whom were ex-officio justices of the peace. In each county one of the justices most esteemed for his age or ability was installed as President, though no particular honor or emolument seems to have been attached to the position.⁸

¹ 5 Penna. Archives, N. S. 631; 7 Penna. Archives, N. S. 738.

² 5 Penna. Arch., N. S. 718.

³ Historical Notes; D. of Y. Laws, 414.

⁴ Haz. Ann. Penn. 438.

⁵ Book of Laws; D. of Y. L. 33, 34.

⁶ John Hill Martin's Bench and Bar, Printed Slips in Hist. Soc. of Penna.

⁷ Law May 10, 1685, c. 176; D. of Y. L. 176.

⁸ John Hill Martin's Bench and Bar, Printed Slips in Hist. Soc. of Penna.

The County Courts thus constituted anew at first exercised a jurisdiction of a singularly indefinite character. Bound as yet by no strict rules of practice or precedent, they conformed for the most part to their former methods of procedure under the government of the Duke of York. Twelve jurymen were, however, now invariably empaneled, and the unanimous sense of the twelve was required to bring in a verdict. In 1683, the civil jurisdiction of the County Courts was first distinctly defined.¹ All actions of debt, account, or slander, and all actions of trespass were by an Act of Assembly declared to be originally cognizable solely by them. Cases relating to the title of real estate were also considered as within their jurisdiction, and, although in 1684,² on the establishment of the Provincial Court, this branch of business was assigned to it, it was restored to the County Courts by an Act passed during the ensuing year.³ The Acts of 1690⁴ and 1693⁵ substantially confirmed this jurisdiction and settled the authority of the court on a surer basis. The ordinary subjects of litigation were actions of debt on bond, actions of slander, actions to recover the possession of land, actions of assault and battery, and actions of trespass either for cutting the plaintiff's timber or killing his "hoggs." Besides, however, the powers exercised by virtue of general statutory enactments, there were a variety of other civil matters of which the courts took cognizance either in consequence of express legislative sanction or the binding force of custom. The justices interfered to promote and defend the popular interests in all matters that were of public concern. In very early times they granted letters of administration. They superintended the laying out of roads, apportioned the town lots to responsible applicants, took acknowledgments of deeds and registered the private brands and marks of considerable owners of cattle. They exercised, too, a supervision over all

¹ Laws, March 10, 1683, c. 70; D. of Y. L. 129.

² Laws, May 10, 1684, c. 158; D. of Y. L. 168.

³ Laws, May 10, 1685, c. 157; D. of Y. L. 171.

⁴ Laws, May 10, 1690, c. 197; D. of Y. L. 186.

⁵ Laws, May 15, and June 1, 1693, No. 3; D. of Y. L. 225.

bond servants, regulated the sale of their time, afforded summary relief if they were abused by their masters, punished them with stripes or the pillory if they attempted to escape, and took care that they were at liberty to purchase their freedom on reasonable terms. In addition, they frequently discharged other services eminently unjudicial in their nature. In certain contingencies, they levied the county taxes,¹ they entered into contracts for the erection of public buildings and paid from the county stock the standing reward offered for wolves' heads. Sometimes they were entrusted with special duties by the Council. Thus we find that in 1697-8,² the County Court of Philadelphia was ordered to cause "stocks and a cage to be provided," and was required "to suppress the noise & drunkenness of Indians, especially in the night, and to cause the Cryer to go to the extent of each street when hee has anything to cry, and to put a check to Horse racing."

The courts were for the administration of civil justice entrusted with distinct equity powers. "Each quarter sessions shall be as well a court of Equity as Law," says the Act of 1684,³ and the provision was re-enacted in 1693.⁴ What this equity was we have no distinct means of knowing. A high authority⁵ has conjectured that it consisted of that "universal justice which corrects, mitigates, and supplies according to the popular rather than the technical notions of equity," and that "the suggestions of right reason" prevailed more than "the fixed principles of any established code." However this may be, it is certain that even in these very early times, the courts had a distinct equity side. The plaintiff here proceeded exactly as in chancery, by bill, and the defendant responded by answer. A decree was entered, not a judgment, and this was moulded to afford relief according to the require-

¹ Laws, May 15, and June 1, 1693, No. 17; D. of Y. L. 233. Chester Co. Records, 14, 8 mo. 1683.

² MM. Prov. Co., 12 Feb. 1697-8; 1 Col. Rec. 498.

³ Laws, May 10, 1684, c. 156; D. of Y. L. 167.

⁴ Laws, May 15, and June 1, 1693, No. 3; D. of Y. L. 225.

⁵ P. McCall, Esq.'s, Address before Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

ments of the particular case. Costs were divided among the parties at the discretion of the court as the justice of the case required. Instances are extant in the early history of the Province where a court sitting as a court of equity is known to have reversed its own judgment previously entered while sitting as a court of law.¹ Such a course of proceeding, however, was eminently unsatisfactory to the people. The assembly, therefore, in 1687,² proposed a conference with the Council as to whether the courts were really entrusted with such powers. The Council answered that in their opinion the law as to Provincial Courts did "supply and answer all occasions of appeal and was a plainer rule to proceed by." As a consequence the practice was cut up by the roots and all attempts to alter or reverse judgments granted at law were thereafter made by an application to the Provincial Court.³

That strong distrust and dislike, however, of equitable powers, which afterward formed so prominent a feature in the Pennsylvania mind, will be found frequently cropping out to the surface even at that early day. In 1690,⁴ a bill to strike out the word "equity" from the powers given to the courts passed first reading in the House, and though never actually enacted, doubtless represented the views of many in the Province. Again in 1694,⁵ we find the assembly bitterly complaining that the justices had too great liberty to destroy or make void the verdicts of juries, and praying that they might be instructed "not to decree anything in equity" to the prejudice of "judgments before given in law."

The County Courts were vested with criminal jurisdiction in all save cases of heinous or enormous crimes.⁶ Treason, murder, and manslaughter were always outside their cognizance, but until 1693, burglary and arson were triable before

¹ *Hasting v. Yarnall*, Records Chester Co. Ct. 3 d. 1 wk. 10 mo. 1686.
⁵ d. 1 wk. 10 mo. 1686.

² 1 Votes Ass. 41. Min. Prov. Co., 12, 3 mo. 1687, 1 Col. Rec. 157.

³ See Min. Prov. Council, April 24, 1695, 1 Col. Rec. 441.

⁴ 1 Votes Ass. 57.

⁵ 1 Votes Ass. 79.

⁶ *Vide Acts, etc. supra.*

them.¹ These criminal powers were vested in them without a special commission. This never was granted except in the time of Governor Fletcher. The justices had also sometimes entrusted to them powers of general gaol delivery.² The offences of which the county courts had frequently to take cognizance were indeed many of them sufficiently remarkable. Trials for larceny, swearing, laboring on the first day of the week, assault and battery, shooting or maiming the prosecutor's hogs, unduly encouraging drunkenness, selling rum to the Indians, and offences against public morality and decency, constituted the great bulk of the criminal business. Occasionally we find a man arrested and committed to prison on suspicion of piracy or smuggling, and it is pleasant to note that so loyal were the authorities of Chester County, that in 1685 they issued their warrant to apprehend one David Lewis because he was suspected of having taken part in "Monmouth's Rebellion in the West Country."³ "Lying in conversation" was fined half a crown,⁴ "drinking healths which may provoke people to unnecessary and excessive drinking"⁵ was fined five shillings, while the sale of beer made of molasses at more than a penny a quart was visited with a like penalty of five shillings for every quart sold.⁶ No person could "smoak tobacco in the streets of Philadelphia or New Castle, by day or by night," on penalty of a fine of twelve pence to be applied to the purchase of leather buckets and other instruments against fire.⁷ Any person "convicted at playing of cards, dice, lotteries or other such like enticing, vain and evil sports and games," was to pay five shillings or be imprisoned five days at hard labor, while those who introduced or frequented "such rude and riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage plays, masques, revels,

¹ 1 Votes Ass. 91.

² Laws May 15, and June 1, 1693, No. 8, D. of Y. L. 227.

³ Chester County Ct. Records: 13 day 2 week 10 mo. 1685.

⁴ D. of Y. L., c. 36; D. of Y. L. 116.

⁵ D. of Y. L., c. 14; D. of Y. L. c. 111.

⁶ Laws May 10, 1684, c. 162, D. of Y. L. 169.

⁷ Laws May 15 and June 1, 1693, No. 5, D. of Y. L. 260.

Bull baitings, cock fightings and the like," were either to forfeit twenty shillings or be imprisoned at hard labor for ten days.¹ It is to be feared that if such laws should nowadays be re-enacted and enforced, hasty steps would have to be taken for the immediate enlargement of our work-houses and penitentiaries.

The course of practice in the County Courts, and particularly in those of Chester, Bucks, and Philadelphia Counties, was much more regular than has been generally supposed.² Although the justices were never men of any regular legal training, they were doubtless familiar by form books or from hearsay with the ordinary mode of conducting legal proceedings, and at any rate were invariably solicitous to maintain the dignity and propriety of their respective courts. Many amusing instances occur among the records of the various counties of the disturbances to which the justices were subject. Blasphemous and improper expressions of the grossest kind are chronicled at full length with the penalties imposed upon the various culprits. Smoking tobacco in the court-room seems in particular to have been esteemed a most heinous offence. Luke Watson, one of the justices of Sussex Co., in 1684 seriously offended the Court twice on the same day in this manner, and was severely fined by his brethren on the bench, the first time fifty pounds of tobacco, the second, one hundred.³ At the opening of the same court at the June sessions 1687, there seems to have been particular difficulty in enforcing order. William Bradford was reprimanded for swearing in the presence of the justices, and Thomas Hasellum fined for singing and making a noise.⁴ A few days after during the same term the court had occasion to require the presence of one Thomas Jones, who seems to have been a very hardened character and refused to obey their mandate. They accordingly sent the constable and two justices to fetch him into the court, whereupon he fell to cursing and bawling at a horrible rate. Then, say the records,

¹ Great Law Dec. 7, 1682, c. c. 26 and 27, D. of Y. L. 114.

² McCall's Address before Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

³ See Sussex County Records, MS.

⁴ Ibid.

“the said Jones being brought to the Court, the Court told him of his misdemeanour, and told him he should suffer for it; he told the Court he questioned their power, soe the Court ordered the Sherriff and Constable to secure him and they carryed & dragged him to y^e smith shop where they put irons upon him, but he quickly got the Irons off and Escaped, he having before wounded severall persons’ legs with his spurs that strived with him, and when they was goeing to put him in the Stocks, before that they put him in Irons, he Kicked the Sherriff on the mouth and was very unruly and abusive, and soone got out of the Stocks.”¹

The distinction between the various kinds of civil actions seems to have been recognized and acted on in all these early courts. Case, Trover, Debt, Ejectment, Trespass, and Replevin occur from time to time and are usually appropriately employed. Sometimes, however, a serious error occurred. Case was for example occasionally substituted for ejectment. The plaintiff would declare for the “just, quiet, and peaceable possession of land,” and would obtain relief equivalent in effect to a writ of “habere facias possessionem.”² Even as late as 1705, so good a lawyer as David Lloyd expressed his conviction that a writ of ejectment would not lie in Pennsylvania “because, being founded on a fiction, it was inconsistent with the spirit of our laws.”³

No matter what the form of action, the process was invariably the same.⁴ The suit was begun by exhibiting the complaint in court fourteen days before the trial, and by the plaintiff asserting that he verily believed his cause to be just. The defendant was then brought in either by summons, arrest, or attachment. The summons was served at least ten days before the trial, and was accompanied by a copy of the complaint, both of these being in some cases left by the plaintiff himself at the defendant’s dwelling house. No

¹ See Sussex County Records, MS.

² Sussex County Records, MS., 9, 10, 11, 11 mo. 1682-3.

³ 2 Min. Prov. Co., 9, 11 mo. 1704-5.

⁴ McCall’s Address before the Law Academy, 1838. *Laws*, March 10, 1683, c. 66, D. of Y. L. 128

arrest was allowed unless the defendant was about to leave the county and would give no bail, or unless he had not goods sufficient to be attached.¹ In some instances an irregular practice obtained of beginning the suit by petition, in which case the defendant was brought in by an order of the court.

On the day fixed for the trial or hearing, the parties appeared in person, or, if unable, by their friends to assert or defend their rights. If the plaintiff had failed to serve his process or complaint, he was non-suited. If the defendant failed to appear, judgment was entered against him for default.² If both parties were present and ready to proceed, the defendant was called on for his answer. This at first was not always read, but subsequently became an essential part of every case. The papers already mentioned constituted all the processes and pleadings in the cause. They were all short and all in English as required by the fundamental law of the Province.³ The answer could set up any defence, legal or equitable, to the plaintiff's claim. If a set-off existed, the defendant was to acknowledge the debt which the plaintiff demanded and defalk what the plaintiff owed to him on the like clearness.⁴

The answer being disposed of, the court now turned to the adjudication of the cause. The parties were sometimes, particularly in the lower counties, content to leave the question to the bench without the intervention of a jury, and in such cases the witnesses for both sides were called, affirmed, and examined, argument heard, and the sentence of the justices pronounced. These contentions were conducted with some regularity. No evidence was received either from a party to the cause or from any one else directly interested in the result. Two witnesses were required to establish the plaintiff's case.⁵ A rule of court provided⁶

¹ Laws, May 10, 1684, c. 167, D. of Y. L. 172.

² P. McCall, Esq.'s, Address before the Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

³ Great Law, Dec. 7, 1682, c. 37, D. of Y. L. 117.

⁴ Great Law, Dec. 7, 1682, c. 41; D. of Y. L. 118.

⁵ Law, 7. 10 mo. 1682, c. 36, D. of Y. L. 116.

⁶ McCall's Address before the Law Academy, 1838.

“That plaintiffs, defendants, and all other persons speak directly to the point in question . . . and that they forbear reflections and recriminations either on the court, jury, or on one another under penalty of a fine.” In deciding the cause the justices were swayed almost entirely by their own convictions of right—*arbitrum viri boni*. Their sublime disregard of ordinary legal rules is patent on even a cursory perusal of their proceedings.

In most instances the parties were not content to submit the question to the court. A jury was therefore in these cases summoned, a verdict duly returned, and judgment including costs of suit entered thereon.

The judgment of the court, in the lower counties, was in early times often pronounced in a very remarkable way. An Act of 1683¹ provided that whereas there was “a necessity for the sake of commerce in this infancy of things, that the growth and produce of this Province . . . should pass in lieu of money, that, therefore, all merchantable wheat, rye, indian corn, barley, oats, pork, beef, and tobacco should pass current at the market price.” Of this provision the people availed themselves largely. They frequently gave bonds to each other acknowledging their debts in kind. Judgments were accordingly sometimes entered “for one hundred and seventy-two pounds of pork and two bushels of wheat, being the balance of an account brought into court,”² or for “32 shillings for a gun, and one hundred and fifty pounds of pork for a shirt,”² while, perhaps, the climax is reached in an entry of judgment for “one thousand of six-penny nails, and three bottles of rum.”³ Even when the amount was liquidated in money, it is sometimes found estimated in guilders and stivers instead of pounds, shillings, and pence.

When judgment was once pronounced, ten days had to intervene before execution issued,³ and, although this practice

¹ Laws, 25, 8 mo. 1683, c. 144, D. of Y. L. 162.

² Sussex Co. Records, MS., 9, 10, 11, 11 mo. 1682-3.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 1 and 2, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 121-122.

was complained of by the Assembly as a grievance in 1687, it does not seem to have been substantially altered.¹

Of the process of execution we know very little. The "shrieve," or in his absence the "crowner," always made specific returns to the court of the manner in which he performed this duty. Lands were at least to a limited degree liable to be seized and sold,² and, in some instances, the justices themselves exposed them to public vendue in the court-house.³

The tendency of all judicial proceedings was to discourage litigation as much as possible. If the plaintiff declared for more than five pounds, and his debt or damage proved less than that amount, he lost his suit and was mulcted for costs.⁴ Cases too are very frequent where the courts advised the parties amicably to adjust their difficulty rather than undertake the trouble and expense of an adversary proceeding.

Another strong instance of this peaceable tendency is found in the establishment of the unprofessional but regular tribunal called the Peacemakers. By the Act of 1688⁵ it was provided that in every precinct three persons should be yearly chosen as common peacemakers, whose arbitrations were to be as valid as the judgments of the courts of justice. These peacemakers were not elected by the people, but appointed annually by the County Court.⁶ Frequent references of cases pending in the courts were by agreement made to them sometimes once only, occasionally twice, and in rare instances three or four times. The Provincial Council, too, was very apt to relegate questions brought before it to the adjudication of this tribunal.⁷

The following award filed in Chester County, in 1687, in

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 11, 3 mo. 1687, 1 Col. Rec. 158.

² *Presbyterian Corporation v. Wallace et al.*, 3 Rawle, 140.

³ *Vide* Sussex Co. Rec., MS.

⁴ *Great Laws*, March 10, 1683, c. 71, D. of Y. L. 130.

⁵ *Law*, March 10, 1683, c. 65, D. of Y. L. 128.

⁶ See Address of Hon. James T. Mitchell on Adjournment of District Court, 1875, pp. 4 and 5.

⁷ Min. Prov. Co., 7, 9 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 34.

an action of an assault and battery by Samuel Baker against Samuel Rowland,¹ is a fair example of those usually made by this peace-loving body: "Samuel Rowland shall pay the lawful charges of this court, and give the said Samuel Baker a Hatt, and so Discharge each other of all manner of Differences from the Begining of the World to this Present day." The tribunal of the Peacemakers did not, however, very long survive. In May, 1692,² the question was put to the Assembly whether the law relating to Peacemakers was in practice, and the decision was in the negative. It made way for a similar practice, that of arbitration, always a favorite mode of decision in this State.³

Of the practice of the County Courts in criminal cases we do not know so much. Originally the prisoner seems to have been simply brought before the justices on their warrant, and tried without either indictment or plea. But in a short time this gave place to a more regular course of proceeding. A grand inquest was summoned in every county to bring in their presentment twice a year,⁴ an indictment was regularly framed, and the prisoner usually admitted to bail, and given every fair opportunity of defending himself. The panel of jurymen was drawn in a highly primitive manner. "The names of the freemen were writ on small pieces of paper and put into a hat and shaken, forty-eight of whom were drawn by a child, and those so drawn stood for the sheriff's return."⁵ The sentences of the court were not usually severe. Restitution or compensation to the party aggrieved was in almost all cases adjudged, and the whipping post, the pillory, and the imposition of fines were usually resorted to as punishments in preference to long terms of imprisonment. In fact the state of society was such as to make it extremely undesirable to deprive the community of the

¹ Baker v. Rowland, Chester Co. Records, 3 day, 1 wk. 8 mo. 1687.

² May 12, 1692, 1 Votes of Ass. 62.

³ P. McCall Esq.'s Address before the Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

⁴ Laws, March 10, 1683, D. of Y. L. 129, c. 68.

⁵ Laws, March 10, 1683, D. of Y. L. 129, c. 69.

labor of an able-bodied culprit by shutting him up within a prison's walls.

Closely allied to the County Courts were the Orphans' Courts of the Province. These were first constituted by the Act of 1683, and were to "sitt twice in every year."¹ The justices were the same as those presiding in the County Courts.

Their province was declared to be "to inspect and take care of the estates, usage, and employment of orphans . . . that care may be taken for those that are not able to take care for themselves," but their jurisdiction was not confined within this narrow limit. They had control over the management and distribution of decedent's estates, and with the approbation of the Governor and Council could order a sale of his real property for the discharging of his debts.² They appointed too guardians of minors, and regulated their accounts, but obliged legatees to prosecute their claims in the regular courts of law. The duties imposed by them on an executor or administrator as to collection of the assets, filing of the inventory and distributing the estate were substantially the same which he now has to perform. But the primitive nature of the court's proceedings forms a striking contrast to the complications of Orphans' Court practice at the present day. A petition praying the appropriate relief was presented, and then the residue of the proceedings were moulded to fit the requirements of the case.³ In the lower counties the court sometimes neglected to summon the defendant, but gave judgment for the plaintiff on his own showing, a practice which drew on them a sharp reproof from the council in 1685.

As a rule the conduct of the early Orphans' Courts was by no means satisfactory. Their jurisdiction was vague, their practice irregular, and consequently a large share of the duties which would have been more appropriately performed by them fell to the share of the Provincial Council.

¹ Law, March 10, 1683, c. 77, D. of Y. L. 131.

² Laws, May 3, 1688, c. 188, D. of Y. L. 180.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 24, 7 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 107.

Prior to 1684 there existed in Pennsylvania no distinctive appellate tribunal. The County Courts were, it is true, liable to have their judgments modified or reversed on application to the council sitting at Philadelphia.¹ But this mode of relief, though reasonable enough in the extreme infancy of the colony, gradually began to impose too heavy a burden on the appellant. The spread of the settlements and the difficulties of travelling, often made it more tolerable in petty cases to suffer injustice than to obtain redress at the expense of the time, labor, and money involved in going to and returning from the capital town.

To remedy these inconveniences a court was constituted in 1684,² known as the Provincial Court, to be composed of five judges. Its powers were briefly to hear and determine all appeals and to try "all titles to land and all causes as well criminal as civil, both in law and in equity, not determinable by the respective County Courts." For the exercise of these powers, the court was to sit twice in every year at Philadelphia, and at least two of the justices were to go circuit into every other county in the spring and fall. The judges made use in going from place to place of one Edward Evaret's wherry boat, and the charges of their journeys were defrayed out of the public purse.

In 1685³ the court was constituted anew. The number of its judges was now reduced to three, its criminal jurisdiction in cases of heinous and enormous crimes more distinctly defined, and its original cognizance of trials of title to land abolished. It was again remodeled by the Acts of 1690⁴ and 1693,⁵ and the number of its judges was restored to five. Its powers were not, however, by these provisions materially altered.

Of the judges of the Provincial Court one was always commissioned as chief, or prior justice, and was entitled by virtue

¹ Laws March 10, 1683, c. lxx., D. of Y. L. p. 129.

² Laws May 10, 1684, c. 158, D. of Y. L. 168.

³ Laws May 10, 1685, c. 187, D. of Y. L. 177.

⁴ Laws May 10, 1690, c. 197, D. of Y. L. 184.

⁵ Laws of May 15 and June 1, 1693, c. 163, D. of Y. L. 225.

of his office to preside. One at least of the justices was always a citizen of the lower counties, and, according to some authorities, whenever the court sat in these counties, an inhabitant was authorized to preside as its chief. This practice necessitated the issuing of two separate commissions whenever a new bench was to be appointed, one nominating a chief justice from the upper, the other from the lower counties.¹

The commission of 1690,² however, was not issued in the customary way. The council saw fit to appoint Arthur Cook, of Bucks County, Chief Justice for all the sessions of the court. This action provoked an indignant remonstrance on the part of the deputies from the lower counties. They insisted on their right "to have two commissions drawn to the judges that the Province might be accommodated and the Counties annexed with each one, *i. e.*, in one to have a judge from the territories first named, and in the other one from the Province."

Obtaining no redress from the Council for their alleged grievance, the malcontents resolved upon a most extraordinary action. Though only six in number and comprising, therefore, but one-third the Council, they met clandestinely in the council chamber, chose William Clark of Sussex to preside over their deliberations, censured severely the negligence and incapacity of the judges already chosen, and proceeded to elect a full new bench.

They further drew up two commissions in accordance with their views, in one of which Clark was nominated as Chief Justice of the lower counties, and proceeded to send the documents to Markham, Keeper of the Great Seal, with instructions to ask him to affix it to them.

Markham of course refused, and a meeting of the Council was hastily convened who entered a protest against the action of the six members as "undue and irregular," and "contrary

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 18, 6 mo. 1684, 1 Col. Rec. 66; Min. Prov. Co., 12, 7 mo. 1684, 1 Col. Rec. 68.

² Min. Prov. Co., 21 Oct. 1690, 1 Col. Rec. 304.

to the express letter of the laws." Their proceedings were therefore entirely disallowed and annulled, and a proclamation to that effect ordered to be issued.

The pretensions of the dissatisfied members found, however, ample support among their constituents. Complaints from the territories of their unjust treatment were frequent and universal. And from this trivial occurrence may be dated the beginning of the unhappy differences which thirteen years later occasioned the severance of the lower counties, now constituting the State of Delaware, from the Province of Pennsylvania.

For the first few years of the Provincial Court it was found almost impossible to sustain its dignity and character. The compensation given to the judges was very small and probably irregularly paid.¹ The terms of office were very short—never exceeding three years, and often extending only throughout one. The duties, too, were arduous and of such a character as involved frequent journeys from one part of the Province to the other. It is therefore scarcely to be wondered at that great difficulty was found in securing proper persons to place upon the bench, and that the records are full of instances where appointees begged to be excused from serving, and gladly declined the proffered but unwelcome honor.

In spite, however, of all these difficulties the early provincial judges of Pennsylvania were men of sterling integrity and notable abilities. There were found persons willing to serve, who, if not of the very foremost rank in talents and energy, were nevertheless sufficiently conspicuous for their public services and private merit. Most of them occupied at one period or another of their career a seat at the provincial council board, and some had taken part in the deliberations of the Assembly. Destitute of any regular legal training, they nevertheless possessed minds well calculated to administer such rude justice between man and man as the state of the country required. Little bound by the authority

¹ See Introduction to Court Laws, D. of Y. Laws, 298.

of precedents, and chiefly controlled by the rough notions of equity which nature had implanted in their hearts, they performed their duties in a manner which usually secured justice at least in the isolated case before them, and which, therefore, was satisfactory to the community in which they lived. No traces of their opinions have come down to us; and, judging from contemporary records, it seems highly probable that they were seldom required to pass upon a technical point of law. The conducting of routine business, the guarding of juries from extraneous and injurious influences and prejudices, the control and examination of witnesses, and the adjudication of simple matters of fact where the parties agreed to dispense with a jury must have made up the great bulk of their official labors.

The Proprietary as early as October 18, 1681, in his letter to his kinsman William Markham, says, "I have sent my cosen William Crispin . . . and it is my will and pleasure that he be as Chief Justice."¹ Crispin is supposed, however, to have died either before sailing for America or shortly after his arrival.² His commission at any rate never took effect. No memorial is preserved of his having ever presided in any court.

The honor, therefore, of first discharging the highest judicial office in Pennsylvania, is to be attributed to the man appointed by the Proprietary in pursuance of the Act of 1684—that man was Nicholas More. It is difficult, almost impossible, justly to estimate the abilities and character of More, from the sources of information which lie open to us. Educated according to the better opinion in the study of medicine, he in maturer years drifted away from the practice of his profession and in 1681 became the President of the Society of Free Traders and a large purchaser of land in the new Province of Pennsylvania.³ He arrived in the colony with Penn in 1682, and though not a member of the Society

¹ Proud's History of Pennsylvania, 295.

² Westcott's History of Phila. c. 18.

³ The History of Moreland, by William J. Buck, 6 Coll. Hist. Soc. of Penna. 189.

of Friends, so far won the confidence and regard of the people that he was returned as a member of the first Assembly at Chester, and even according to some accounts was elected speaker of that body.¹ He was returned as a member of the Assembly in the three succeeding years, and in 1684 was elected again its speaker.² In August of that same year he was commissioned by the Proprietary, Chief Justice, or prior judge as it was then called, of the Province, and at once entered upon the discharge of the functions of that office.³

But however estimable the qualities which entitled him to all these offices of trust and honor, his character was stained by faults which irritated and incensed those with whom he was brought in contact. A strong and energetic mind was in him joined to an haughty mien, a contentious spirit, and a harsh and ungoverned temper. The early records of the Province afford several instances where his impatient outbursts shocked the sense of his contemporaries. When in 1683 a Council and Assembly were returned less in numbers than required by the Frame of Government, who nevertheless proceeded to business as though invested with full legislative powers, More is reported as saying in public, "You have broken the Charter, and therefore all that you do will come to nothing. Hundreds in England will curse you, . . . and their children after them, and you may be impeached for treason for what you do."⁴

Again in 1684, on the passage of certain laws to which he was bitterly opposed, he denounced them openly in the House, as "cursed laws," and used still stronger language even better calculated to outrage the feelings of his fellow law-makers.⁵ In addition to all this we find that repeatedly he entered his indignant and solitary protest upon the min-

¹ Gordon's Hist. of Penn. 87.

² Votes of Ass. pp. 1, 24.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 12, 7 mo. 1684, 1 Col. Rec. 68.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 2, 1 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 2.

⁵ Min. Prov. Co., 17, 3 mo. 1684, 1 Col. Rec. 55.

utes of the Assembly against measures which seemed to his individual judgment, hasty or impolitic.¹

The continuance of such practices joined no doubt to an overbearing and haughty spirit in the discharge of his judicial duties made More many enemies in all classes of the community. It is, therefore, with but little surprise that we read of a formal impeachment of him by the Assembly as early in his judicial career as 1685.²

On the morning of May 15 of that year a formal complaint was exhibited by a member of the House against him. More, who was sitting as a delegate in the House, was ordered to withdraw. The articles of accusation were read and successively approved. Managers to conduct the impeachment were appointed, and then the whole body adjourned to wait upon the President and Council and request them to remove the accused from all his offices of trust and power. The council received the accusers with grave civility, appointed seven o'clock on the following morning as a time for them to substantiate their complaints, and summoned the accused to answer to the charges preferred against him.³

Meanwhile More was by no means inclined gracefully to submit himself and his actions to the judgment of the Council. He took occasion to complain bitterly of the action of the Assembly, and accused Abraham Man, one of the managers of the impeachment, of being "a person of a seditious spirit."⁴

The next morning the House assembled, not, it may be conceived, in the best of tempers. More, they resolved, had, by his animadversions upon Man, "broke the order and privilege of the House." A committee was despatched to require his attendance to answer the accusations made against him, and he was warned that "if he did not submit himself as conscious of the said charge, that he should be ejected as an unprofitable member of the House."

The committee, however, met with little success in their

¹ Votes of Assembly, pp. 32 and 33.

² Votes of Assembly, p. 33.

³ Min. Prov. Co., May 15, 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 83.

⁴ Votes of Assembly, p. 34.

mission. They waited on the culprit, and informed him of what they wished. "In what capacity do you come?" said More. "That you may know when you come there," said they. "I will be voted into the House as I was voted out of the House before I will appear in the House," was the arrogant rejoinder, and with this report the committee was fain to return.

The Assembly now very prudently resolved to collect the testimony necessary to make good their charge. The possession of the records of the Provincial Court was almost a necessity, as they contained not only the strongest but in some cases the only existing evidence of More's misfeasances in office. It so chanced that Patrick Robinson, clerk of the Court, was present in the room where the House was assembled, a man little in sympathy with the impeachment and more disposed to shield the accused than furnish the evidence against him. He was called upon to produce the records, but this he declined to do, alleging at first that there were no records and afterwards insisting that they were "written some in Latin where one word stood for a sentence, and in unintelligible characters which no person could read but himself, no, not an angel from Heaven."

The House mildly but firmly insisted on compliance with their commands, but the utmost they could obtain from the clerk was a promise that he would consider it. "Delay will be taken as a denial," was the warning he received. "You may take it so if you will," was his reply, and with this closing insolence he withdrew. The House, justly indignant at his behavior, ordered their speaker's warrant to issue for his apprehension, and committed him to the custody of the sheriff till their pleasure should be known.

Nor was this the sum of Robinson's misdeeds. He was reported as having used the scandalous phrase in reference to the articles of impeachment that they were drawn up "hob nob at a venture." This was too much for the patience of the House. They voted him a public enemy and violator of their privileges, and declared themselves unable to proceed with public business until they should obtain satisfaction from

the Council. The House accordingly adjourned, and John White, the speaker, with two other members, went to wait upon the Council. Robinson had by this time apparently worked himself into a towering rage. Meeting White on the street going to the Council Chamber, he stopped him in a threatening manner, saying, "Well, John, have a care what you do; I'll have at you when you are out of the chair." The committee, however, were well received by the Council, and promised satisfaction for the insult. Robinson's expression was declared "indecent, unallowable and to be disowned," and More having failed to appear that morning, the afternoon of the next day but one was fixed by the Council for the hearing of the case.¹

More all this time, secretly supported by the Governor and his friends in the Council, took no notice of the proceedings against him, and outwardly affected an ignorance of them and indifference to them which must have been feigned. Meeting John Briggs, a member of the House, at the Governor's, he asked him in a careless manner "what the Assembly was doing." Briggs replied what More very well knew, "They are proceeding on thy impeachment." "Either I myself or some of you will be hanged," said More, "and I advise you to enter your protest against it."²

On the morning of the eighteenth, the Assembly met after a long conference with the Council. They once more endeavored to extort the records from Robinson, who was brought into the house in the custody of the sheriff, but in vain. "He lying along upon the ground," say the Votes, "refused to make answer to the point, but told the Assembly that they acted arbitrarily and had no authority." The House therefore hastened to make an end of the business. They expelled More, resolved to ask that Robinson should be removed from office, hastily gathered together their evidence, and presented themselves before the Council.

More had again absented himself, but the evidence against him was sufficiently serious. He was proved to have acted

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 18, 3 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 86; 1 Votes of Ass. 35.

² 1 Votes of Assembly, 35.

in a summary and unlawful way in summoning juries, to have perverted the sense of testimony, to have unduly hectorred and harassed a jury into finding an unjust verdict, to have improperly vacated a judgment and discharged the defendant who had been arrested for the debt, to have refused to go circuit in the lower counties where he could not preside as chief, and finally of having used "severall contemptuous and Derogatory expressions . . . of the Provincial Council and of the Present state of Governm't by calling the memb. thereof fooles & loggerheads," and by saying "it was well if all the laws had dropt and that it never would be good times as long as y^e Quakers had y^e administration."

The speaker then again requested that both More and Robinson be dismissed from office, and immediately after the Assembly withdrew.¹

The Governor and council were sufficiently puzzled how to act. In the case of Robinson indeed they declined to meddle at all,² and he was continued in his office for more than a year, until his insolence to the Provincial Judges necessitated his dismissal.³

In the case of More there was greater difficulty to know how to conduct themselves. They had every disposition to treat him with favor, but the force of public opinion and his own extraordinary indifference to the proceedings against him at length forced them into depriving him of his office and dignities.⁴ They would never consent, however, to the further prosecution of his impeachment, and, though repeatedly solicited by the Assembly, postponed the matter from month to month by trivial excuses⁵ till more important matters took its place in the public mind. I have been thus particular in setting forth the prosecution of Nicholas More,

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 19, 3 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 88.

² Min. Prov. Co., 2, 4 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 90.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 1, 8 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 144.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 2, 4 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 90.

⁵ 1 Votes of Assembly, p. 37; Min. Prov. Co., 28, 5 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 100; 29, 5 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 101; 16, 7 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 102.

not only because it constitutes an interesting episode in the history of the first legal dignitary of the Province, but because it affords an excellent idea of the manners and modes of thought prevalent in those early days. Too great care cannot however be taken to remember that the crimes laid at the judge's door were after all but the *ex parte* statements of his adversaries. He had some warm friends both in the Council and Assembly, and was so trusted and respected by the Proprietary, that in 1686 he was appointed one of a board of five to constitute the Executive of the Province.¹ For some unknown reason he never actually served.² But surely it is reasonable to conclude that he must have been possessed of some sterling qualities and considerable natural parts to warrant Penn in his appointment.³ His dismissal from office ended his career as a public man. He died after a languishing illness in 1689.⁴

The remaining chief or prior justices of Pennsylvania during the Seventeenth Century were James Harrison and Arthur Cook of Bucks, John Symcocke of Chester, and Andrew Robeson of Philadelphia.⁵ Though not perhaps so eminent as More, they were nevertheless all well fitted by temperament and reputation for the station which they filled. Their integrity was never disputed and their judgments seldom complained of. Among their brethren on the provincial bench we find such men as Turner, Claypoole, Clark, Growden, Wynne, and Shippen; names, which if not calculated to confer lustre, at least insured respectability to the court in which they sat.

Of the practice of the Provincial Court we know but little. Its records have perished, a fact not very wonderful if David Lloyd's assertion be true that in his time they were written on

¹ Gordon's Hist. of Penna. 90.

² Historical Notes, D. of Y. Laws, 513.

³ See also letter from Dr. Nicholas More to William Penn, Sept. 13, 1686. Printed in 1687. Reprinted in 4 PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG. 445.

⁴ 6 Coll. Hist. Soc. of Penna. 189.

⁵ Vide John Hill Martin's Bench and Bar, Printed Slips in Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.

“a quire of paper.”¹ The proceedings were, however, probably very similar to those of the County Courts. Eight days intervened between judgment and the award of execution,² and an appeal lay, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, from all its decisions to the Privy Council in England.

The most conspicuous of the provincial tribunals and by far the best known to ordinary readers was the Provincial Council. This body was composed of the most influential and prominent men of the community, and, although chosen annually by the people, served usually to represent the more conservative and aristocratic element in society, and was well calculated to impose a check on the hasty and sometimes ill-advised actions of the Assembly. Its powers far transcended those of any body of men now entrusted with the government of the people. Its duties were at once executive, legislative, and judicial. The first were often sufficiently onerous owing to the prolonged absence of the Proprietary in England and the necessity of assuming some part of his functions and privileges. They were therefore called upon, among other duties, to appoint the judges both of the County and Provincial Courts, to supervise the subdivision of counties, to control the commerce with the savages, and to exercise a censorship over the press more stringent than is usually supposed ever to have been put in force in Pennsylvania. In 1685,³ one Atkins issued an almanac from the press of Wm. Bradford in the “chronologie” in which he had the assurance to refer to the Proprietary as “Lord Penn.” The title struck with horror upon the simple minds of the members of the Council. Atkins was admonished to blot out the objectionable words, and Bradford was warned to publish nothing save that for which he should obtain a license.⁴ In 1689 Joseph Growden,

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 25, 12 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 202.

² Min. Prov. Co., 2, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 122.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 9, 11 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 115.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 9, 2 mo. 1689, 1 Col. Rec. 235.

a most influential and well-known citizen, was openly censured for having presumed to print and circulate the Frame of Government, and it was publicly announced that the Proprietary had declared himself adverse to the use of the printing press. Nor did the authorities confine themselves to warnings merely. In 1692 Bradford's printing materials were by their order seized and taken from him in consequence of his having issued from his press some books of controversy.¹

The orders of the Council were not limited to affairs of general interest merely. Municipal regulations also claimed their attention. How far the following proclamation of Council on July 11, 1693, would be applicable or advisable now, I leave to the candid judgment of my hearers. It is entitled an order against "the tumultous gatherings of the negroes of the towne of Philadelphia on the first dayes of the weeke." By its terms the constables are empowered to arrest all "negroes male or female whom they should find gadding abroad on the said first dayes of the week, without a tickett from their Mr. or Mrs. or not in their compa. and to carry them to goale, there to remain that night and that without meat or drink and to cause them to be publicly whipt next morning with thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, on their bare backs"²

The legislative duties of the Council were besides very considerable. Upon them originally devolved the preparation of all legislative measures, and, even when in 1693 this right was assumed by the Assembly, the assent of the Council was required to every bill, as constituting a co-ordinate branch of the Government.³

The judicial functions discharged by them claim particularly in this place attention and classification. The amount of such business devolving upon the Council was very great. Its members were, it is true, *ex-officio* justices of the County

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 27 April 1693, 1 Col. Rec. 326.

² Min. Prov. Co., 11 July, 1693, 1 Col. Rec. 341.

³ Introduction to Court Laws, D. of Y. L. 299.

Courts,¹ but were besides looked up to by all classes as the supreme judges of the land.² Much difficulty has been found in understanding the nature and extent of their jurisdiction. It is said by some to have been bounded by no very definite limits, to present a confused appearance, and to have conflicted with the jurisdiction of the other provincial tribunals.³ A somewhat careful study of the reported cases adjudged by it during the Seventeenth Century, has induced me to think these remarks uncalled for.

It is true that in the very infancy of the Colony a few cases of fines imposed for drunkenness and ordinary actions of debt or account appear upon the minutes of the Council. But with these few exceptions the instances of the exercise of judicial power are easily grouped into a few leading classes.

First come the appeals from the County Courts, all prior to the establishment of the Provincial Court in 1684. These were expressly authorized by statutory enactment,⁴ and although a number of like appeals were brought after the establishment of the Provincial Court, the petitioners were invariably relegated to the appropriate and lawful forum.

Next comes the jurisdiction to try great crimes, originally in the Duke of York's time devolving on the Court of Assizes. No such power was reposed in the County Courts, nor until 1685⁵ was it conferred upon the Provincial Judges. For the first three years of the Colony, therefore, the Council of necessity assumed jurisdiction in such cases. Of these the most considerable were the trials of Pickering, Buckley, and Felton for debasing the coin, and of Margaret Mattson for witchcraft.

Pickering's case presents no very remarkable features.⁶ He was indicted for "Quining of Spanish Bitts and Boston

¹ See John Hill Martin's Bench and Bar, Printed Slips in Hist. Soc. of Penna.

² Min. Prov. Co., 13, 1 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 217.

³ McCall's Address before the Law Academy, 1838.

⁴ Laws March 10, 1683, c. 70, D. of Y. L. p. 129.

⁵ Laws May 10, 1685, c. 132, D. of Y. L. p. 177.

⁶ Min. Prov. Co., 26, 8 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 32.

Money" (by which is meant, I suppose, Pine Tree, Oak Tree or New England shillings), of a value considerably less than the genuine articles. A true bill was found by the grand jury, and his trial took place before the Council on October 26, 1683. The Proprietary himself presided, a jury was duly empannelled, the offence clearly proven, and a verdict of guilty returned. The sentence was characteristic of the time. Pickering himself, the chief offender, was "to make full satisfaction in good and currant pay to every person that should within y^e space of one month, bring in any of this False, Base and Counterfeit Coyne . . . according to their respective proportions and the money brought in was to be melted into gross before being returned to him," and he was further fined £40, to be appropriated towards building a Court House.

Samuel Buckley being more "ingenious" was fined £10, to be appropriated in the same way, and Fenton, being but a servant, was only condemned to be put in the stocks for an hour.

The case of Margaret Mattson¹ is of much greater and more general interest, both on account of the peculiarity of the accusation and the notoriety it has acquired as illustrating the temper of our ancestors. The trial took place on February 27, 1683-4 before the Proprietary himself. The evidence adduced against the prisoner was of a most trifling character, and such as now would be scouted from the witness box of a court of justice. Several witnesses declared that they had been told by others that the prisoner had bewitched their cattle. One man swore that while boiling the heart of a calf, which he supposed to have died by witchcraft, the prisoner came into his house and was visibly discomposed, making use of several strange and unseemly expressions relative to his employment. Another declared that a few nights before, his wife had waked him in a great fright, alleging that she had just seen a great light and an old woman with a knife in her hand at the "Bedd's feet." But the witness

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 27, 12 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 40.

failed even to identify the apparition as resembling the accused. The prisoner conducted her defence with great ability and presence of mind, denied the allegations of her accusers, and very discreetly pointed out that every particle of the evidence against her was but hearsay.

The Governor charged the jury, how we cannot know, but we can easily imagine, strongly in favor of the prisoner. The verdict at any rate was "guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted." The prisoner, therefore, having given security for her good behavior, was released.

However creditable the result of this matter was to the heads and hearts of the Governor and jury concerned, it will not do to allow the idea to be conveyed that a belief in witchcraft and in the freaks of the powers of darkness, did not exist in the colony. When such a short time before in England a judge of the learning, temper, and reputation of Sir Matthew Hale, had, by his vehement charge to a jury, sent two poor old women to the stake for practising magic arts,¹ when the Salem witchcrafts and the apparitions reported by Cotton Mather were such very recent events in the popular mind, no such broad and liberal spirit could be expected here. Accordingly, in 1695, we find one Robert Roman presented by the grand inquest of Chester County for practising geomancy according to Hidon, and divining by a stick.² He submitted himself to the bench and was fined £5, and his books, Hidon's Temple of Wisdom, Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, and Cornelius Agrippa's Geomancy, were ordered to be taken from him and brought into court.

In 1701 a petition of Robert Guard and his wife was read before the Council, setting forth "That a certain Strange Woman lately arrived in this Town being seized with a very Sudden illness after she had been in their company on the 17th Instant, and Several Pins being taken out of her Breasts,

¹ Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices of England. Life, Sir Matthew Hale, Am. Ed., vol. ii., p. 224, etc.

² Records Chester Co., MS. 1695. McCall's Address before Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

one John Richards Butcher and his Wife Ann, charged the Petr's with Witchcraft, and as being the Authors of the Said Mischief." They alleged that their trade and reputation had suffered in consequence, and asked that their accusers be cited to appear. A summons was issued accordingly but the matter, being judged trifling, was dismissed.¹ Even as late as 1719, we find that the commission to the justices of Chester County empowered them to inquire of all "witchcrafts, enchantments, sorceries, and magick arts."²

To return to the jurisdiction of the Provincial Council. Another class of cases constantly brought before them were those connected with admiralty matters. No power to deal with these was vested in the ordinary Courts of the Province, nor was there any distinctive Court of Vice-Admiralty erected until near the end of the century.

Hence we find the Council taking cognizance of numerous suits for mariners' wages,³ and pilots fees,⁴ of complaints of passengers and sailors against masters and mates for ill treatment,⁵ insufficient victualling and the like. Instances too are frequent of the adjudication of ships and cargoes seized for a violation of the provisions of the navigation acts of 12 Charles II., and 7 and 8 Wm. III.⁶ These were usually settled by the Council after hearing the necessary witnesses, but sometimes a special jury was summoned by whom the case was decided.⁷ This jurisdiction terminated, as will shortly be seen, when a Vice-Admiralty Court was duly erected.

Another line of cases frequently brought before the Council were those which bore reference to the appointment of guardians and the administration and partition of decedents'

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 21, 3 mo. 1701, 2 Col. Rec. 20.

² D. of Y. L. 382.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 20, 1 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 8; 25, 2 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 79.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., June 27, 1693, 1 Col. Rec. 340.

⁵ Min. Prov. Co., 7 and 8, 7 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 23-24; 30, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 126; 11, 4 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 91.

⁶ Min. Prov. Council, 14, 8 mo. 1684, 1 Col. Rec. 69.

⁷ Min. Prov. Council, April 23, 1695, 1 Col. Rec. 440.

estates.¹ Such matters fell of course more regularly under the domain of the Orphans' Courts. But from the somewhat vague nature of the powers of these Courts, and from other causes not now perfectly understood, it appears that they were unable to do justice in all cases. The Council therefore often assumed the duty of themselves, sometimes assigning as a reason the extraordinary nature of the case, and at other times proceeding in the matter as of course.² We can well believe, however, that except under peculiar circumstances such jurisdiction would not be assumed, and we are more particularly warranted in this belief by the number of causes relegated to their proper tribunal.³ The power to order a sale of lands for payment of debts seems originally to have been reposed entirely in the Council.⁴ Even by the Act of 1693,⁵ its approval was required in cases where an order to that effect had been made by the justices of the inferior court.

The great bulk, however, of the judicial powers of the Council were largely executive in their nature, and have been aptly said to resemble those wielded by the Court of Star Chamber in its purest and best days.⁶ It assumed to itself the control and direction of inferior courts in cases of extreme hardship or manifest irregularity of proceeding, and with an unsparing hand admonished or punished wrongdoers in judicial or shrieval positions by fines, imprisonment, and removal from office. A few instances will serve to explain the nature of these duties.

In 1683 the County Court at Philadelphia had given judgment concerning a title to land in Bucks County. The business was referred to the County Court where the lands

¹ Min. Prov. Council, 30, 8 mo. 1683; 24, 7 mo. 1685; 12, 2 mo. 1690; Sept. 21, 1686.

² Min. Prov. Co., July 30, 1693, 1 Col. Rec. 344.

³ Min. Prov. Co., May 19, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 504.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 21 and 22 May, 1697, 1 Col. Rec. 477-478; May 15, 1699, 1 Col. Rec. 525; July 31, 1700, 1 Col. Rec. 556.

⁵ Laws May 3, 1688, c. 183, D. of Y. L. 189.

⁶ McCall's Address before the Law Academy, 1838.

lay and the County Court of Philadelphia fined forty pounds for giving judgment contrary to law.¹

In 1685² a complaint was entered that the petitioners, having stolen a hog, had at the last Provincial Court been "ordered and sensured to pay tenn pounds seaven shillings for the same, though it was only valued at one pound three shillings," besides being whipped for their offence. This sentence was complained of as being too severe, and the Council accordingly held the matter over to confer with the Provincial Judges.

In 1686³ "the petition of Widow Hilliard and John Hilliard, Jun., against Griffith Jones, was Read, setting forth yt the said Griff. Jones having obtained an Execution agt y^e Estate of John Hilliard, Deceased, would not execute y^e same on no other part of y^e said John Hilliard Estates than the Plantation on which shee, y^e widdow of y^e sd Hilliard, and her children lives on, tho' there be enough in other places to satisfy y^e execution of y^e effect of Deceased's estates." The Council granted the prayer of the petition, and warned the sheriff accordingly.

The same day the "Petition of Jacob Vandervere was Read setting forth y^e illegal and unchristian serving an execution on his goods and turning him, his wife and children out of y^e Doors, and not Leaving them anything to susteine nature."⁴ The Council ordered the clerk of the court and sheriff to appear and answer the complaint, but nothing seems to have been done in the matter. Besides these, dozens of instances might be cited where petitions were filed and relief granted. Orders were made to oblige the County Court to admit an appeal,⁵ to force the Provincial Court to allow an appeal to England,⁶ to oblige a justice to set his hand to an

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 20, 4 mo. 1683, 1 Col. Rec. 20.

² Min. Prov. Council, 28, 2 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 79.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 9, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 124.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 9, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 125.

⁵ Min. Prov. Co., 7, 6 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 141; 18, 3 mo. 1687, 1 Col. Rec. 161.

⁶ Min. Prov. Co., 11, 5 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 95.

execution,¹ to secure a *procedendo*² and for numerous other purposes. The powers of the Council were plastic, and fitted themselves to the injury requiring their beneficent interference.

The practice of the Council in hearing and adjudging cases was uniform. After reading the complainants' petition, the nature of the case was considered. If it was not cognizable by them, the petitioner was relegated to his proper forum. If it was, and the nature of the case was such as entitled the other side to a hearing, they were duly summoned, a day set apart for a production of the evidence, and after due deliberation, either relief was afforded or the petition dismissed. If however the case was of such a nature as to need no summons to an opposite party, the matter was referred to a committee, and on their report and advice the action of the whole body was founded.

It is useless to conceal, however, despite the ordinarily beneficial influence of this controlling and directing power, that its exercise was little in accordance with the principles of English law, and very far from being suited to the tastes and disposition of the people.

Accordingly in 1701, the Assembly expressly petitioned the Proprietary "that no Person or Persons shall or may at any time hereafter be Lyable to answer any complaint, matter, or thing whatsoever relating to Property before the Gov^r or his Council or in any other place but the ordinary Courts of Justice."³

Penn replied, "I know of no person that has been obliged to answer before the Gov^r and Council in such cases."⁴ He nevertheless inserted in the new Charter of Privileges a clause of similar purport to that prayed for,⁵ and from that time the distinctively judicial duties of the Provincial Council may be fairly said to have ceased.

¹ Min. Prov. Co., 28, 5 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 98.

² Min. Prov. Co., April 23, 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 440.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 20, 7 mo. 1701, 2 Col. Rec. 37.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., 29, 7 mo. 1701, 2 Col. Rec. 41.

⁵ Min. Prov. Co., 28 Oct. 1701, 2 Col. Rec. p. 59, § 6.

The last three years of the Seventeenth Century, and particularly the time immediately preceding the Proprietary's second visit to his Province, were full of disorders and dangers to the Government. The Council and Assembly alike grew careless and apathetic, and although the magistrates tried to discharge their duties, they were wholly unable to cope with the increase of crime entailed by the growing population of the Province and by its rising importance as a commercial centre. Penn wrote in horror to the Council that he had heard of Philadelphia, that no place was more "over-run with wickedness; sins so very scandalous, openly comited in defiance of Law and Virtue; facts so foul, I am forbid by common modesty to relate them."¹ He accused the Government of being too slack in the suppression of these disorders, and even averred that he had been credibly informed that they did "not only wink att but embrace pirats, shipps and men," and openly countenanced the carrying on of an illicit trade.

The Council sturdily denied these imputations, and asserted that they had done their best to maintain law and order in the Colony. They admitted, however, that some few of the famous John Avery's men had been entertained in the town, and that when arrested by order of the Magistrates they had broken jail, and escaped to New York.²

The records of the time are so full of references to pirates and their nefarious trade, that we can scarcely wonder that Pennsylvania was currently reported to have become "ye greatest Refuge and Shelter for Pirats and Rogues in America."³ In September, 1698, a small "snug ship and sloop" sailed inside the Capes and landed a heavily armed crew of about fifty men, who thoroughly plundered and ransacked the town of Lewiston, breaking open almost every house in the place, and carrying off a vast deal of money, plate, goods, and merchandise. They killed, too, a considerable number of sheep and hogs to victual their ships, and capped

¹ Min. Prov. Co., Feb. 9, 1697-8, 1 Col. Rec. 494.

² Min. Prov. Co., Feb. 10, 1697-8, 1 Col. Rec. 495.

³ Min. Prov. Co., May 19, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 519.

their insolent outrage by compelling several of the chief men of the town to assist them in carrying their booty aboard.¹

In September, 1699, we find Isaac Norris writing from Philadelphia to his friend Jonathan Dickinson: "We have four men in prison, taken up as Pirates, supposed to be Kidd's men. Shelley of York has brought to these parts scores of them; and there is sharp looking out to take them. We have various reports of their riches and money hid between this and the Capes."²

The same year two of these very men are reported to be wandering at large about the streets of Philadelphia. The Governor of the jail was sent for by the Council, and inquired of about the matter. His indignant response is remarkable as illustrating the lax nature of prison discipline in those primitive days. "They never go out without my leave and a keeper," said he, "which I think may be allowed in hot weather."³ The prevalence of the dog days afforded to his mind sufficient excuse to exercise malefactors in the city streets.

In July, 1699, the famous Captain William Kidd himself was reported to be lying off Cape Henlopen, and to be carrying on a brisk trade with several noted citizens of the Lower Counties.⁴ He was then in the third year of his piratical career, and in less than two years after paid the penalty of his crimes upon the scaffold.⁵

The presence of such dangerous visitors at length naturally induced the authorities to take what measures they could to insure the protection of the community. A watch was established on Cape Henlopen to give notice through the sheriffs from county to county of any suspicious vessels which might approach, in order to prevent a repetition of the Lewiston outrage.⁶ The Assembly, too, passed several strin-

¹ Min. Prov. Co., Sept. 3, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 507.

² Penn. and Logan Correspondence, Intr. p. lviii.

³ Min. Prov. Co., Aug. 8, 1699, 1 Col. Rec. 531.

⁴ Min. Prov. Co., April 12, 1700, 1 Col. Rec. 549.

⁵ See 14 Howell's State Trials, p. 147 *et seq.*

⁶ Gordon's Hist. of Penna. 111.

gent measures for the suppression of piracy and smuggling, and even went so far as to interdict trade with certain ports of particularly bad reputation. Among the bills of this character presented by the Council to the Assembly was one interdicting commerce with "Madagascar and Natoll." The House was, however, possessed of amusingly scanty geographical knowledge, and was far too wise to cut off dealings with a port which might be near at hand and afford an opening for a lucrative trade. A committee was accordingly appointed to find out from the Governor and Council in what part of the world "Natoll" might be, and on their somewhat vague report that it was in the parts adjacent to Madagascar, the proposed measure was readily acceded to.¹

To deal with the frequent and aggravated cases of piracy and smuggling constantly arising, no distinctive tribunal had as yet been erected in the Province. The Proprietary was by his charter made personally liable to see to the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and the other complicated requirements of the British colonial trading system, and was further bound to see that fines and duties in accordance with these regulations were duly imposed, and that, when levied, they found their way into the hands of the proper authorities. These functions were, as has been seen, discharged by the Council in the first colonial days. But as early as 1693 we find that Governor Benjamin Fletcher was duly commissioned Vice Admiral of New York, the Jerseys, and Newcastle with its dependencies, and invested with all proper power to erect Vice Admiralty Courts within these limits.²

A short time after, a Vice Admiralty Court for Pennsylvania and its territories was regularly constituted, and a commission issued under the seal of the High Court of Admiralty of England to Colonel Robert Quarry to act as Judge.³

Quarry was a man little calculated to please or conciliate the people or authorities of Pennsylvania. He was at one

¹ Votes of Assembly, Feb. 6, 1699, p. 115.

² See Historical Notes, D. of Y. L., p. 539, etc.

³ See Min. Prov. Council, Feb. 12, 1697-8, 1 Col. Rec. 500.

time Governor of South Carolina, and reputed a sort of government spy.¹ A member of the Church of England,² he had little sympathy with the religious complexion of the colony, while the cast of his mind was such as to make him very vain of the office which he filled, and fully resolved to sustain its dignity to the utmost. The powers with which he was invested were indeed sufficiently ample. The jurisdiction of his court in all maritime matters was almost as broad as that now exercised by the courts of the United States, if we may judge from the tenor of like commissions issued about the same time in other colonies. All cases of charter parties, bills of lading, marine policies of assurance, accounts, debts, etc., relating to freight, maritime loans, bottomry bonds, seamen's wages, and many of the crimes, trespasses, and injuries committed on the high seas or on tide waters, were included within its jurisdiction. All cases of penalties and forfeitures under the Revenue Act of 7 & 8 William III. belonged besides to its domain. And a general authority to apprehend and commit to prison persons accused or suspected of piracy, was included within its powers.³ No jurisdiction, however, to try and execute prisoners indicted for murder on the high seas was at first given to Quarry.⁴ From all his judgments an appeal lay to the High Court of Admiralty in England.

His commission once received, Quarry set vigorously to work to exercise his new powers and privileges. John Moore, a Church of England man like himself, was appointed advocate, and one Robert Webb duly commissioned as marshal. The people were, however, by no means disposed quietly to submit to the new order of things.⁵ They found a Vice Admiralty Court established among them, invested with

¹ 1 Penn. & L. Corr., p. 78, note.

² Gordon's Hist. of Penna. 126.

³ Benedict's Admiralty, § 161; Duponceau on Jurisdiction, pp. 137, 138, 139, 140, etc.

⁴ Chalmer's Colonial Opinions, 512, etc.; Min. Prov. Co., August 8, 1699, 1 Col. Rec. 531; Letter, James Logan to Wm. Penn, 3, 1 mo. 1702-3, 1 Penn. & Logan Corr. 175.

⁵ See Min. Prov. Council, 24 Jan. 1699-1700, 1 Col. Rec. p. 545.

most extraordinary powers, far transcending those exercised by the Admiralty Judges of the mother country. They found these powers interfering with and seriously curtailing the administration of justice according to the forms of the common law. The most intelligent minds felt great indignation, and were not slow to protest against the infringement of their liberties. A test case soon arose which for a while set the question at rest.¹ John Adams, a merchant of some substance, imported in the summer of 1698 a large cargo of goods from New York to Pennsylvania. The vessel in which they were laden was unfortunately not provided with the certificate required by the laws of navigation and trade, and the goods were accordingly seized by the king's collector at Newcastle, and by him committed to the custody of Webb, marshal of the Vice Admiralty Court.

Adams made all haste to get his certificate, and a few days after, on receipt of it, demanded from Col. Quarry that his goods should be restored. This Quarry peremptorily declined to do, and Adams in despair petitioned the Governor for redress. But in this quarter too he met with no success. Markham prudently declined point blank to meddle with matters in the hands of his Majesty's officers. The petitioner was therefore fain to turn in another direction, and accordingly applied to the Justices at Philadelphia for a writ of replevin. This they were ready enough to grant. Anthony Morris, one of the most considerable of their number, set his hand to the document, and in pursuance of its directions the goods were forced from Webb, and returned to their owner. Quarry, intensely indignant at this violation of his rights, took an early opportunity to complain bitterly to the Governor and Council.² The County Court of Philadelphia was ordered to justify its action. It did so, though not with that straightforwardness which might have been hoped. "We look upon a replevin to be the right of the King's subjects to have and our duties to grant, where any goods . . . are taken or distrained," say they, and then in a more apolo-

¹ Min. Prov. Co., Sept. 24, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 509.

² Min. Prov. Co., Sept. 26, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 512.

getic tone add: "Wee att our Last Court, finding this matter to be weighty, tho' wee did not Knowe of any Court of Admiralty erected, nor p'sons qualified as we Know of to this day, to hold such Court, yet we forbore the triall of ye sd replivin . . . and wee should be glad to receive some advice yrin from you." This explanation did not, however, save them from a severe reprimand by the Council, who saw fit at the same time to tender an abject apology to the injured Quarry.¹

Nor did the affair end here. David Lloyd, ever watchful and jealous of the public interests, strenuously advised Adams to seek reparation at the hands of the Courts, and an action was accordingly instituted against Webb, for seizing and detaining the goods. In the spring of 1700, the case came on to be heard. Lloyd appeared of course for the plaintiff, and John Moore, Advocate of the Admiralty, for the defendant. Webb, the marshal, made his appearance in court armed with the royal commission on which was a portrait of the King, and from which depended the seal of the Admiralty inclosed in a little tin box. This he produced as a full warrant and justification for his acts. "What is this?" cried Lloyd. "Do you think to scafe us with a great box and a little Babie? 'Tis true fine pictures please children, but we are not to be frightened att such a rate." In spite, however, of Lloyd's talents and ridicule the case went against him and the justices pronounced in favor of the defendant.² So convinced was Lloyd of the justice of his cause that he begged Penn, when the latter arrived in the Province, to allow him an appeal to England, offering himself to argue the cause in Westminster Hall.³ The Proprietary, however, was far too wise in his day and generation, to admit of any such action. However, he might be incensed at the infringement of his rights, his experience in 1698 warned him of his unstable position at court, and made him very unwilling to dis-

¹ Min. Prov. Co., Dec. 22, 1699, 1 Col. Rec. 535.

² Min. Prov. Co., May 14, 1700, 1 Col. Rec. 576.

³ Letter, James Logan to Wm. Penn, Jr., 25, 7 mo. 1700, 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 18.

pute the extent of the royal prerogative. He accordingly dismissed Morris for a while from office, promised that the value of the goods should be restored to the Admiralty Court, and observed at least an outward show of courtesy towards Quarry.

A severe personal contest between them, however, was the outcome of the whole affair. Quarry wrote two bitter memorials to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations, accusing Penn of great irregularities in his government. To these Penn replied by just as bitter charges against his opponent, of incompetency, partiality, and misfeasance in office.¹

Quarry is the "greatest of villains," he wrote to Logan, "and God will I believe confound him in this world for his lies, falsehood, and supreme knavery."² "I fancy" his "wings will be clipped in admiralty matters every day, upon the appeals from the colonies against admiralty judgments."³

At length upon the accession of Queen Anne, when Penn had regained some of his old court influence, he obtained Quarry's dismissal from office, and in 1703 secured the position for Roger Mompesson, a friend of the Proprietary administration.⁴

Of the practice of the Vice Admiralty Court during the short period we have to deal with it, we know nothing; its records have vanished and no trace remains of their contents.

The regularly constituted Courts of Pennsylvania have thus successively been passed in review. A few isolated instances occurred of the assumption of quasi judicial power upon the part of the Assembly. Its mandate upon one occasion served the purposes of a writ of habeas corpus in releasing a prisoner unduly committed to the county gaol.⁵ Such instances are, however, extremely infrequent, and are to

¹ 1 Penn & Logan Corr. p. 24, etc.

² Letter, Wm. Penn to James Logan, 22, 11 mo. 1702, 1 Penn & L. Corr. p. 162.

³ 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 170.

⁴ Benedict's Admiralty, § 160, note.

⁵ 1 Votes of Assembly, May 21, 1698, p. 104.

be attributed rather to the exigencies of the particular case than to the claim of any reasonable right to exercise judicial power.

A few words remain to be added in regard to the early history of the legal profession in Pennsylvania. What little we know may be comprised within very narrow limits. Almost all those engaged in the administration of justice in those primitive times were, as has been aptly said, "distinguished rather for their purity than their learning, for their high standing in the community, and their general capacity, more than for their legal attainments."¹

Not one man who sat upon the bench prior to 1700, seems to have enjoyed the advantage of a regular legal education.

There was indeed but little opportunity for an exercise of the talents either of a skilled advocate or of a trained judge. The cases were mostly simple in principle, and very readily comprehended and disposed of. "Many Disputes and Differences are determined and composed by Arbitration," says Thomas in his account of Pennsylvania published in 1698,² "and all Causes are decided with great Care and Expedition, being concluded (generally) at furthest at the second Court, unless they be very Nice and Difficult Cases."

The greater part of the founders of the colony were imbued with a deep distrust of, and dislike for lawyers. They looked upon the profession as necessarily barratrous in its tendencies, and as being completely opposed to those views of peaceful good fellowship which their religion taught them to esteem so essential a part of the true Christian character.

In 1686 the Provincial Council actually passed a bill "for the avoyding of too frequent clamors and manifest inconveniences which usually attend mercenary pleadings in civil causes."³ This enacted "that noe persons shall plead in any Civill Causes of another, in any Court whatsoever within this

¹ McCall's Address before the Law Academy, 1838.

² Gabriel Thomas's Historical Account of Pennsylvania, London, 1698.

³ Min. Prov. Co., 2, 2 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 123.

Province and Territory, before he be Solemnly attested in open Court that he neither directly nor Indirectly hath in any wise taken or received, or will take or receive to his use or benefit any reward whatsoever for his soe pleading, under y^e penalty of 5 lb, if the contrary be made appear.” But the proposed measure was thrown out by the Assembly.¹ The same spirit again prompted the Council in 1690 to pass a similar bill, but it was again defeated by the action of the House.²

In the mean time a miniature bar had naturally and rapidly came into being. The provisions of the laws agreed upon in England permitted “all persons of all persuasions freely to appear in their own way and according to their own manner, and there personally plead their own cause themselves or, if unable, by their friends.”³ “So it soon came about that the nimble tongued tradesman found it to his advantage to bring his dilatory customer into court, and by his own eloquence get a verdict. . . . The defendant, taken at a disadvantage, found after a few experiences that he must bring in some quicker witted or more plausible friend to his assistance. A few successes in this line turned the friend’s attention, perchance his vanity, to this line of honor or of profit, and the ‘advocate’ was made. Advocates once made, professional training became a matter of course, and so the short round was quickly run.”⁴

Among those who thus distinguished themselves as “lay lawyers,” and whose names frequently are noted among the records as employed in asserting or defending the rights of their friends, may be counted some of the most considerable men in the community—Nicholas More, afterwards Chief Justice—Abraham Man, a prominent and well-known member of the Assembly—John White, some time Speaker of that

¹ 1 Votes of Assembly, May 11, 1686, p. 38.

² Min. Prov. Council, 5, 2 mo. 1690, 1 Col. Rec. 285; Historical Notes, D. of Y. L., p. 532; 1 Votes of Ass. 58.

³ Duke of York’s Laws, p. 100.

⁴ Address by the Hon. James T. Mitchell, on adjournment of District Court, Jan. 4, 1875, p. 6.

body, and afterwards imprisoned by the arbitrary orders of Gov. Blackwell—Charles Pickering, who was convicted of coining base money in the very infancy of the Province—Samuel Hersent, who was appointed Attorney General as early as 1685¹—Patrick Robinson, the same whose dogged obstinacy in the matter of More's impeachment has been already noted, and Samuel Jennings,² afterwards a Justice of the Peace for this county, the "impudent, presumptuous, and insolent" man, against whom Keith's and Budd's virulent attack was directed in their pamphlet entitled the "Plea of the Innocent."

It was still some time, however, before the practice of the law as a distinct profession came to be generally recognized.

Governor Fletcher, in his reply to the Petition of the Assembly in 1693,³ says, "I do understand . . . that Revenue of the Crown, the making of laws, the power of life and death, arming of the subject and waging warr, which were granted to Mr. Penn, are the Regalia of the Crown, and cannot be demised. . . . *If there be any lawyers among you they can inform you King Charles' grant of these things might be good to you during his life. . . . But since his death they are become utterly void.*"

This remarkable proposition, in addition to the extraordinary doctrine it lays down, seems to imply considerable doubt as to the existence of any legal knowledge on the part of the chief men of the Province.

In 1698, Gabriel Thomas says, speaking of the various trades and professions practised in Pennsylvania, "Of Lawyers and Physicians I shall say nothing, because this Country is very Peaceable and Healty; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one, or the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to men's Estates and Lives."⁴

A little later on, in 1700, Penn, in his answer to the charges of Colonel Quarry, defends himself and his officers from the imputation of failing to prosecute William Smith,

¹ Min. Prov. Council, 16, 11 mo. 1685, 1 Col. Rec. 117.

² Gordon's Hist. of Penna. 99.

³ Min. Prov. Council, 17 May, 1693, 1 Col. Rec. 364.

⁴ Gabriel Thomas's Historical Account of Pennsylvania, London, 1698.

Jr., for a heinous crime he had committed, by alleging that the defendant had subsequently "married y^e only material witness against him, which," adds he, "in the opinion of y^e two only lawyers of the place (and one of them y^e King's advocate of y^e Admiralty, and y^e attorney general of the county)" has rendered her incompetent to testify against him.¹

But the growth of the profession was sure and steady. In 1699 Thomas Story² arrived in the Province, a man of such sterling merit and abilities that he at once rose to be a leading personage in the community. He had received all the advantages of a legal training, "but had laid that aside for the gospel."

Close after him came Judge Guest³ who, in 1701, was promoted to the chief place in the Provincial Court, the first trained lawyer that ever sat upon the Pennsylvania bench. Following him came Roger Mompesson,⁴ appointed Judge of the Admiralty in 1703, and seated on the Provincial Bench in 1706, a man of varied talents and great energy, said to have been thoroughly read in the learning of his profession.⁵

Soon a host of others followed in their footsteps. "Some considerable lawyers,"⁶ says Logan to Penn in a letter of 1702, "pronounce that the corporation of Philadelphia is exceeding its powers in claiming too broad a jurisdiction for its municipal courts." A proposed court law of 1706 was, say the Votes of Assembly, "drawn up by some of the practitioners in the courts."⁷ The law had begun to be esteemed as a necessary and honorable profession. And yet the actual number of those regularly admitted to practise at the bar was as yet very inconsiderable.

¹ 1 Penn & Logan Corr. p. 29. See Minutes Prov. Council, 19, 10 mo. 1700, 2 Col. Rec. 11.

² 1 Penn & Logan Corr. p. 21. note; 1 Proud's Hist. of Penn. 421, note.

³ 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 19, 48.

⁴ Benedict's Admiralty, § 169, note.

⁵ McCall's Address before the Law Academy, 1838.

⁶ Letter, James Logan to William Penn, 2, 8 mo. 1702, 1 Penn & Logan Corr. p. 138.

⁷ 1 Votes of Assembly, Sept. 20, 1706, 216.

In 1708 one James Heaton of Philadelphia complained to the Council that he had been sued in trover by Jas. Growden and had taken a writ of error to the Supreme Court, but that Growden had arrested him and retained against him all the lawyers in the county that had leave to plead. Yet Growden's answer avers that he had retained no one as his counsel but John Moore, who, being unable to attend to the case, had secured the services of a brother attorney.¹

In 1709 the well-known Francis Daniel Pastorius presented a similar petition against John Henry Sprogell and Daniel Falkner, alleging, *inter alia*, that the former had "by means of a Fictio Juris, as they term it (wherewith your petitioner is altogether unacquainted), Gott a writ of ejectment which it doth not effect your petitioner, yet the said Sprogell would have ejected him out of his own home," and then goes on to complain that "in order to finish his contrivance in the County Court to be held the third of the next month," Sprogell had "further fee'd or retain'd the four known Lawyers of the Province in order to deprive . . . the petitioner . . . of all advice in law, which," craftily adds Pastorius, "sufficiently argues his cause to be none of the best." The petitioner therefore, being too poor "to fetch lawyers from New York or remote places," prayed that Sprogell's proceedings might be enjoined and a proper chance given the petitioner for a hearing. The relief was accordingly granted, and James Logan being in the Council, the blame of the transaction was of course laid on the shoulders of David Lloyd as "principal agent and contriver of the whole."² How many members of the junior bar there are nowadays who might well wish for the sake of their own prospects that the ranks of the profession were still so sparsely filled.

Two men alone stood out prominently as regular legal practitioners during the period of which we have been speaking. These were John Moore and David Lloyd. Men more different in their careers and dispositions it would be almost impossible to find.

¹ Min. Prov. Council, April 2, 1708, 2 Col. Rec. 406.

² Minutes Prov. Council, March 1, 1708-9, 2 Col. Rec. 430.

Moore, a descendant of a titled stock, emigrated from South Carolina with his family some time prior to 1696, and settled in Pennsylvania to pursue the profession of the law.¹

As early as 1698, we find him mentioned in the minutes of the Council as "a Practitioner in Law in the Courts of this Province."² He was shortly afterwards appointed Advocate of the Admiralty under Colonel Quarry, and made himself prominent in his maintenance and defence of the jurisdiction of that Court.

His hostility, however, to the Proprietary Administration did not continue. "Having done all that can be by Quarry," says Logan, in a letter to Penn in 1701, "he is very willing I perceive, to live as quiet as possible, and keep on very friendly [terms] with the Governor when here."³ He accordingly was employed as Attorney General in at least one criminal case of note,⁴ and was subsequently promoted to the office of Register General.⁵ In 1703 he was made Collector of the Port.⁶ He was in his religious views attached to the doctrines of the Church of England, was a prominent member of Christ Church, and served as a Vestryman of that congregation until his death, which occurred somewhere about 1731.

David Lloyd, the first lawyer of Pennsylvania, claims a somewhat more extended notice. He was born in 1656 in the Parish of Marravon in the county of Montgomery, North Wales.⁷ Having received the advantages of a regular legal training, he was in 1686 despatched by the Proprietary to Pennsylvania, with a commission to act as Attorney General of the Province.⁸ His pleasing manners, persistent energy, and natural abilities served rapidly to raise him in the esteem

¹ Life of Dr. Wm. Smith, by Horace Wemyss Smith, vol. 2, p. 488.

² Min. Prov. Council, May 19, 1698, 1 Col. Rec. 519.

³ James Logan to William Penn, 2, 10 mo. 1701, 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 66.

⁴ Min. Prov. Council, 19, 10 mo. 1700, 2 Col. Rec. 11.

⁵ See Min. Prov. Council, 3, 6 mo. 1703, 2 Col. Rec. 97.

⁶ Min. Prov. Council, May 3, 1706, 2 Col. Rec. 240.

⁷ 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 155, note; 1 Proud's Hist. of Penna. 459.

⁸ Min. Prov. Co., 5, 6 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 140.

of all classes of the community, and he was quickly preferred to many considerable offices of trust and profit. He became successively clerk of the Philadelphia County Court, Deputy to the Master of the Rolls, and Clerk of the Provincial Court,¹ in which last position he stoutly and for a while successfully resisted the attempts of Governor Blackwell to extort from him the records with which he had been entrusted.²

In 1689 he became Clerk of the Assembly³ and in 1693 and in 1694 was returned as a member of that body. Between this time and the end of the century, he served for four several years as a member of the Provincial Council, and during this period first developed that sincere attachment to the popular interests which formed so marked a feature of the residue of his career. He played a prominent part in procuring from Gov. Markham the new Charter of Privileges of 1696, and was the author of many legislative schemes for the security and improvement of the Province. Although active in his opposition to Col. Quarry's Court, his enmity was not persistent. When he found that its establishment was inevitable, he yielded perforce, became a friend and ally of Moore's, and even accepted in 1702 the office of deputy judge and advocate to the Admiralty.⁴

The limits of my subject forbid me to do more than briefly to advert to his subsequent career. The beginning of the Eighteenth Century saw him pitted against Logan and the Proprietary in defence of the popular rights. Persistent in his purposes, untiring in his energy, and unsparing in the violence with which he attacked his adversaries, he continued for years an object alike of fear and of hatred to the Pro-

¹ Historical Notes, Duke of York's Laws, 522-523; Minutes Prov. Council, 1, 8 mo. 1686, 1 Col. Rec. 145.

² Minutes Prov. Council, 25, 12 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 202; 25, 12 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 206; 5, 1 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 211; 25, 1 mo. 1688-9, 1 Col. Rec. 222.

³ Min. Prov. Council, 31 May, 1700, 1 Col. Rec. 582.

⁴ Letter, James Logan to William Penn, 2, 8 mo. 1702, 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 139.

prietary party. No epithet was in their minds too harsh to be applied to him, and no motive too base to be attributed as the mainspring of his actions. But much of the odium which was thus cast upon him was without doubt undeserved. Neither the intensity of his partisan feelings, the rash and impetuous character of his actions, nor the repeated slanders and sneers of his enemies can avail to hide from the discriminating eye of the unprejudiced observer his abilities, his virtues, and his usefulness to the community.

Possessed of many warm and devoted friends, and trusted and respected by his adherents, he was again and again returned as a member of the Assembly, and again and again chosen as its Speaker. When not engaged in contest with his opponents, his active mind found ample employment in forming new schemes of judicial reform. Most of the important court laws passed up to the date of his death were the results of the labor of his pen, or at least were framed with the benefit of his council and advice.

In 1718 he was appointed to be Chief Justice of the Province, a dignity well deserved by his long and active career in the public service.¹ He ended a long, useful, memorable life in 1781.

Few of the early colonists of this Province deserve the thanks and remembrance of posterity more than David Lloyd. That he had faults of character, very serious faults, must candidly be admitted. He was at times selfish, and always impetuous and easily angered. If he was attached to his friends he was implacable to his enemies. Persistence in him frequently degenerated into obstinacy, and enthusiasm almost into fanaticism. His attachment to the popular interests and craving for popular applause laid him open, sometimes perhaps justly, to the charge of demagogism. "His political talents," says Proud, "seem to have been rather to divide than to unite; a policy that may suit the crafty politician but must ever be disclaimed by the Christian statesman."² "He is," says Logan in a letter to Wm. Penn,

¹ McCall's Address before the Law Academy of Phila., 1838.

² 1 Proud's Hist. of Penna, 459.

Jr., "a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful,"¹ and as this opinion was written prior to any open enmity between them, it is not unlikely that it was a very just estimate of his character and disposition.

At this time, however, it is more becoming to recall his great services to the Province than to harp upon his short comings. It is grateful to know that his declining years were marked by a peaceful repose which forms a striking contrast to the stormy scenes of his earlier life. Laying aside the bitter prejudices and rancorous feelings which years of strife had begotten and fostered, we find him in the evening of his days actively and heartily co-operating with his former adversaries in several measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the Province.² Even before his death the great bulk of the community had come to entertain feelings of respect and gratitude towards the first lawyer of Pennsylvania.

The purposes for which this paper was undertaken have now been accomplished. The increase of population, business, and commerce soon led to difficulties in the administration of justice which required for their unravelling a more artificial course of procedure and a more thoroughly trained bench and bar. The dictates of natural justice gave way to the authority of well considered precedents, the science of special pleading by insensible degrees obtained a foothold in the legal practice of the Province, and at length the sound of "oyers" and "imparlances" became almost as familiar to the ears of the Pennsylvania practitioner as to those of his bewigged and begowned brother in Westminster Hall. The days of primitive simplicity had been left behind and forever.

¹ Letter, James Logan to Wm. Penn, Jr., 25, 7 mo. 1718, 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 18.

² 1 Penn & Logan Corr. 155, note.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF
MISS SARAH EVE.

WRITTEN WHILE LIVING NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1772-73.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. EVA EVE JONES, OF AUGUSTA, GA.

(Concluded from page 36.)

May 27th.—In the afternoon Mrs. and Betsey Rush, Mama and myself went to see Mrs. and Miss Harper, (all affectation creates disgust.) After Tea, B. Rush, Miss Harper and I took a walk, curiosity led us to the Mineral Point, and persuaded us to drink, or rather, *taste* the water, which is excessively disagreeable, but at present is drunk for almost every disorder, and is looked upon as an universal nostrum.¹

May 29th.—Mrs. Franklin, Mrs. Garriguse and Nancy Mitchel spent the afternoon with Mama. I drank Tea at Gust Berry's with A. Clifford, A. Guest, and J. Giles.

¹ The *supposed* Mineral Spring at 6th and Chestnut Street is no doubt here alluded to. It was then creating considerable excitement, as it was claimed that its medicinal qualities were of the highest order. The *Pennsylvania Packet* of May 24th, 1773, says: "A *Mineral Water* hath lately been discovered in a lot of ground, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, in this city. From the most accurate experiments, made by different Gentlemen of the faculty, it appears to exceed in strength any chalybeat spring yet known in the Province. It hath already proved of great service to several persons afflicted with disorders, in which waters of this quality have generally been used. Such a discovery may therefore be justly considered as a matter of great importance, as chalybeat waters are known to be peculiarly efficacious in many diseases which resist the power of every other kind of medicine. The Gentleman who owns the lot with a view of rendering this discovery more convenient and generally useful, hath allowed an indigent person who will at all times attend to deliver it to the poor gratis, and to others for a trifling consideration." Dr. Rush wrote of its virtues in his essay on the Mineral Waters of Pennsylvania; but, unfortunately for his reputation as a judge of such matters, a fact was subsequently discovered which fully accounted for the disagreeable taste of the water without assigning it to natural causes, and put an effectual stop to its use.

June 2nd.—Went to Town early, paid two or three morning or flying visits; dined at Mr. Mitchel's, and passed the remainder of the day there. In the evening I went to my sister's where I had expected to meet my brothers, to attend me home, but they disappointed me and I slept at my sister's.

June 3rd.—In the morning I went to Mrs. Smith's, met with B. Trapnal who had just received a letter for me from my brother *Ose*, in Georgia dated May 15th; we had flattered ourselves that before that time they were in Jamaica, but meeting with their usual luck they had been detained. Will fortune never cease to persecute us? but why complain! for at the worst what is poverty! it is living more according to nature—luxury is not nature but art—does not poverty always bring dependence? No, a person that is poor could they divest themselves of opinion is more independent than one that is not so, as the one limits his wants and expectations to his circumstances, the other knows no bounds therefore is more dependent in many senses of the word—“happy is the man that expects nothing for he shall not be disappointed.” Poverty without pride is nothing, but with it, it is the very deuce! But seriously there must be something more dreadful in it than I can see, when a former acquaintance and one that pretended a friendship for another, such as Nancy T—— did [one of that money loving family of the F——] will almost run from you as though poverty were really infectious. The lady I mentioned will cut down an alley or walk herself into a perspiration rather than acknowledge she has ever seen you before, or if it so happens she can not help speaking to you, it is done in so slight a manner and with so much confusion, that, were it not for this plague “Pride” I should enjoy it above all things. However, I have the satisfaction to feel myself, in many respects, as much superior to her as she to me in point of fortune. And yet for years, I may say, we were almost inseparable, there was scarce a wish or thought that one of us had, that was not as ardently desired by the other; if we were eight and forty hours apart, it was looked upon as an age, two or three messengers and as many letters passed between us, in that

time. And will it be credited, when I say, that without one word of difference we have not been ten minutes together or at each other's house for two years and upwards? People when deprived of the goods of fortune are apt, I believe, to be jealous as well as suspicious of their reception by those who enjoy them; and often fancy themselves slighted when, perhaps, it was never intended. But nothing, I now think, could ever tempt me to renew our former acquaintance.

June 8th.—Capt. Stainforth came in the evening to see us, he is very pressing for me to go home with him on Thursday, but it is so long since we heard from the "Bay" that I can't possibly think of going, other ways it is a jaunt I should be very foud of.

June 11th.—Capt. Stainforth called in the morning to bid us farewell. I dined at Gust Berry's with Mr. & Mrs. Clifford and Mrs. Smith. In the afternoon Mr. & Mrs. Randal, Mrs. P. R.—and Mr. S. came there. Weather to-day much colder than yesterday, so cold that Messrs. R. & S. rode up with their great coats. We sat with all the doors and windows shut notwithstanding which we all looked as if we had a fit of ague. At night I was very anxious to have my bed warmed, it really was cold enough, but they laughed me out of it.

June 14th.—As soon as I got up this morning, I went out in the field to see them mow, and could not help thinking that I walked and kicked the grass just as my dear Father used to do, the thought gave me so much pleasure I had liked to forget to eat my breakfast.

June 16th.—This morning we were put in a palpitation by an impending cloud about our hay. Well, thought I, may not this day be looked upon as an emblem of my dear Father's life; the sun rose clear, a cloudy noon, but how it will set, lies concealed in the bosom of futurity. May it, Oh! my God, when late it sets shine more beamingly bright than when it first arose. We had the pleasure of Mrs. Clifford's company to dine with us. In the afternoon Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Waln and Mr. Clifford came up but they were obliged to hurry away as Mr. C. was taken very unwell.

Hannah Mitchel and Jenny Chandler called here. Mrs. Currie, my sister and P. Campbell in the evening walked here. Mama and I went to town with them. After I got there I wrote a letter to my Father by Dr. Currie; and in the morning wrote one to *Osey*.

June 20th.—My uncle Moore, in the afternoon came to see us.

June 24th.—This morning I went to town, staid a little while at Mrs. Clifford's, from there I went to Smith's and spent the day. In the evening called at Mr. Rush's. As we never go to town without calling at my sister's, it is not so much matter always to mention it. Aunt Molly came home with us.

June 27th.—In the afternoon Mr. Cummings came here. In the evening the two Mr. Rushes called to see us.

July 3rd.—This day I spent at Mr. Rush's. In the evening Mama and my aunt walked to town for me.

July 5th.—In what words shall I express what we this day from my dear Father, letters filled with the happy returning hopes of independency. [Section of the page in the original, torn and lost.]

I do not know how I feel, I cannot describe it, it is a kind of pleasing melancholy, I wish not to hear any one talk, nor to do so myself—language cannot express it. Mama, the boys and I came home ten o'clock without the least fear, nothing could frighten me now, I could go anywhere.

July 9th.—[Another torn page speaking of the "prize that *Oswell* has obtained."]

July 10th.—The weather for several days has been excessively warm and sultry, the fields and gardens are almost parched up and but little appearance of green in them for want of rain and the intense heat I imagine it is that occasions so little dew. In the morning the grass is hardly wet. In the evening cousin L. Stretch rode out here, and soon after her Mrs. Marshall & Mrs. Douglass.

July 12th.—In the evening B. Rush, P. Dunn, K. Vaughan and myself carried Mr. Ash's child to be buried; foolish

custom for Girls to prance it through the streets without hats or bonnets!¹

To-day it has been cloudy and one or two trifling showers.

July 13th.—This morning Betsey Lyon came out here to spend the day, and soon after my sister and the children—In the afternoon P. Campbell walked out, B. Lyon was obliged to stay all night as they could not get a chair to take her home.

August 3rd.—This day I spent at Mr. Clifford's—in the afternoon hearing that Mrs. McCall was on board a Vessel just going to Carolina. A. Clifford and I stepped on board to wish her a pleasant voyage, &c., &c., found her sitting pensive and alone in the cabin. In the evening called at Mr. Smith's and Mr. Rush's, then went to my sister's where I met Mama and the Boys to go home with me.

August 9th.—This morning I went to town where we had the infinite pleasure of letters from my brothers who are now in Jamaica. Hearing Mrs. Smith was ill I immediately went down there, I had not long been there before I had the pleasure of carrying the happy tidings to Mr. Smith and Mrs. Clifford that Mrs. S. had a fine son. None but those that were alike anxious could be sensible of joy like theirs. Oh! Eve! Adam's wife I mean—who could forget her to-day?

August 10th.—To-day we had the satisfaction of receiving

¹ The custom of young girls taking the part spoken of by Miss Eve, at the funerals of their companions, has long since ceased to be, although it was continued within the recollection of persons now living. As late as Dec. 19, 1813, it appears to have undergone but little change from the time mentioned in the Diary, as Miss Hannah M. Wharton recorded in her Journal: "We have had a melancholy occurrence in the circle of our acquaintance since I last wrote, in the death of the accomplished and amiable Fanny Durdin. Six young ladies of her intimate acquaintance, of which I was one, were asked to be the pallbearers. We were all dressed in white, with long white veils."

The child whose funeral was mentioned in the text was Rebecca, second child of Col. James Ash; and, strange as it may appear, a brother and two of her sisters are living to-day. Col. Ash was born in 1750, and died in 1830. He married three times, and had twenty-four children. His first wife, whom he married when he was quite young, was Sarah Hinchman.

another letter from my Brother Osey. Mrs. Clifford & Johnny & J. Giles drank Tea with us.

August 11th.—This morning Mrs. Harden came to spend the day with us. In the evening it rained which occasioned her to stay all night—what a wicked fellow her husband—is who would have thought it?

August 12th.—Mrs. Shoemaker, Beckey Fisher, J. Clifford, Amy Horner and J. Giles came out to Tea.

August 13th.—About four o'clock we went to Town. I drank Tea at Mr. Rush's, afterwards went down to see Mrs. Smith, found her and the baby "as well as could be expected." That phrase is worn threadbare long ago, it is a pity they can't find one that would convey the same idea in other words.

August 23rd.—This morning Captain Bethel, brought a gentleman one Mr. Culpatrick¹ to see us; he had lately left the "Bay," and had seen my Father well, a few days before. We think ourselves not a little obliged to both the gentlemen, particularly the latter, as he had no letters, was an entire stranger to us and expected to stay but a day or two in the place, for the anxiety he discovered in wanting to see us as he was acquainted with my Father and the trouble he was at in finding where we lived, but upon his meeting with Bethel that difficulty was removed. He tells us that we need not expect to see my Father under six weeks, as he thinks he cannot possibly finish his business time enough to be looked for sooner. How we disappoint ourselves in expecting impossibilities—we had no reason to look for him much sooner, but for these two weeks past every time the dog has barked, it has put us in a palpitation, every southerly wind, each time the tide was running up, we flattered ourselves that before the wind changed or the tide ebbed, that we should bid adieu to expectation.

How time seems to loiter when one expects the coming of one that is wished for.

"Ah! Colin, old Time is full of delay,
"Nor will budge one foot faster for all you can say."

¹ Kilpatrick.

August 27th.—This morning Ja. Giles and Anna Clifford passed meeting at twelve. J. Clifford came up for me in their carriage, we spent the day very happily, there were nineteen in company, how much happier one is with this number than a greater. In large companies there are generally critics and much unnatural restraint and formality, that in my opinion it is almost doing a violence to nature to be of the number; give me ease and freedom, say I on all occasions or keep occasions from me. After Tea Mrs. T. Clifford, Amy Horner, Taby Fisher and myself went to see Mrs. Smith, and as she could not be of the Company, we went to tell her how we had passed the day, and to smile with her at those things that had made us laugh before—how repetition dulls the wittiest joke! We sat with her until dark, then returned to Mrs. Clifford's, and soon after all the company went home, myself excepted, who will not be there before to-morrow night.

August 30th.—This morning I went to see my aunt, and then to Mr. Mitchell's to spend the day; but hearing that Mr. John Penn was to be proclaimed Governor, curiosity led Deby Mitchel and I to go see him. For my part I had rather be his brother than he, the one possesses the hearts of the people the other the Government. Yesterday he made a public entry into Town with a large train.¹

¹ In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of Aug. 30th, 1773, we find the following: "Yesterday arrived in town from New York, where they landed from England, the Honorable John Penn, Esq., and his Lady." In the same paper of the 6th of September, there is a short account of the Governor's reception, together with the proclamation he issued when he assumed the government. He was the eldest son of Richard, 3d son of the Founder. His mother was Hannah, daughter of Richard Lardner. His course while Governor of the Province from 1763 to 1771 had rendered him very unpopular, and his reappointment in 1773 caused considerable dissatisfaction. What added to this feeling was the fact that he superseded his brother Richard, who had been Governor since 1771, and who was greatly liked, hence the expression in Miss Eve's Journal. The discontent was not confined to the people, but ill feeling was excited between the brothers.

Upon the retirement of Richard, the merchants of the city presented him with a kind, affectionate address, and entertained him at the State House.

September 4th.—To-day very unwell with a chill and fever. In the afternoon Mr. Rush and Betsey Rush were here.

September 5th.—In the morning I found myself much better and came down stairs and expected to have had no more of the fever, but about eleven o'clock found myself colder than December, and in the afternoon warmer than the inhabitants of Mercury—what a contrast in a few hours! In the afternoon my sister and Peggy Campbell and in the evening the two Betsey Rushes and Capt. Bethel.

September 17th.—This morning being fine and pleasant, Josey and I took a walk around the mill-dam, and through the woods where we gathered a variety of wild-flowers; every

In the ex-Governor's reply to the merchants he speaks of his removal from office as an unexpected event in language which clearly indicates chagrin. The toasts given at the dinner will be found in the *Pa. Packet* of Sept. 20th, but it is in private letters that we must look for the evidence of the true state of affairs. In a letter from Judge Yeates to Col. Burd, Oct. 6th, 1773, is the following: "The accounts from Philadelphia tell us there is no connection between the present and late Governors, though they have dined together twice in public. Mr. Richard Penn takes no notice whatever of his brother, nor even speaks to him. The consequence of such conduct need not be animadverted on." A letter, of the day following, from Edward Shippen to the same person says: "Mr. Bob. Morris, the head man at the Merchant's feast, placed Governor Penn on his right hand, and his brother, the late Governor on his left; but not a word passed between the two brothers." A reconciliation between them did not take place until the following year. In the letters of Lady Juliana Penn, who, during the illness of her husband Thomas Penn, acted as his Secretary, we find a number of references to the trouble between the brothers; the last occurs in a letter to Gov. John Penn, dated Dec. 31st, 1774. "I am obliged to you for the favor of yours of Nov. 1st (received December 15th), I had from many hands received the news I so much wished to hear, and which you are so good to mention to me, likewise for the reconciliation between you and your brother I make no doubt that you have great satisfaction from it, and it is happily timed, for you seem surrounded with vexations. But give me leave to congratulate you on it, though I have already in two former letters: But Mr. Penn would be sorry, any went from hence without mentioning the subject 'till he is sure you have received his approbation and affectionate compliments on it."

Both John and Richard Penn married Americans. The wife of the former was Ann, daughter of William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. Richard married Mary, daughter of William Masters of Philadelphia.

season has its beauties. After dinner Anna and I went down to Capt. Springs.

September 21st.—Hearing that little Bets was unwell, I went to see her, and then to Mr. Smith's to spend the day. Mr. Clifford read a paragraph in the York paper that mentions that my brother was to leave the Bay the 3rd of Sept. for Georgia, with some of the principal inhabitants and a hundred negroes on board, and that there were but two Vessels in the Bay, so that whether or not my Father has sailed we cannot tell. What doubt and anxiety attend absence—Oh! that our present uneasy apprehensions could but sleep! Came home exceedingly unwell.

September 26th.—Last night Mama was extremely ill, Isabel very poorly and I not much better. Yesterday we had the pleasure of seeing Hannah Mitchel who had just returned from New York.

In the evening Mr. Rush came to see us, he did not know we were sick until he came here; he seemed so distressed that he did not know how to leave us, "You should, why did you not let us know how you were, that we might have been up before." Are we not blest with the best of friends.

September 27th.—Mama still *bad*, this morning we sent for Dr. Rush who gave Mama some powders and me some elixir, which we think have been of service to both. In the afternoon Mr. & Betsey Rush and Peggy Campbell came out here, and in the evening Mr. Rush.

September 29th.—Mrs. Clifford came out, although the weather extremely hot and sultry. About twelve we had a gust and it turned cold, so great a change in the weather gave me a chill instantly. Mrs. Rush and Betsey walked out here, but did not stay long as it looked like rain.

September 30th.—To-day cold, blowing and raining, so great an alteration in the weather in so short a time, I believe never has been. But notwithstanding Mr. Rush came through it all to ask how we did.

October 7th.—This morning we had the infinite pleasure of seeing my dear brother Jackey after an absence of twelve months. The arrival of my brother made me forget the dis-

appointment, I otherwise should have felt, in not being able to go to Anna Clifford's wedding, as it was a day of pleasure that I had promised myself for some time past. To-day I went down stairs for the first time in eight days. In the afternoon Capt. Spring called to see us.

October 8th.—In the morning Mrs. Smith, & Mr. & Mrs. Smith from Maryland came here in their carriage, after staying some time I went with them to take a ride and then to see the Bride, stayed and dined with them—at four o'clock Mr. J. Clifford drove me home, we called at my Brother's and took Mama with us. Excessively fatigued and glad to go to bed.

October 9th.—A pleasant day, Mr. Rush, in the afternoon drank Tea with us.

October 10th.—The finest day we have had since the fall began. After dinner my brother and sister came up, soon after Mrs. Harden, then Mrs. Clifford and Mrs. Harman and afterwards Mrs. Morris and Mrs. Cummings. Brother and sister stayed all night.

October 12th.—This morning Billy and I walked as far as the Meredith Place. My brother & Mr. Bard drank Tea with us.

October 27th.—A fine day, at one o'clock Mr. & Mrs. Giles, Mr. & Mrs. T. Clifford and A. Guest sett off for Mt. Pleasant, were accompanied as far as the Ferry by Mr. Clifford, Mr. and Mrs. Smith; Anna Guest, Beckey Fisher, I. C. and I went as far as Chester where we all intend to lodge. Such a parting as there was at the Ferry, but I wont pretend to describe it! suffice it to say that the big drop stood trembling in each eye. We that were not so deeply affected, had a most charming ride down; the weather was good, the roads excellent, and the wind southerly, which I think the finest of all winds, and shall until I have the happiness of seeing my father.

We reached Chester about four o'clock, after we drank Tea we took a walk through the Town. I called to see Mrs. Curry, found her very unwell, however she was very pleased to see me, we did not stay long, but returned to our Inn

where we spent a most cheerful evening. Indeed I may add a cheerful night, B. F., A. G., and myself lodged in one room; the House, the Beds, and everything around us being strange, Soranus refused his aid so, after courting him in vain for some time, we boldly drove him away. After breakfast we parted from our friends wishing each other all possible good. After we left Chester it began to rain pretty hard and continued until we were near Darby. I could not help thinking of what Thomson said of Brentford was very applicable to that place that is that it was a town of mud foolish creatures to build the town in such a hole, and have such delightful hills on each side of them, but who knows the reason. We had a pleasant ride from there to Philadelphia. We alighted at Mr. Fisher's at twelve o'clock.

November 2nd.—To-day rather cold. I called upon Mrs. Stainforth at Major Hayes,¹ by appointment, to visit a Lady from *Trent Town* who lodged at Dr. Duffels.² The Major and Mrs. Hayes insisted so upon my going to see the lady with them, and as I am not one of the inflexibles, I could not refuse when Mrs. S—— seconded their request with the greatest earnestness imaginable. We went down to the Doctor's where I was introduced to the lady, her name is Brayen, her husband is a Doctor and a man of fortune. We found her agreeing with a man about framing a picture for her—how soon one may discover some people's predominant passions—I thought I had hers before the man left her, and by evening I was pretty sure of it. Though by appearance fond of show and gaiety, if I mistake not, and I did not see her good man, *she* is mistress. She had just returned from buying wine for the doctor as he preferred her taste before his own! “Your

¹ David Hay, of the Royal Artillery. He was attached to Gen. Forbes' forces in 1750 as a Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, was promoted to a Captaincy before 1762, and obtained a Majority July 23, 1772. He married Hannah, 2d daughter of John Moland, a Member of the Governor's Council, and one of the ablest members of the Colonial Bar. He died in England between 1777 and 1783, and his widow, who had inherited from her father considerable property in the Northern Liberties, returned to this country, and was living in 1789. C. R. H.

² Duffield.

price rather, thought I, for peace sake poor man!" She put on her cloke and bonnet and we went a shopping with her, she wanted a hundred things, she cheapened everything, and bought *nothing*! She offered ten pence a yard for trimming which the woman said cost her fourteen, and accordingly for everything else she wanted. At one o'clock she left us to go home and dress as she was to dine with us. At half after two she came to us, and at three we sat down to dinner—for my part, at that time of day, I should have thought *Tea* full as proper, my impolite appetite unaccustomed to be so served, had left me two hours before, so that I had little to do with the original intention of dining and a greater opportunity of observing (dare I call it the *shallow* elegance of my surroundings, and the more shallow compliments and conversation of the greatest part of the company). "Where, my dear Mrs. Hayes, says the doctor's Lady, did you get everything so much handsomer and so much finer than anybody else?" a proper stress to be laid on the word *so*. The other Lady with pleasure sparkling in her eyes and a consciousness that the compliment was no more than her due, exclaimed she was very polite and very obliging—and in this entertaining manner we passed an hour and a half at the table. We drank Tea at candle light, the silver candle sticks very handsome and much admired. As soon as possible I bade the company good-night except Capt. Stainforth who saw me safe to my brother's—I came home thanking fate that I had so little to do with high life and its attendants!

November 13th.—A fresh southerly wind. Mama is very uneasy about my Father whom we have hourly expected these ten days; and indeed unless we see him soon, I fear, I shall become as superstitious as any superannuated maid in the Land—the other day upon opening the door, I saw a sea-gull fly over the house, which, they say, is a sure sign of some one belonging to the house coming from sea; the unexpected sight of which I declare, gave me such pleasure for a while, that I was ashamed to own it. Continued expectation is a dreadful thing, although it is alternated with pleasure. I think it must harm a person's mind more than one would

at first think, as one then, takes notice of, is pleased, or alarmed, at the veriest trifles! I have seen, and really been one of the number myself, since we have been momentarily expecting my Father; if a knife, fork, or pair of scissors fell from any of us, and the point stuck in the floor, a gleam brightened every face present. In the afternoon Betsey Rush came here.

November 17th.—A very fine morning which induced me to walk to town. In Race Street I met with Miss K. Vaughan and Miss P. Dunn going out to the General Review;¹ they asked me to make one of their company, part of which had set out before but they were expecting to overtake presently, I readily consented and we hurried on with all possible expedition; notwithstanding this, however we misst them and to our great mortification found ourselves on the Common, without a gentleman to take care of us, and surrounded by people of all ranks and denominations. Pride not Fear urged our return but Curiosity laughed at it, and we determined to venture a little farther before we gave over, which we were very glad of, as we soon had the great satisfaction of meeting Mr. Ash, Mr. Wilkinson and my Brother, who willingly took us under their protection; we then held up our heads and did not care whom we met, which before was quite the reverse. It is certainly more from custom than from real service that the gentlemen are so necessary to us ladies. We were as agreeably entertained as the smoke and noise of guns could afford. About twelve we returned to Town, called to see Mrs. Sutton, stept into a shop or two and then went to Mr. Rush's.

November 26th.—After dinner I called upon Mrs. Spring to go to my sister's, where we spent the afternoon. In the evening I went to Mr. Robert's to congratulate them on their marriage. From there I called at Mr. Mitchell's and at Mrs.

¹ Wednesday [Nov. 17, 1773,] Colonel Robertson, of the 16th regiment, by his Excellency General Haldimand's orders, reviewed the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, commanded by Major Hamilton; together with Captain Huddleston's Company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. *Pa. Packet*, Nov. 22, 1773.

Garriguse, then to my Brother's where I spent the evening. At ten o'clock I set off home accompanied by G. Biddle, F. Heburn [Hepburn] and the two boys. The moon shone exceedingly bright and clear—"be not over hasty to judge" says the old copy—I always thought it a good one, but never better than then, appearances most certainly against me, walking at that time of night with two gentleman, and towards the Barracks! however, it did not give me the least uneasiness.

December 1st.—A fine white frost and pleasant a day as can be; much more pleasant than one could reasonably expect at this season of the year, but we hope it will continue until we have the happiness of welcoming my father; we flattered ourselves all summer that we should not see December without seeing him. How many times I have wished for this winter and figured to myself the happy evenings we should spend in hearing my Father relate the many adventures he has met with since leaving us, and telling him of ours. I will be sure to mention such an one; Mama, don't let us forget such a thing; how it will divert him! how he will laugh at the fancied importance of some people, and intended slights of others; what pleasure we will take in relating acts of disinterested friendship received in his absence, and describing to him the virtues of the friends we have made during these *five years*—and the anxiety they have discovered for his return. In this manner have I passed many an hour pleasing myself with fancied pleasures, but whether it will ever be more than ideal, God only knows! but through Him I trust we shall live to see that happy day. In the afternoon my Brother and sister came here, my brother said the season was so far advanced he was almost without hope of seeing my Father this winter, but I am not and shall still expect to see him if he does not come before New Year's Day.

December 17th.—Warm, cloudy and raining, not a creature in the house but my Grandmama, little Peg, and myself.

December 18th, 1773.—Still very cloudy, after breakfast I went to my Brother's, soon after it began to rain and Mama sent S. R.—'s horses down for me, and Isabel's market cloke

and bonnet. We were presently mounted, Billy Eve on one and I on the other, the oddity of our appearance and it still raining so hard, diverted me so much I could scarcely keep my seat.

December 19th.—A winter night indeed, the ground covered with snow and extremely cold all day. Our cousins called in the morning to bid us farewell.

The old manuscript ends about here, torn and defaced. Captain Oswald Eve, the father of the writer of the Journal, and for whose benefit it was kept, arrived at Philadelphia about the close of the year. The *Pa. Packet* of January 1st, 1774, records the entry at the Custom House of Schooner "Sally," Captain O. Eve, from Honduras. This information leads us to think that there is possibly an error in the statement made on page 23 that Captain Eve was engaged in business at Montego Bay, and that the place may have been the Bay of Honduras. The first statement was made on the authority of a gentleman who is under the impression that he had seen the fact mentioned in a contemporaneous letter.

Since the Journal was in type we have met with a manuscript poem addressed to "The Social Circle," apparently a "Sociable" of Philadelphia, shortly after Miss Eve wrote. The characters of some of the members are therein drawn, and among them that of Amy Horner, mentioned on page 196 and elsewhere. It is as follows:—

You must allow that it's my duty
To praise her sense as well as beauty;
And, if I am inform'd aright,
In reading she takes much delight.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN.

LORD EARL PALATINATE, GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN GENERAL OF NEW ALBION
IN NORTH AMERICA.

Prepared for the Department of American History of the Minnesota
Historical Society.

BY REV. EDWARD D. NEILL,
PRESIDENT OF MACALESTER COLLEGE.

Scarcely had the myth been dissipated, that Maryland was settled by a colony of two hundred persons chiefly Roman Catholics, by the publication of the Records of the English Jesuits, when a writer in the Catholic World, of last November, presents another fiction, under the title of "A missing paper of American History.—New Jersey colonized by Catholics."

The writer uses this remarkable language: "Few are aware, that in the first constitution of the colony of New Jersey, or as it was known in its first charter, of the Province of New Albion, the Catholic settlers had proclaimed aloud the principles of religious toleration."

In another paragraph we are informed: "The Catholic leader of this colony, and the first Englishman that settled New Jersey, was Sir Edmund Plowden."

In one of the early volumes of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, there is an article from the pen of an esteemed Bibliophilist, as well as Bibliopolist, the late John Pennington of Philadelphia, called "An examination of Beauchamp Plantagenet's description of the Province of New Albion."

Sir Edmund Plowden is characterized therein as a pretender, braggadocio, and broken-down pettifogger, and Mr. Pennington remarks: "Whether his residence in Virginia was voluntary, or not, it is impossible to say. The climate of that country for seven years was the usual prescription in those days by the Old Bailey doctors, for that degree of morbidness of the moral sensations which leads the patient to confound the difference between the *meum* and *tuum*."

The object of this paper is to show that the Rev. R. L. Burtzell, D.D., the writer of the article in the *Catholic World*, has overestimated, as Mr. Penington has undervalued, the work and character of Plowden.

Sir Edmund Plowden was the lineal descendant of Edmund Plowden, the learned and honorable pleader who died in 1584, whose commentaries on law, Chief Justice Coke called "exquisite and elaborate."

In the "Visitation of Oxfordshire," published by the Harleian Society, and in "Burke's Landed Gentry," may be found notices of the Plowden family of Shiplake to which he belonged.

About the year 1610, Plowden was married to Mabel, daughter of Peter Mariner of Wanstead, Hampshire.¹ In the Calendar of State Papers of 1634-5, there is a notice of five pounds and nineteen shillings of ship money assessed upon Sir Edmund's tenants in Hampshire.

In 1632, before the grant of the Province of Maryland to Lord Baltimore, Plowden, with Sir John Lawrence and others, petitioned for a grant of Long Island and thirty miles square to be called Syon.² This was modified in another petition to the King, asking permission to occupy "an habitable and fruitful Island named Isle Plowden, otherwise Long Isle," "near the continent of Virginia, about sixty leagues northwards from James City, without the Bay of Chesapeake,"³ and "forty leagues square of the adjoining continent, as in the nature of a County Palatine or body politic, by the name of New Albion, to be held of your Majesty's Crown of Ireland, exempted from all appeal and subjection to the Governor and Company of Virginia." One month after the Province of Maryland was given to Cecil, the Second Lord Baltimore, King Charles the First ordered his Secretary, John Coke, to request the Lords Justices of Ireland to grant to the petitioners the Island, "between thirty-nine and forty degrees of latitude," and forty leagues adjacent on the adjoining continent, with the name of New Albion.⁴

¹ *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

² *Collections of New York Hist. Soc., 1869, p. 213-14.*

³ *Ibid.* 220.

⁴ *Ibid.* 218-19.

Before Leonard Calvert, and his overwhelmingly Protestant colony, as the Jesuits who accompanied him declared, sailed for the waters of the Chesapeake, Captain Thomas Young, a son of Gregory Young of York, received a special commission from the King, which is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and dated September 23, 1633, authorizing him to fit out armed vessels for the voyage to Virginia and adjacent parts; to take possession in the King's name of all territory discovered, not yet inhabited by any Christian people; to establish trading posts with sole right of trade, and to make such regulations and to appoint such officers as were necessary to establish civil government.

In the spring of 1634 the exploring expedition departed, the Lieutenant of which was Robert Evelyn, a nephew of Young; Evelyn's father, of Godstone, Surrey, having married Susan, the Captain's sister. Among other officers was a surgeon named Scott, and the cosmographer was Alexander Baker of St. Holborn's parish, Middlesex, described by Young as "skilful in mines and trying of metals."

The great object of Captain Young was to ascend the Delaware River, which he called Charles, in compliment to the King, until he found a great lake, which was said to be its source, and then to find a Mediterranean Sea, which the Indians reported to be four days journey beyond the mountains.

He entered Delaware Bay on the twenty-fifth of July, 1634, and on the twenty-ninth of August he had reached the Falls of the Delaware River. On the first of September, Lt. Robert Evelyn was sent in the shallop "up to the rockes both to sound the water as he went and likewise to try whether the boats would pass the rocks or no."

Meeting a trading vessel there from Manhattan, Young ordered Evelyn to see the Hollanders outside of Delaware Bay, then to go and discover along the Atlantic coast. He went as far as Hudson's River, and then returned to Young on the Delaware. Captain Young writes: "As soon as he was returned I sent him presently, once more up to the falls, to try whether he could pass those rockes at a spring tide, which

before he could not do at a neap tide, but it was then also impossible with any great boats, wherefore he returned back to me agayne."¹

After this, Young still in the Delaware River, Robert Evelyn was sent with dispatches to England, where he remained until the fall of 1636, when he returned to Virginia, and the next year was one of the councillors and surveyors of that colony. At this time, George, his brother, came to Kent Island, in Maryland, as the agent of the London partners of William Clayborne.

When Evelyn was in England in A. D. 1635, Edmund Plowden was living at Wanstead by no means happy, and causing those who were in any way dependent upon him to feel most miserable. His harsh treatment of others, and ungovernable temper, made him a pest to the neighborhood. About this time, also, he left the Church of Rome, and conformed to the Church of England.

His wife Mabel, to whom he had been married twenty-five years, on account of his cruelty was at length obliged to make complaint. The Court sustained her, and Plowden was ordered to pay the expenses of suit and provide alimony.

Another complaint was lodged against him on May 3d, 1638, for beating the wife of Rev. Philip Oldfield, Rector of Lasham, who was about to become a mother, because Plowden and the clergyman had disagreed upon the terms of a certain lease.² As late as November 14, 1639, he manifested

¹ Young's letter giving an account of the expedition is printed in Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc., 4th series, vol. ix. p. 81.

² The following, taken from "Calendar of State Papers," explains the allusions of the text.

"MAY 30, 1638. KING'S COUNCIL.

Philip Oldfield, clerk, rector of Lasham, Hants, by petition to his Majesty, which was referred to the Lords, showed that he had been rector of Lasham for twenty-five years, but by pretended lease for 99 years (£20 per annum only being reserved for the cure) he could never enjoy the full rights of the church, and when by law petitioner attempted to void the lease of Sir Edmund Plowden, the new patron and assigner of said lease, so multiplied suits upon petitioner, threatened his ruin, unjustly detained his body, beat his wife great with child, and insulted over his weak and declining estate;

“passion,” “obstinate lying,” and persisted in contempt of Court, by refusing to pay his wife’s alimony. It had become evident that if he should sail for America, his absence would not be deplored.

When Robert Evelyn again returned to England, he was induced, in 1641, to write a small quarto with the title “Direction for Adventures, and true Description of the healthiest, pleasantest, and richest plantation of New Albion, in North Virginia, in a letter from Mayster Robert Eveline, who lived there many years.”¹

This description was in the form of a letter addressed to Plowden’s wife, and begins “*Good Madam: Sir Edmund our noble Governour, and Lord Earl Palatine persisting still in his noble purpose, to goe on with his plantation, in Delaware or Charles river, just midway between New England and Virginia, where with my Uncle Young I severall years resided, hath often informed himselfe both of me and Master Stratton, as I perceive by the hands subscribed of Edward Monmouth Tennis Palee, and as Master Buckham, Master White and other Ship-masters and Saylor’s whose hands I know, and it to be true, that there lived and traded with me, and is sufficiently instructed of the state of the country and people there, and I should very gladly according to his*

that neither friend, kinsman, nor servant dared be assistant to petitioner, who was forced to compound, and entrance had in £200, not to trouble Sir Edmund. He therefore besought his Majesty to refer the hearing of his business.

Upon hearing all parties: We ordered Mr. Oldfield to bring an action of trespass against Sir Edmund for entering into some part of the parsonage of Lasham, and that Sir Edmund shall plead not guilty, and go to trial at the next assize of Winchester, and shall admit the trespass, and give in evidence, the lease of said parsonage, of 4th of Queen Elizabeth, by William Guy the incumbent, and Nicholas Pinke the then pretended patron, and afterwards confirmed by Robert the Bishop of Winchester, and when the Lords shall be advertised of the result of the trial, they will take further order, according to his Majesty’s reference.”

¹ The title of this rare tract is given in Allibone’s Dictionary, but we are unable to refer the reader to a copy. A portion of it at least is printed in Plantagenet’s *New Albion* and reprinted in it by Force in his *Historical Tracts*, vol. ii.

desire, have waited on you into *Hanshire* to have informed your Honour, in person, had not I next weeke been passing to *Virginia*. But neverthelesse, to satisfie you of the truth, I thought good to write unto you my knowledge, and first to describe you from the North side of *Delaware* unto *Hudsons* river, in Sir *Edmunds* Patent called new *Albion*, which lieth just between *New England* and *Maryland*, and that Ocean sea I take it to be about 160 miles I finde some broken land, Isles, and Inlets, and many small Isles at *Egbay*: But going to *Delaware Bay*, by Cape May, which is 24 miles at most, and is as I understand very well set out and printed in Captain *Powels* map of *New England*, done as is told mee by a draught I gave to M. *Daniel* the plot maker, which Sir *Edmund* saith you have at home."

Sir Edmund Plowden's first visit to America was in the year after this letter was printed, and Robert Evelyn also returned and on the 23d of June, 1642, was commissioned by the authorities of Maryland "to take charge, and command, of all, or any of the English, in, or near about *Piscataway*, and levy, train, and master them."¹

During the year 1642, Plowden appears to have sailed up the Delaware, and visited "the fort given over by Captain Young, and Master Evelyn,"² which seems to have been in or near the Schuylkill. His residence was chiefly in Virginia, and it is possible that he brought some servants of his family from England. In the manuscript records of Maryland, at Annapolis, there is notice of Margaret Brent the intimate friend of Governor Leonard Calvert visiting the Isle of Kent, in the Chesapeake Bay, accompanied by Anne, a lame maid servant of Sir Edmund Plowden. Hazard and others note a purchase in 1643, of a half interest in a bark, by Sir Edmund, which was then used by him.

John Printz, the third Governor of New Sweden, described by De Vries "as weighing four hundred pounds and taking three drinks at every meal," arrived on the fifteenth of Feb-

¹ Maryland MSS. at Annapolis.

² See Plantagenet's New Albion, p. 19. Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

ruary, 1643, at Fort Christina on the Delaware. He appears to have resisted the claims of Plowden. In the "Remonstrance of New Netherlands," published in 1650, a translation of which is in the second volume of the New York Colonial Documents, is the following: "We cannot omit to say that there has been here, both in the time of Director Kieft and in that of General Stuyvesant, a certain Englishman who called himself Sir Edmund Plowden and styling himself Earl Palatinate of New Albion pretended that the country on the west side of the North River as far as Virginia, was his property under a grant from James, King of England; but he remarked that he would have no misunderstanding with the Dutch, but was much offended with, and bore a grudge against John Prins, the Swedish Governor in the South River, in consequence of receiving some affronts which were too long to record, but which he would take an opportunity of resenting, and possessing himself of the South River."

Plowden was residing in Virginia at the time when Gov. Berkeley's chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Harrison, became a non-conformist and the leader of the Puritans settled in the valley of James River, and he must have been familiar with the negotiations between these Puritans and Lord Baltimore's government in Maryland, by which they agreed to move to the shores of Chesapeake Bay, on condition that they could have a free exercise of their religion.

He was also acquainted with William Clayborne who had lived in Maryland before Leonard Calvert and party arrived. In 1648 both Plowden and Harrison visited Boston on their way to England, the first in the summer, and the latter in the autumn.

Governor Winthrop in his Journal writes: "Here, arrived one Sir Edmund Plowden who had been in Virginia about seven years. He came first with a patent of a County Palatine for Delaware Bay; but wanting a pilot for that place, he went to Virginia, and there having lost the estate he brought over, and all his people scattered from him; he came hither to return to England for supply, intending to return

and plant Delaware, if he could get sufficient strength to dispossess the Swedes."

Soon after Plowden reached England there was published "A Description of the Province of New Albion," and in this a decided sympathy is shown for Clayborne, who, before the arrival of Leonard Calvert, had established trading posts in the upper Chesapeake region, as well as for the principles of religion advocated by the Virginia Puritans, as a condition of their removal to Maryland.

Beauchamp Plantagenet, the professed writer of this pamphlet, uses this language: "Captain *Clayborn* heretofore Secretary, and now treasurer of *Virginia*, in dispute with Master *Leonard Calvert* alledged; that [the patent] of *Maryland* is likewise void in part as gotten on false suggestions: for as Cap: *Clayborn* sheweth the *Maryland* Patent, in the first part declareth the King's intention to bee to grant a land there after described, altogether dishabitated and unplanted, though possest with Indians.

"Now *Kent* Isle was with many households of English by C. *Clayborn* before seated, and because his Majesty by his privy signet shortly after declared it was not his intention to grant any lands before seated and habited: and for that it lieth by the *Maryland* printed Card, clean North-ward, within *Albion*, and not in *Maryland*; and not onely late Sea-men, but old Depositions in *Claybornes* hand, shew it to be out of *Maryland*, and for that *Albions* Privy signet is elder, and before *Maryland* patent, *Clayborn* by force enterd, and thrust out Master *Calvert* out of *Kent*; Next *Maryland* Patent coming to the Ocean, saith along by the Ocean, unto *Delaware Bay*; That is the first Cape of the two most plain in view, and exprest in all late English and Dutch Cards; and note unto *Delaware Bay* is not into the *Bay*, nor farther then that Cape heading the *Bay*, being in thirty-eight and forty, or at most by seven Observations I have seen, thirty-eight and fifty minutes: So as undoubtedly that is the true intended and ground bound, and line, and no farther, for the words following, are not words of Grant, but words of Declaration; that is *Which Delaware Bay lieth in forty degrees where New*

England ends; these are both untrue, and so being declarative is a false suggestion, is void, for no part of *Delaware Bay* lieth in forty [degrees].”¹

He proposes as the fundamentals of religion that which no well instructed Roman Catholic could accept. His language corresponds with the views of the Virginia Puritans as embodied in the oath of office in 1648, and the Act of 1649 of the Maryland Legislature.

The language of Plantagenet is as follows: “It is materiall to give a touch of Religion and Government, to satisfy the curious and well-minded Adventurer. For Religion it being in *England* yet unsettled, severall Translations of Bibles, and those expounded to each mans fancy, breeds new Sects, I conceive the *Holland* way now practised best to content all parties, first: by Act of Parliament or Grand Assembly, to settle and establish all the Fundamentals necessary to salvation, as the three Creeds, the Ten Commandments, Preaching on the Lords day, and great days, and Catechising in the afternoon, the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptisme; But no persecution to any dissenting, and to all such as to the *Walloons* free Chapels; and to punish all as seditious, and for contempt, as BITTER, rail and condemn others of the contrary; for this argument or persuasion ALL Religion, Ceremonies, or Church-Discipline, should be acted in mildnesse, love and charity, and gentle language, not to disturb the peace or quiet of the Inhabitants, but therein to obey the Civill Magistrate.”²

On Tuesday, June 11, 1650, a pass was granted for about “seven score persons, men, women and children to go to New Albion,” but there is no evidence that the party ever sailed.³

Upon a map prepared by Virginia, the talented daughter of John Ferrar, once Deputy Governor of the Virginia Company, and published in 1651, is the following note on Delaware River. “This river the Lord Plowden hath a patten of, and calls it New Albion, but the Swedes are planted in it, and have a great trade of Furrs.”

¹ Plantagenet's New Albion.

² Ibid.

³ Collections of the New York Historical Society, 1869, p. 222.

In 1651, Thomas Cole came to Maryland and the next year he made the following deposition relative to a Captain Mitchell, who had been appointed a member of the Maryland Council by Lord Baltimore, which shows that Plowden was still in England. He deposed: "That before coming out of England, he was at Mr. Edmund Plowden's chamber. He asked me with whom I lived, I replied "Captain Mitchell." He persuaded me not to go with him to Virginia, asked me "Of what religion he was, and whether I ever saw him go to church." I made answer, "I never saw him go to church." He replied "that Captain Mitchell, being among a company of gentleman, he wondered that the world had been so many hundred years, deluded with a man and a pigeon." Mr. Plowden then told Cole, that by the pigeon was meant the Holy Ghost, and by the man "Our Saviour Christ."

When the Dutch Commissioners, in the fall of 1659, visited Secretary Philip Calvert in Maryland, they argued that Lord Baltimore had no more right to the Delaware River than "Sir Edmund Ploythen, in former time would make us believe he hath unto, when it was afterward did prove, and was found out that he only subuptiff and obreptiff hath something obtained to that purpose which was invalid."

To this it was replied by Calvert "That Ployten had no commission, and lay in jail in England on account of his debts; that he had solicited a patent for *Novum Albium* from the King, but it was refused him, and he thereupon applied to the Vice Roy of Ireland, from whom he had obtained a patent, but that it was of no value."

Plowden signed his will on the 29th of July, 1655, in which he styles himself "Sir Edmund Plowden, Lord Earl Palatine, Governor and Captain General of New Albion in North America," but not until the 2d of July, 1659, was it proved.

The impartial historian will always speak of him as a harsh, visionary, and unreliable person.

A writer in the first series, 4th volume, of *London Notes and Queries*, asserts "that Sir Edmund died at Wanstead, County of Southampton, in possession of large estates in eleven parishes of England, and that to each of these parishes

by his will of A. D. 1655, he left money to be paid eight days after his demise, and directs to be buried in the chapel of the Plowdens at Lydbury in Salop, and a stone monument with an inscription in brass bearing the name of his children, and another with his correct pedigree, as drawn out in his house at Wanstead."

The same writer mentions that Sir Edmund was in Virginia and New England from A. D. 1620 to A. D. 1630, and then returned to England, and that in the Heralds Visitation of Salop he is entered as being in 1632 a resident of Ireland, and that in July, 1634, he was granted a charter for New Albion, which is enrolled in Dublin.

The writer further mentions that Sir Edmund then returned as Governor of New Albion with his wife and family and remained for six years, but that his wife and eldest son Francis retired from America before he did.

After this article was published, the late Sebastian F. Streeter, then Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, wrote a letter which was published in First Series, volume IX., page 301, asking that the alleged facts of the article in the Fourth volume might be verified, and proposed a series of questions like these: "Did the charter for New Albion ever pass the great seal? What evidence is there that Plowden was in America from A. D. 1620 to 1630?" To his queries no answer has been given to this day, because they were unanswerable.

A charter, although it passed the privy seal, was without validity, until the great seal of England was affixed, and no one has even proved that Plowden's charter was thus attested.

Beauchamp Plantagenet, in his letter in "New Albion," dated December 5th, 1648, speaks of Plowden as experienced "by four years travel in Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, by five years living an officer in Ireland, and this last seven years in America." He would scarcely have used the expression "this last seven years in America," if before this last period, he had been there ten years, as asserted in the Fourth volume of First Series of London Notes and Queries.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 101.)

KEEN—STEELMAN—SEELEY—YEATES—WOOSTER—WETHERED.

98. NICHOLAS KEEN,⁵ son of Mounce and Sarah (Seeley) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, December 24, 1744, and lived for many years in Pennsneck Township, Salem Co. During the war of the Revolution he was commissioned Lieutenant, and afterwards Captain, in the First Battalion of Salem County, New Jersey, Militia, besides being Captain of the armed boat *Friendship*, and Captain Commanding boatmen on the frontiers of Cumberland and Cape May Counties. In consequence of his zealous adoption of the cause of the American Colonies he was threatened with the destruction of his property by Col. Charles Mawhood, in an incursion into Salem County with a regiment of British Troops from Philadelphia in 1778, a letter of that officer, dated at Salem, March 21, specially mentioning him among persons who would be "the first objects to tell the vengeance of the British nation."* This warning was disregarded by Captain Keen, who continued to bear arms in defence of his State so long as his services were needed, acting as Captain of the Salem County Company of New Jersey Troops, in Major Hayes's† Battalion, under the last call of Governor Livingston, from December 29, 1781, to December 15, 1782, being

* The letter appears in full in R. G. Johnson's *Historical Account of the First Settlement of Salem, in West Jersey*, pp. 159 *et seq.*

† One of the most active of the New Jersey militia officers during the war of the Revolution, mentioned in Congar's *Genealogical Notices of the First Settlers of Newark*, already cited. His son, Samuel Hayes, M.D., married Elizabeth Ogden, eldest daughter of Jonathau and Elizabeth Ogden (Nutman) Keen, elsewhere spoken of.

ordered to do "duty on land or water."* Mr. Keen married (bond dated October 14, 1767) Catharine, daughter of Jost and Christina Miller, of Salem County, N. J., born in 1749. Mrs. Keen died in New Jersey, and was buried (Raccoon Swedish Church Register) December 5, 1790. Captain Keen afterwards married Mary —, who survived him, being buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Wicacoa, November 15, 1820, "aged sixty-five years." He had, at least, five children by his first wife, born in New Jersey:

- 261. JAMES, b. November 12, 1771. He removed to Kensington, Philadelphia Co., Pa., where he d. in June, 1815, leaving a widow, Catharine, and several children.
- 262. WILLIAM, b. April 15, 1774.
- 263. JOHN, b. April, 1776.
- 264. SARAH, b. October, 1778.
- 265. ANANIAS, b. April 7, 1785.

102. ANANIAS KEEN,⁵ son of Mounce and Sarah (Seeley) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, July 31, 1760. He lived in Gloucester County, N. J., and married (bond dated February 17, 1785) Susanna, daughter of Charles Lock† by his wife Helen Denny,‡ of West New Jersey, born April 11, 1757. Mrs. Keen died in New Jersey, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard, Swedesborough, July 17, 1786. Mr. Keen afterwards married Anna Cox,§ of West New Jersey, who survived him. He died in Gloucester County, N. J., and was buried in Trinity Churchyard, Swedesborough, October 30, 1808. Mr. Keen had eight children by his second wife, born in New Jersey:

- 266. SARAH, b. March 7, 1791. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, October 21, 1876, and was bur. in Lafayette Cemetery.
- 267. MOUNCE, b. October 5, 1792.

* Stryker's *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, pp. 328-9. "The good service performed by the militia of this State is fully recorded in history." (*Ibid.* p. 338.)

† A descendant of the Rev. Lars Carlsson Lock, spoken of in a former foot-note, PENNA. MAG., vol. iii. pp. 448-9.

‡ For references to other members of her family, see foot-notes, *ibid.* pp. 95 and 447.

§ Sister of Andrew Cox, of Gloucester County, doubtless a descendant of Peter Larsson Kock, referred to in a foot-note, *ibid.* p. 94.

268. JOSIAH, b. August 18, 1794; bur. in Trinity Churchyard, Swedesborough, N. J., August 15, 1795.
269. CHARLES, b. April 16, 1796.
270. JAMES, b. October 4, 1797.
271. THOMAS, b. July 6, 1799.
272. CHARLES LAND, b. April 13, 1802. He d. June 15, 1874, leaving a widow, Maria, who d. March 16, 1876, in the 74th year of her age, and was bur. with Mr. Keen in Lafayette Cemetery, Philadelphia.
273. JOHN CROES, b. July 5, 1804.

112. CATHARINE KEEN,⁵ daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Lock) Keen, was born in Pilesgrove Township, Salem Co., New Jersey, April 4, 1747. She became (Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Church Register), February 12, 1772, the second wife of James Steelman,* of Greenwich Township, Gloucester Co., N. J., son of Hans Steelman, brother of Susannah Steelman, wife of John Keen, of Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa.,† by his wife Alice Jones. Mr. Steelman was born November 17, 1719, and lived in Greenwich Township until his death, which occurred in 1786–8. Mrs. Steelman survived him, and married (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), December 17, 1788, Ephraim Seeley, of Gloucester County,‡ letters of administration on whose estate were granted her January 31, 1801. By her first husband, James Steelman, Catharine Keen had four children, born in Greenwich Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.:

274. REBECCA, b. February 5, 1773.
275. JEMIMA, b. May 31, 1776.
276. JOHN, b. November 5, 1778.
277. ANDREW, b. June 15, 1781.

120. JOHN YEATES,⁵ son of George and Mary (Donaldson) Yeates, was born near New Castle on Delaware, July 4, 1720, and resided throughout his life in New Castle Hundred, New

* Mr. Steelman's first wife was Magdalen Peterson, who was buried in Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Churchyard, January 12, 1771, "in her 49th year." She left issue.

† For the parents of Hans and Susannah Steelman, James and Susannah (Toy) Steelman, of Great Egg Harbour, N. J.; see *ibid.* pp. 334–5.

‡ A relative, no doubt, of Sarah Seeley, who married Catharine Keen's uncle, Mounce Keen.

Castle Co. He was chosen Coroner for New Castle County in October, 1751 (a position he occupied for two years), and was one of the original Trustees of New Castle Common, appointed October 31, 1764.* In civil records he is styled "gentleman." He married, first, Ann Catharine, daughter of the Reverend George Ross, a native of Scotland, who settled in New Castle in 1703, and until his death, in 1754, officiated as rector of Immanuel Church.† Mrs. Yeates's mother was Joanna Williams, of Rhode Island.‡ Mrs. Yeates was born about 1724, and died February 3, 1772, aged forty-eight years. She is buried in Immanuel Churchyard. Mr. Yeates married, secondly (Immanuel Church Register), March 15, 1790, Ann Bonner, a native of Ireland, who came to America in her youth. Mr. Yeates died in New Castle County, February 14, 1795, and was buried in Immanuel Churchyard. Letters of administration on his estate were granted to James Riddle, Mrs. Yeates renouncing her rights.

By his first wife John Yeates had five children :

- 278. GEORGE.
- 279. MARY.
- 280. GEORGE.
- 281. ANN.
- 282. GEORGE.

By his second wife John Yeates had two children :

- 283. ANN, b. July 26, 1791. With her brother, she inherited from her father property on Front Street, in New Castle, comprising a dwelling "known by the name of the Tile house,"‡ as well as "ground contiguous to the town," called "the Fort lot." She

* See the account of Dr. John Finney in the *MAGAZINE*, vol. iv. pp. 237-8.

† Son of David Ross, of Balblair. For a short biography of Mr. Ross see W. T. Read's *Life and Correspondence of George Read*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

‡ For references to her see *ibid.* pp. 60-62. William Read, a grandson of the Rev. Mr. Ross by his second wife, Catharine Van Gezel, married Anne, daughter of Archibald and Judith (Kemble) McCall, a descendant of Jöran Kyn hereafter spoken of.

§ The front wall of this house (the oldest in New Castle) still stands, bearing the date of its erection (1687) in large iron characters.

m. — Wooster, and d. April 4, 1867. She is bur. in Immanuel Churchyard. Mr. Wooster is also dead.

284. JOHN, b. April 30, 1793. He went west, and was, for many years, engaged in business on the lakes, acquiring wealth, which he unfortunately lost through fires and other casualties. He married in that region, where his wife died. Mr. Yeates afterwards returned to New Castle, and d. there, it is believed, s. p. June 30, 1849. He is bur. in Immanuel Churchyard, in that town.

124. DONALDSON YEATES,^s son of George and Mary (Donaldson) Yeates, was born near New Castle on Delaware, February 12, 1729–30. He obtained a warrant of survey for land in New Castle County in 1759, and in 1766 pursued the business of saddler near Christiana Bridge, from whence he moved the following year to Kent County, Maryland. He inherited from his brother, David Yeates, land in New Castle County (purchased by the latter from his kinsman, John Inglis, presently mentioned), known as "Green's Manor," which he parted with, however, in 1783, when he resided in Cecil County, Maryland. He was commissioned Colonel of Militia of that State, and was a Delegate to the Maryland Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, April 28, 1788, and a Presidential Elector from Maryland in 1793. He married Mary, thirteenth child of Philip and Elizabeth Syng, of Philadelphia,* born December 25, 1751.

* Philip Syng was born in Ireland in November, 1703, and arrived at Annapolis, Md., September 29, 1714 (O. S.), in company with his father, Philip Syng, who died there, May 18, 1739, aged 63 years. He settled and married in Philadelphia, where he acquired excellent reputation as a silversmith, his skill being attested by several good works of art yet in existence, among the number an inkstand (preserved in Independence Hall), made in 1752 for the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and used by the Continental Congress during its sessions in Philadelphia, and at the signing of the Declaration of Independence. He was one of the grantees of the charter of the Library Company of Philadelphia, a Member of the Junto, and an original Member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the noted Fishing Club styled "the Colony in Schuylkill." He made the science of electricity "a subject of constant study and laborious experiment for many years," and, according to James Parton, "imparted to Franklin valuable suggestions and discoveries," which the latter "acknowledged and applauded," contriving, "for example, an electrical machine, similar to those

Colonel Yeates died in Kent County, Maryland, November 16, 1796. Mrs. Yeates survived her husband, dying in December, 1809. They had four children:

285. **GEORGE**, b. May 11, 1780. He lived in Baltimore, and d. unm. February 2, 1819. He is bur. in the Protestant Episcopal Churchyard at Shrewsbury, Kent Co., Md.
286. **ELIZABETH**. She m. her cousin, Samuel Wethered, of Kent County, Md., son of John Wethered, by his wife Mary Sykes, a descendant of Jöran Kyn hereafter mentioned. They d. leaving issue.
287. **JOHN**, b. September 19, 1784. He d. unm. November 14, 1806, and is bur. with his brother.
288. **DONALDSON**, b. January 11, 1787. He studied physic at the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1810 (the subject of his thesis being the "Nephritic State of Fever"), and was appointed a Surgeon in the Navy of the United States. He d. unm. October 29, 1815, and is bur. with his brothers.

used in Europe, of which he had never heard." He promoted the organization of the "Association Battery" of our city, elsewhere referred to. He was appointed Provincial Commissioner of Appeal for Philadelphia in 1764. He signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church from 1747 to 1749, and a Trustee of the College and Academy of Philadelphia from their foundation till 1773. He died May 8, 1789, and was buried in Christ Church Ground, where Mrs. Syng had been interred October 3, 1786. (Facts very courteously supplied me by Mr. Syng's great-great-grandson, Philip S. P. Conner, Esq.)

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. IV. page 506.)

Aug. 25, 1746.	Landy,	Robert.
Oct. 3, 1726.	Lane,	Thomas, of Bristol, mariner.
Nov. 5, 1733.	"	Anne, wife of William.
May 22, 1746.	"	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Feb. 3, 1747-8.	"	Anne, wife of Joseph.
Dec. 20, 1751.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
June 15, 1727.	Lankester,	Thomas.
July 25, 1749.	Lardner,	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
April 1, 1746.	Larrance,	Wilmoth, wife of Gyles.
Sept. 7, 1710.	Lasal,	Thomas.
May 15, 1759.	Lascelles,	James.
July 31, 1741.	Lashemile,	Peter.
Oct. 5, 1746.	Lassels,	Mary, widow.
Nov. 24, 1722.	Laurence,	_____
April 23, 1723.	"	Mary.
July 25, 1723.	"	John, son of Thomas. Gent.
Dec. 2, 1728.	"	Longfield, son of Thomas, Esq.
Jan. 15, 1728-9.	"	Catharine, dau. of Thomas, Esq.
Nov. 1, 1731.	"	Longfield, son of Thomas, Esq.
April 18, 1752.	Lawder,	Andrew.
April 22, 1754.	Lawrence,	Thomas, Esq.
Sept. 8, 1754.	"	Robert Hunter, son of Thomas.
Oct. 29, 1756.	"	Francis.
Nov. 15, 1756.	"	_____ son of Thomas.
Jan. 29, 1715-6.	Lawson,	Elizabeth, dau. of Erasmus and Mary.
July 24, 1754.	Laycock,	John, son of John.
Oct. 3, 1745.	Leabrook,	Susannah, wife of Abraham.
Mar. 25, 1731-2.	Leacock	Sarah, dau. of John.
Nov. , 1733.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Feb. 1, 1736-7.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John.
Nov. 25, 1752.	"	John.
April 17, 1754.	"	Sophia, wife of Richard.
Sept. 30, 1759.	"	Catharine, dau. of Richard.

Mar. 27, 1716-7.	Leacocks,	Stillborn child of John and Mary.
Feb. 9, 1757.	Leadbetter,	—— son of George.
Jan. 7, 1709-10.	Leane,	Edward.
June 21, 1750.	Leany,	Elizabeth, dau. of Peter.
Dec. 9, 1709.	Leatort,	James, son of James and Mary.
Oct. 23, 1720.	Lecolay,	Mary, dau. of Peter and Peter. [Phillis.
Feb. 4, 1734-5.	Lecolle,	Peter.
Aug. 25, 1754.	Le Count,	Ruth.
Feb. 7, 1738-9.	Ledbeter,	Jonathan.
Nov. 27, 1758.	Ledeu,	—— dau. of Lewis.
Aug. 23, 1738.	Le Drew,	Solomon, son of Noel.
Aug. 20, 1741.	Ledru,	Mary, dau. of Noel.
July 24, 1742.	"	John, son of Noel.
Oct. 14, 1744.	"	Samuel, son of Noel.
Oct. 8, 1754.	"	Noel.
June 23, 1739.	Ledrue,	Henry, son of Noel.
June 8, 1747.	"	Thomas, son of Noel.
Sept. 2, 1747.	"	Benjamin, son of Noel.
April 24, 1714.	Lee,	Catharine, dau. of Capt. William.
Nov. 3, 1716.	"	Catharine, dau. of William and Sarah.
Feb. 14, 1726-7.	"	Sarah, wife of Capt. William.
Nov. 28, 1728.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Oct. 25, 1738.	"	John.
July 12, 1747.	"	Joseph.
July 25, 1748.	"	Rebekah, dau. of Ralph.
July 29, 1752.	"	William, son of John.
Feb. 15, 1753.	"	Sarah, wife of John.
Dec. 10, 1756.	"	John.
April 5, 1759.	"	Edward.
May 10, 1736.	Leech,	Benjamin, son of John.
Dec. 26, 1745.	"	John.
Jan. 20, 1753.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Aug. 15, 1758.	"	Thomas, son of William.
April 14, 1759.	"	—— child of William.
Nov. 6, 1740.	Leeds,	Jane.
Aug. 24, 1728.	Leek,	Sarah, dau. of James.
Jan. 11, 1739-40.	Leerew,	Winifred, wife of John. Poor.
April 19, 1732.	Lees,	Mary, wife of Ralph.
July 26, 1734.	"	Ann, dau. of Ralph.
July 17, 1745.	"	Mary, dau. of Ralph.
Feb. 8, 1749-50.	"	Ralph.
July 3, 1751.	Legay,	Jacob.

June 19, 1741.	Leigh,	Samuel, son of Ralph.
June 23, 1743	"	Joseph, son of Ralph.
July 15, 1744.	"	David, son of Ralph.
June 20, 1746.	Lemmen,	Aaron.
Feb. 6, 1752.	Lenard,	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
July 1, 1759.	Leniel,	Thomas.
Sept. 15, 1748.	Lennard,	John, son of Thomas.
Oct. 8, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Jan. 7, 1758.	Lenord,	John.
Dec. 4, 1721.	Lenthall,	Mary.
Oct. 15, 1745.	Lester,	Philip, son of Adam.
Dec. 15, 1759.	"	Margaret, dau. of John.
Aug. 4, 1732.	Letort,	Elizabeth, wife of James.
Sept. 13, 1711.	Lettort,	Judith, dau. of James and
Nov. 9, 1720.	Letts,	Elizabeth. [Mary.
July 20, 1721.	Levering,	John, son of Abraham and
Nov. 26, 1723.	"	Child of Abraham. [Ann.
Mar. 28, 1757.	Levy,	Catharine.
Nov. 21, 1759.	"	—— dau. of Isaac.
Aug. 6, 1758.	Lewen,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Sept. 12, 1723.	Lewis,	William.
Nov. 14, 1729.	"	Robert.
Oct. 2, 1730.	"	John, son of Philip.
Mar. 4, 1738-9.	"	John, son of Philip. Poor.
June 7, 1740.	"	John.
April 7, 1750.	Lifty,	William.
Feb. 10, 1758.	Lindly,	Mary, dau. of John.
July 1, 1738.	Liney,	Joseph, son of Peter.
Oct. 7, 1756.	Linn,	—— son of John.
Oct. 12, 1731.	Linnington,	James, son of Samuel.
Oct. 31, 1731.	"	Catharine, wife of Samuel.
April 27, 1727.	Linney,	Michael. Wiccacoe.
Oct. 10, 1734.	"	Joseph, son of Peter.
June 25, 1739.	"	Samuel, son of Peter.
May 23, 1755.	"	Peter.
Feb. 19, 1739-40.	Linsey,	William. Poor.
Aug. 4, 1752.	"	Sarah.
Nov. 2, 1749.	Linton,	John.
April 25, 1743.	Lithgow,	Patrick.
Dec. 8, 1753.	Littel,	John.
Sept. 13, 1740.	Liver,	Jane.
July 29, 1730.	Livering,	Abraham, son of Abraham.
Aug. 27, 1735.	Lloyd,	Susannah, dau. of Charles.
Jan. 31, 1736-7.	"	Susannah, dau. of Charles.
Aug. 29, 1742.	"	Samuel.
Aug. 27, 1759.	"	Margaret, dau. of Robert.

April 7, 1732.	Lobdel,	Sarah.
July 22, 1733.	"	Sarah.
May 23, 1714.	Lock,	Constant Ann, dau. of Ann.
April 29, 1736.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 12, 1748.	"	Mary Oakley, dau. of William.
Aug. 4, 1746.	Locke,	Elizabeth. Widow.
Mar. 3, 1733-4.	Lofties,	Charles.
Sept. 17, 1714.	Loftis,	John, son of Leeson and Anne.
Feb. 10, 1729-30.	"	Francis.
Oct. 27, 1732.	"	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 13, 1716.	Loftus,	James, son of Leeson and Anne.
Feb. 20, 1733-4.	"	Frances, dau. of Charles.
Sept. 4, 1734.	"	Anne.
May 25, 1746.	Long,	Mary, wife of William.
July 9, 1746.	"	William.
July 5, 1754.	"	Mary, wife of John.
July 16, 1711.	Lord,	Trigany, son of Theodorus and Mary.
April 27, 1714.	"	Mary, dau. of Mr. Theodorus.
June 7, 1714.	"	Theodorus, son of Theodorus and Mary.
Aug. 31, 1714.	"	Sarah. dau. of Theodorus and Mary.
Aug. 30, 1717.	"	Mary, wife of Theodorus.
Dec. 15, 1748.	Lort,	Susannah, wife of John.
Sept. 9, 1741.	Loughler,	Edward.
July 6, 1753.	Love,	Jane, dau. of William.
Nov. 29, 1715.	Lovegrove,	John, son of John and Do- rothy.
Dec. 4, 1759.	"	John, son of John.
Dec. 17, 1759.	"	Ann, dau. of John.
Mar. 20, 1742-3.	Low,	James, son of Robert.
Sept. 27, 1735.	Lowder,	Anne, wife of Edward.
June 15, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Edward.
April 20, 1755.	Lowery,	Isaac.
Dec. 19, 1755.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 29, 1734.	Lowrey,	Mr. Robert.
Nov. 17, 1749.	"	John, son of ———.
Sept. 30, 1752.	Lowrie,	Mary, wife of Robert.
Mar. 13, 1726-7.	Lowther,	Mary, dau. of Ralph.
April 13, 1740.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Edward.
Jan. 19, 1743-4.	Loyd,	Ann, dau. of Charles.
Aug. 22, 1745.	"	Charles, son of Charles.
Oct. 8, 1751.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Charles.
Feb. 3, 1757.	"	Charles.

Jan. 25, 1722-3.	Lunnon,	Martha. Infant.
Aug. 1, 1758.	Lyn,	Sarah, dau. of John.
Aug. 10, 1747.	Lynch,	John, son of Daniel.
May 4, 1713.	Lyndon,	Joseph, son of William and Sarah.
June 12, 1743.	Lyneall,	Samuel, son of Richard.
Aug. 4, 1753.	Lynn,	Peter, son of David.
July 24, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
Mar. 6, 1728-9.	McCall,	William, son of Mr. George.
Mar. 14, 1730-1.	"	Margaret, dau. of George.
May 15, 1736.	"	William, son of George.
Feb. 15, 1738-9.	"	William, son of George.
Jan. 11, 1739-40.	"	Jane, dau. of George.
July 19, 1740.	"	Samuel, son of Samuel.
Oct. 15, 1740.	"	George.
Aug. 15, 1741.	"	John.
July 27, 1745.	"	Jasper, son of George.
Aug. 15, 1745.	"	Mary, dau. of Samuel.
Dec. 17, 1745.	"	George, son of Samuel, senior.
Jan. 16, 1745-6.	"	Anne.
July 1, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of Jesse.
Aug. 26, 1747.	"	Jesse.
Oct. 10, 1747.	"	Samuel, son of Samuel, senior.
July 29, 1752.	"	Anne, dau. of George.
July 3, 1756.	"	George.
July 25, 1756.	"	—— son of Samuel.
Nov. 21, 1756.	"	—— dau. of George.
Sept. 7, 1757.	"	Anne, wife of Samuel.
Dec. 8, 1732.	McCanin,	—— wife of Robert.
Feb. 4, 1732-3.	McCarty,	Charles.
Oct. 2, 1746.	"	Sarah.
Dec. 18, 1753.	McCarvill,	alias Pritchard, Margaret.
May 22, 1738.	McClannan,	Elizabeth.
Aug. 9, 1746.	McCleane,	Sarah, dau. of Hugh.
Mar. 21, 1737-8.	McClocklin,	Alice, wife of Dennis.
Aug. 21, 1759.	McColgan,	Cornelius.
Dec. 10, 1725.	McCollin,	Samuel, of Bermuda.
Mar. 18, 1730-1.	McCollister,	Mary, dau. of John.
Dec. 20, 1736.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Mary.
Nov. 21, 1740.	McCollogh,	Henry.
Sept. 10, 1723.	McComb,	John.
July 4, 1752.	McCullah,	Andrew.
May 13, 1750.	McCullough,	James, son of Andrew.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS OF FRANCIS MAKEMIE AND DANIEL NEAL.—We are indebted to Mr. D. McN. Stauffer for the following, which he has copied for the MAGAZINE from the original in his possession:—

PHILADELPHIA, March 28, 1707.

MR. BENJAMIN COLMAN.

Rev^d Brother: Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our R^d Brethren of the Ministry at Boston, which we hope, according to our intention, has been communicated to you all, whose Sympathising concurrence I cannot doubt of, in our expensive Struggle, for asserting our liberty, against the powerful invasion of L^d Cornbury, which is not yet over.

I need not tell you, of a pick^d Jury, and the penall laws are invading our American Sanctuary, without the least regard to the Toleration, which should justly alarm us all. I hope Mr. Campbell, to whom I direct this for the more safe Conveyance, has shown or informed you what I wrote last.

We are so far upon our return home tho' I must return for a finall 'Tryall which will be very troublesome and expensive, and we had only liberty to attend a Meeting of Ministers we had formerly appointed here, and were only Seven in number at first, but expect a growing number: Our design is to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity in our Various Stations, and to maintain Such a Correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our Ministeriall ability by prescribing Texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is Subjected to the Censure of our Brethren; Our Subject is Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, I and another began and performed our parts on vs. 1, 2, and the 3 is prescribed to Mr. Andrews and another If any friends write, direct to Mr. John Bud at Philadelphia, to be directed to me in Virginia. Pardon S^r this diversion from

Your humble Servant, and Brother in the Works of the Gospell,

FFRANCIS MAKEMIE.

A letter from our Meeting is directed to Mr. Cotton Mather in the name of the rest.

Rev. S^r:

Yours of y^e 17 of March is before me in w^{ch} you desire me to assist you with Bules for y^e management of your new fund for y^e help of poor Congregations but I presumed it would not be thought proper, to transcribe ours, because such things are not to be made publick, & besides y^e your Circumstances may differ widely from ours: If Dr. Watts had thought your request expedient, I know of Nobody could have answered your Expectations better than himself. I pray God to direct those who have y^e management, and crown their Endeavours with success. If you had sent over your Plan, you might have Expected some Remarks & Observations, but 'tis not for us to direct you, who are upon a national establishment.

As for what y^e Dr. mentions of your not writing concerning y^e particulars you mention, 'tis of little Importance, you have better work on your head & heart, I never doubted your delivery of y^e Books I sent to Cambridge Library & in their kind Acceptance I have all y^e Reward I desired or

expected. I am glad to find those you writ for, to ballance your account with me, are Safely arrived, I am not certain whether I heard of it before & can only accuse my shallow memory for y^e neglect.

My acquaintance in your Country are almost worn out as I myself seem to be. Our Fathers, where are they! I hope it will please God to raise you up Other friends & better than those who are gone or going off y^e Stage of Life, but you will meet with very few who had your welfare so much at heart as my late Cos. Hollis. How his Executors or Assigns behave with respect to y^e Colledge or Students I am very much a Stranger, but y^e same God governs & abides thro' all Generations.

Towards y^e latter end of May last, We and y^e whole dissenting Interest, had an almost irreparable loss by ye surprising Death of my dear and much honored friend Dr. Wm. Harris, who dyed of a kind of Lethargy w^{ch} was at first thought to be only a cold, but notwithstanding all y^e Remedies, by Blisters &c. He fell asleep & could not be awakened; but after about 3 days slept in Jesus, his whole illness was about a week. He dyed on Lords day morning about 6 o'Clock—May 25th in y^e 64th year of his Age, two funeral sermons were preached for him One by Dr. Grosvenor and y^e other by my Br. in law Mr. Lardner, his Assistant and Author of y^e celebrated Performance, entitled the *Credibility of y^e Gospel History* in 4 or 5 vol. 8vo.

Mr. Whitfield who makes such an extraordinary figure among you, is in my opinion an honest, zealous & well meaning man—but his Learning & Judgement are I doubt not alike defective. I wish he be not carried away by something that looks very like Enthusiasm. Some of our Brethren here as well as with you, have run extravagant lengths in his Praise, but his credit is alike sunk by his declaiming against Abp. Tillotson as not understanding y^e Gospel more than Mahomet & the Author of y^e *Whole Duty of Man*. His followers here known by y^e name of *Methodists* being turned out of y^e Church by y^e Bp. of London, have formed a new kind of Separation, & set up 2 or 3 separate Assemblies, but they begin to be divided upon some points of Calvinism but are as high in their Notions of Church Authority as y^e very Jacobites. They seem to be ambitious of suffering for their Principles, & I believe would not decline it, but there seems to be a very great tendency in their Principles to an Imitation of what was lately known by y^e name of y^e *French Prophets*; I should therefore advise my Brethren, not to make too hasty advances towards their Camp, but stand still, & like men upon y^e Watch tower, observe their Behaviour and wait y^e event.

With regard to myself I am like to be but of little publick service, being ready to bow down under the Infirmities of declining years. 'Tis almost 2 years since I was seized with "Somethink" like a Paralitick Disorder, and tho' I have in some measure weathered the storms, yet I feel y^e Decay of my natural Powers, & believe I should have quite grown into obscurity had not y^e late Mr. Conaro associated me with Dr. Watts & Dr. Gibbs, his Executors & Trustees of a very large Estate for y^e education of dissenting Ministers, in y^e Congregational way; This obliges me to be a little active, & calls for ye Prayers of all Our Brethren that it may subserve ye true Interest of Xⁱ, and among others I would humbly implore yours, & all our Brethren with you. Pray give my Duty to Gov. Belcher, & my love and service to all y^e enquire after me at any time.

I am Dear S^r your Affect. Br. in Christ & humble Servant,
London, August 12, 1740. DAN: NEAL.

DR. JOHN COCHRAN.—(Mr. Henry T. Drowne, who furnished us the letters of Dr. Solomon Drowne, printed in our last number, has kindly sent us two from Dr. Cochran, for sketch of whom, see Vol. III., p. 242.)

NEW WINDSOR, March 25th, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I received your favor of the 27th Ultimo about 18 days ago. on my way to Albany, and as I did not return before last night, that will account for my not attending to you sooner.

I thank you for your very polite congratulations on my appointment and the favorable sentiments you are pleas'd to entertain of my disposition, and the willingness you express of serving under my superintendance. In return I only wish to act such a part as will entitle me to a continuation of your future approbation, and that of every gentleman in the Department.

I hope your resignation has not been accepted by Congress, and that you still continue one of our body, for it gives me the highest pleasure and satisfaction to see retained in the service such Characters, as have abilities and discharge their duty, with faithfulness; this I think without flattery, I can say of you, having been an Eyewitness to your assiduity.

If your resignation has not been accepted, and you are willing to continue in the Department, I wish to know where it would be most convenient for yourself to be employ'd. The circumstances of your family might require a choice. I believe there will be no necessity of a Physician's going to Virginia. I hope those already sent, will be sufficient for that service.—I am Dear Sir, your most obedient Humble Servant.

Dr. BINNEY.

JOHN COCHRAN, D. M. H.

Letter from John Cochran, Director of Military Hospitals, to Doctor Barnabas Binney, Physician & Surgeon to y^e Hospital, Philadelphia.

CAMP PEEKSKILL, October 22^d, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I received your Favor of the 16th Instant and am much at a Loss to conceive, on what Principles the Board of War mean to break up the Hospitals at Yellow Springs, Boston & Albany, for by their Instructions to me, it is impossible to effect the two latter, unless at a most enormous expence, for if board cannot be procured at Boston, which it certainly cannot without money to pay for it, which they have not got, then the Patients are to be sent to another Hospital, the nearest, being upwards of two hundred miles. Ridiculous as this may appear, I have ordered Warren to put it into Execution, as I am determined to obey my superiors. I have given no Direction about the Albany Hospital, and have assigned my reason to the Board of War & shall wait their further Instructions. If Economy is the object these Gentry have in view, it will appear evident to any Person with half an Eye, that they are saving on the small, and expending on the large scale; a Fault but too prevalent among the great Ones, proceeding from a Want of better information & a too great a proneness to listen to the idle Whims of those who have their own Interest more in view than the Honor of Congress, the good of the service, or the Country they pretend to serve. I know not who is at the bottom of all these Evolutions for be assured they are new to me. If we take a view of the different Metamorphoses of our poor Medical Department, it will give out the most genuine Picture of the Instability of all things here below. I have wrote my Sentiments to the Board of War very fully on this subject, but fear to little purpose. I know no reason why you should be removed from Philadelphia to make way for another, for suppose the Board of War had taken it into their heads to break up the Hospital at Philadelphia, and send the Patients to Yellow Springs, as they have done heretofore, & which may be the case again to morrow, surely it could not be supposed that you would take the Place of Dr. Otto, besides I have wrote him to hold himself in readiness to join any other Hospital where his services may be most wanted. I fear we have some evil Counsellors who are endeavor-

oring to lead us astray, for astray we are going as fast as the Devil can drive us. I proposed seeing my Friends in Philadelphia in a Fortnight, but the indisposition of Mrs. Cochran will I fear deprive me of that Pleasure.—Compliments to Mrs. Binney & believe me,

Dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,
DOCTOR BINNEY, Philadelphia. J. COCHRAN, D. M. H.

LETTER OF GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.—Written from Westchester Co., New York.

FREDERICKSBURG, 21st October, 1778.

Dear Sir,

This will be delivered you by my very particular friend Colonel Irvine, who has Obtained leave of absence in Consequence of Gen. Hand's coming to this Quarter.

Irvine was a Senior Colonel to either Hand or De Hass, and would undoubtedly have been promoted in his proper place had he not unfortunately been a prisoner at the time.

All the Officers were Prisoners and now Exchanged belonging to McGaw and Cadwaladers Regiments, have taken that rank in the line that they would have held had they not been Prisoners—he conceives himself entitled to the same Justice and I have Reason to fear he will never Return to us unless he Obtains it.

You may rest assured that you have not a better Officer in the whole Line & that there will be a very great Resignation among us if one or two Principal Officers lead the way—too many have already quit us and numbers more are hourly offering in their Resignations—if you saw the situation that I am in you would pity me but a truce to this.

Pray let me know the names of those that Compose our new Assembly and who are our Delegates in Congress.

Unless something extraordinary turns up to prevent me, I shall take you by the hand the latter end of next month.

I shall previously ask your advice.—My best wishes to Mrs. Peters—She has not favored me with a single line for these two campaigns.

Adieu, Yours, Yours, Yours,
RICHARD PETERS, Esq. ANTY WAYNE.

NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA.—[The following curious document was printed in a New Jersey paper a year or so ago, a copy of which was furnished to the Society by Judge Clement, of Haddonfield. The original was found in the office of the Secretary of the State, at Trenton. It is an informal draft of an agreement, contemplating an exchange of territory between the Duke of York and Lords Carteret and Berkley (then the owners of New Jersey), in 1669. The introductory remarks are taken from the paper in which the document appeared.]

The contracting parties evidently knew but little of the territories in question—shown by the indefinite words of description used—which led to so much controversy and litigation in connection with other like grants of land in America. By this arrangement Carteret and Berkley's possessions would have extended from Sandy Hook along the coast to Cape Henlopen (including Delaware Bay), and up Delaware Bay and River "to the first and uttermost spring or springs that descends into the said river beyond the falls," with "all the land, rivers, etc., on the west side of said bay and river and springs. that is not already granted."

Being before the grant made to William Penn, it is easily seen the extent of the territory included, and the advantage Carteret and Berkley would have had by such exchange; they giving to the Duke but a small strip of land lying west of Hudson River from Raritan Bay, northward.

The capital letters R. H. have reference to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the letters B. and C. refer to John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, both favorites of the King and Duke. This change is supposed to have originated with Nicholls, then Governor of New York, and if carried would have complicated the boundaries and perhaps brought about an endless chancery suit in England.

The claims made by Lord Baltimore had already assumed a formidable appearance, but the Duke was bound to bear Berkley and Carteret harmless. The persistency with which this was pressed at a subsequent time is seen in the litigation with the Penns, which continued through several generations of both families.

As before said, it is a curious document, and although not carried out, shows how near our northerly boundary was being changed and the present State of Pennsylvania made part of our Commonwealth. William Penn's purpose might have been defeated and the westerly boundary of New Jersey extended to that of Virginia and the lakes. It will be regarded as an acquisition to the documentary history of the Colonies, and help to settle questions that have always puzzled antiquarians.

"Conditions agreed upon between his R. H. and B. and C.:

1. That the bounds of New Jersey is to begin along the coast from the first entrance on the N. E. of Barnagat to Cape May, being on the east side of the entrance into Delawarr bay, and from Cape which is on the W. side at the going into the said bay, and from thence to go up on both sides of the said bay and river, called Dellawarr river, to the first and uttermost spring or springs that descends into the said river beyond the falls.

2. That noe part of his R. H. territories shall come any neerer then within 40 miles on the bay or river, and the spring or springs beyond excepting along the coast. This, his R. H. bounds, is to come no farther then to the first entrance into Barnagat as afores^d.

3. That all the maine land on both sides of the bay and river up to the falls and springs aforesaid, with all the inlets, harbors, rivers, creeks, islands, woods, marshes, lakes, meadows, etc., shall remaine to B. and C. for ever, as also, all the lands, rivers, etc. on the west side of the said bay, river and springs that is not already granted by his Ma^{ty} to any particuler person or persons.

4. That all the townes, plantations, fort or forts, artillery, arms, amunition, caragos, and all other materialls belonging to the militia or otherwise that are now in his R. H. possession, and in present being upon the said river or in any other place, shall be delivered up unto B. C., and that the souldiers that are now there in pay to the number of 15 shall be continued under the command of B. C. for the sume of at his R. H. charge.

5. That his R. H. is to procure a pattent from his Ma^{ty} for all that tract of land which he made a conquest from the Dutch on the W. side of the said bay and river, and the same to make over to B. and C.

6. That his R. H. is to cleare all pretences and claimes that my Lord Baltimore cann make to any the said land, bay and river from the two capes aforesaid.

7. That it shall and may be lawful for B. and C. or any person or persons under them, or trading hither, to passe with their merchandize, goods and cattle to and from any seas, harbors, rivers, or creeks trough any of his R. H. territories, eyther by land or by water into any parts of the territories belongin to B. and C., without being loyable to pay any tax of custom or imposition whatsoever, excepting such goods as shall be disposed of within his said R. H. territories.

8. That all grants of land, charters and priviledges granted to general

corporations are to be confirmed, and also all grants of land to particular persons and the lands dew to B. and C. and other persons, with liberty to dispose thereof as they shall think fit.

9. That all arears dew to B. C. for quit rent and all arears dew to the Governor and officers are to be forthwith paid by vertu of the Governor's warrant, without any service of proces in law. The quit rent is to be accompted at $\frac{1}{2}$ penny per acre, from the 25th March, 1670, to the 25th March, 1672.

10. That whereas, it is said that the, his R. H., is not to come within 40 miles of Delawarr bay or river, it is to be understood that iff the said 40 miles should come within the compase of any part of Pisachat river, that then there shall be 5 miles distance laid out the said B

adjoining which land is to remain in common both parties forever, but that all the townes and plantations hereafter mentioned and now settled are fully and wholly to remain to his R. H.

11. To name the tyme to surrender on both sides for the convenience of that Governor and his officers that is to remove.

In exchange whereof his R. H. is to have all the lands on the west side of Hudsons river, from the entrance into the bay to the Raratan river, and as far landward into the country till it comes within 40 miles of Delawarr bay, river and springs, the coast from the first entrance into Barnegat, and the provisoes in the 10th article before mentioned only excepted, with all the townes now settled and planted, namely; the Corporation of Bergen, New Barbadoes, Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Shrewsbury, Middleton and New Piscataway, together with all the plantations within the said tract of land now belonging and in possession of B. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—This Society has just issued its first publication, an 8vo. of 127 pp. It contains the original Journal of General Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot Expedition, 1779, with a sketch of his life by Gilbert Nash, the Recording Secretary of the Society, together with its Proceedings for the years 1879-80. The Journal covers only seven pages of the book, but is well worthy of preservation, and the excellent biographical introduction gives a full account of a chapter in Revolutionary history, about which there has, heretofore, existed considerable obscurity, and which appears to have failed from the "want of proper spirit and energy of the Commodore" who commanded the naval portion of the expedition. There is also an Appendix, containing the "Robert Lovell Genealogy."

We cannot too strongly commend to the attention of those interested in the establishment of Local Historical Societies, the industry which has marked the course of the Weymouth Society, and the success which has attended it. Nothing can better serve the cause of history than the formation of just such societies as the Weymouth, and when their existence comes to be the rule instead of the exception we may hope, to some extent, to arrive at the truth of history.

NOTES ON THE SECOND SERIES OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES.—In compiling the 10th and 11th Volumes of the Penna. Archives, 2d Series, the records of the officers are necessarily brief, and in some instances incomplete, for want of *data* not then accessible to the Editors. Their subsequent career is also a subject of proper curiosity, and I propose, through the space allotted to "Notes and Queries," to give, occasionally, the information I may obtain thereon, and elicit more.

James Morrison, Ensign, 8th Pa., Vol. X., p. 652, Archives.—His only official record is that he was promoted from Sergeant to Ensign, December 21, 1778. From a letter to Gen. Calleuder Irvine, dated at Lexington, Ky., August 9, 1822, it appears he was then residing there, married, and largely engaged in business, but much afflicted with heart disease; when he died I am not aware. He had joined the 8th at its organization, and was detached with Van Swearingen and Hardin to Morgan Rifle Battalion, and fought with them at Saratoga and Stillwater, against Burgoyne. In 1778 he was ordered to rejoin the 8th, which, under Col. Brodhead, was proceeding to Fort Pitt. He then goes on to say, "that when Gen. Wm. Irvine took command of the Western Department, in the fall of 1781, he there found the 8 Pa. and 7th Virginia, or rather skeletons, for they both were unable to make the number requisite for one efficient regiment. The old fort, particularly the picketing on the three sides, was in a complete state of decay. Genl. Irvine had new pickets immediately prepared; and to encourage the completion of the work aided with his own hands; this had the effect no doubt intended, as every officer followed so good an example, and in a few days the fort was put in good order and made capable of resisting an attack from the combined forces of the British and Indians from the Lakes under the direction of Col. John Connolly, who was well acquainted with the fort and country—and in the immediate neighborhood were many persons attached to the British cause. Gen. Irvine had information of this premeditated attack from Genl. Washington, and adopted the means of rendering it too hazardous; as there remained no doubt the preparations were suspended by Connolly's correspondents informing him of the arrangements adopted by the Commanding General to preclude retreat in case of discomfiture. I know of no man now living in Kentucky who had a better opportunity of knowing Genl. Irvine's merits than myself save Major John Finley who lives at the upper Blue Lick Nicholas County. I have not seen him for several years, but have some apprehension his memory has failed very much, from what I hear."

The reference is to Captain John Finley, of the 8th (Penna. Archives, Vol. X., page 650).

Lieut. James Gibbon, 6 Pa., X., p. 566.—Lieut. James Gibbon led the left Forlorn Hope at the Storming of Stony Point. Subsequent to the war he was U. S. Collector at Richmond, Va., where he died in June, 1835. The latter years of his life were laden with great sorrow by the loss of his son James, a brilliant officer of the United States Navy, who perished in the burning of the Richmond Theatre, in December, 1811, with the Governor of the State, and the élite of the city. In a letter dated at Richmond, Va., Aug. 3, 1822, Gibbon says he was quite a boy when he was attached to Gen. Irvine's military family, and that he was his aid-de-camp. This is quite an interesting fact, a boy aid-de-camp leading the Forlorn Hope, and carving his name on his country's history too deeply ever to be obliterated. Speaking of boys reminds me of an incident of our late war, when my friend Genl. Ross Hartshorne came around, at the head of a brigade, to assist a certain commander. He looked at Ross in astonishment, and wanted to know what in the h— Grant meant by sending around a boy to help him. He was very glad, however, that boy was there before night came.

Can any reader of the *MAGAZINE* inform us of the subsequent history of Lieut. George Knox, of the 9th Pa., who led the Forlorn Hope of the right column in the assault upon Stony Point? I have been unable to trace him since.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN B. LINN.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 8vo. 58 pp. *Wilkes-Barre*, 1881. This is the second publication of the above-mentioned society, and we earnestly hope it will so prosper that the series will be continued. Besides the report of the Proceedings of the Society, Feb. 11, 1881, the Report of the Treasurer, the Report of the Cabinet Committee and the Committee on Flood of 1865, there is an interesting address by Steuben Jenkins, Esq., entitled "A Yankee Celebration at Wyoming, In Ye Olden Time."

This address was suggested by a document which was handed to Mr. Jenkins by Mr. Harrison Wright, the Secretary of the Society. It reads as follows:—

"Augt 6th, 1784.

Sir: Please to send me one gallon of wine and two pounds of sugar, in order to keep up the *feu de joie* and you will

Oblige yours

Mr. HAGERMAN."

JNO. JENKINS, JR.

Endorsed.

"To Gallon Wine	12s.
To 2 lbs. Loaf Sugar	3s. 9d."

The cause of the rejoicing was in brief this: the long-continued dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut regarding the Wyoming lands was settled, so far as jurisdiction was concerned, by the decree at Trenton in 1782. This, however, was not conclusive regarding the individual title of the Connecticut settlers to the soil, and an attempt was made to dispossess them by those holding claims under the Pennsylvania authorities. Mr. Jenkins's paper gives a succinct account of these troubles, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ANDREW DOZ has not been known for many years, and was concealed from sight even at the date of Mr. Clark's *Inscriptions in the Burial Grounds of Christ Church*, in 1864. But on the 11th inst., I was in the ground at Fifth and Arch streets, witnessing some improvements there projected by Dr. Bache, the Accounting Warden, and in company with that gentleman, when the workmen at our side, in removing some soil struck a stone, which, on being uncovered with care, proved to be that covering the remains of this philanthropist and benefactor. It is situated in the southeast corner of the ground, on a line between Nos. 48 and 53 in Section K, of Mr. Clark's "Inscriptions;" time had aided the neglect of earlier years, and the stone lay under eight inches of earth.

Andrew Doz was a grandson of Andrew Doz, probably a Huguenot, who had charge of Penn's Vineyard at Fairmount. He was an ancestor of Andrew D. Cash. Mr. Doz made his will December 17, 1788, and died the following day, appointing as executors his wife and his daughter, the Rt. Rev. Dr. White, Samuel Coates, and Miers Fisher. To his wife and his daughter Mrs. Martha Flower, he left the life use of his estate, and on the decease of the latter without issue, it was to be divided in seven portions, and the following were the beneficiaries of this valuable estate, named in his order:—

The Pennsylvania Hospital.

The Protestant Episcopal Academy.

"To the use of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and his successors who shall have the Episcopalians of the City of Philadelphia within his Diocese."

The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Deceased Clergymen.

St. Paul's Church.

The Philadelphia Dispensary, and

The Humane Society.

This bequest of Mr. Doz was the beginning of the Episcopal Fund of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and in its terms he was doubtless guided by the advice of Bishop White, who thus early in his Episcopate foresaw that more than one Diocese would be formed within the State.

The inscription on the stone, which is in perfect condition, will be of interest to the historian, and I append a copy of it.

In Memory of

MR. ANDREW DOZ,

of the city of PHILADELPHIA.

He was born the 14th of October, 1727,

And died the 18th of December, 1788,

aged 61 years.

He was a sincere CHRISTIAN,
How much he loved & how much he served
the interest of religion & humanity
are recorded elsewhere.

His wife & daughter have caused this
marble to be placed over his remains
as a Monument of their affection & of the
happiness they once enjoyed in his
protection and friendship.

I am the resurrection & the life,
He that believeth [sic] on me tho' he were dead,
yet shall he live.

Under this same marble
are deposited the remains
of Mrs. Rebecca Doz,

Who in the virtues of the heart,
And in purity of conversation,
Was not exceeded by any.

To express remembrance
Of her sweet instructions
And most engaging example

A surviving daughter
Hath placed these lines
The symbol of an *Inscription*
Still more deeply engraved
on her own bosom.

She was in her 68th year.

April 26, 1881.

T. H. M.

TOMBSTONE OF JAMES BINGHAM.—Mr. Clark's *Inscriptions in the Burial Grounds of Christ Church* gives the inscription of a stone in the churchyard, lying recumbent at the southeast corner of the Tower and the Nave (No. xxv., p. 11), which proves to be the reverse side of the headstone to

James Bingham; upon raising this stone, which, doubtless, has laid upon its face since the erection of the tower, as the lettering is nearly as clean-cut as new, I find the following epitaph, surmounted by a cherub's face, and surrounded by a floriated edging; the base of the stone appears as if a portion had been broken off.

HEER LIES interd
THE BODY OF
JAMES BINGHAM,
Who DeParteD
THIS LIFE THE
0th OF DEC^{EM}
BER, ANNO Dom*
1714,
AGED 46 Years.

I repeat here the literal copy of the lines on the reverse:—

—Y reader stand
and spend a tear
uPon the dust that
slumbers here,
And whilst thou readst
the state of me,
Think on the glaſs
that runs for thee.

T. H. M.

FIRST DEALER IN ICE IN PHILADELPHIA.—Mr. Townsend Ward speaks (Vol. V. p. 4) of the early use of ice in bringing fish to Philadelphia, but it is curious that the writer should survive who remembers the first commercial ice dealer. About 1812 I was an apprentice to a druggist, who followed the then new business of selling "mineral water." This required ice, and the only place it could be purchased was from Mayor Robert Wharton, who resided in a large house in Third Street, east side, just below Spruce. A large adjoining lot enabled him to build a huge ice-house, from which he dispensed rather grudgingly to customers, a few being private families, the mineral water druggists, and the very few who made ice-cream. An anecdote, well remembered, remains to be related. No argument would induce the worthy mayor to open shop on Sunday; you must provide enough ice on Saturday to last. The mother of Roberts Vaux was ill of inflammation in the head, and ice was prescribed. Mr. Wharton said emphatically "No!" and all knew when that word issued from his mouth there was no manner of use in disputing the fiat. Mr. Vaux was puzzled, for there was no other source where ice could be purchased. The happy thought struck him that the mineral fountain might oblige him. Wending his way homeward to Arch Street, he stopped where the relator was engaged in his humble employment of drawing "soda," in North Third Street, No. 6. above Market, and the ice was obtained gratis. So much for progress; we are still denied ice by the companies on Sundays, but private families are supplied mostly with sufficient S.

IN THE "AMERICAN ALMANAC FOR 1765," printed by "Henry Miller, on Second Street," is the following:—

Notice.

"The widow of George Otto deceased (late book binder) continues the business on the south side of Race St., aside of Mr. Daniel Ethers, and almost opposite Mr. Magnet. She does all manner of binding, and keeps for sale all kinds of small and large books, at fair prices."

ORIGIN OF THE *nom de plume* OF MARK TWAIN.—The following note has been kindly sent me by an officer of the Navy. He has also furnished a description, more prosaic, of the soundings by the Hand-lead and the Deep-Sea lead lines.

PHILADELPHIA CLUB, May 12th, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. WARD,

The enclosed will give you the information in regard to the marks and deeps of the Hand-lead and Deep-Sea lead lines. In the days of the old man-of-war tars there was something impressive in the song of the leadsman as he announced the result of each cast;—as, “By the mark, twain;—” “And, a quarter-five;—” “By the deep, four,” etc., etc.

I remember once hearing an English tar use the expression, “By the mark, trine;” but this was not common.

Mr. Clemens selected his *nom de plume* from the two-fathom mark of the leadman's song; the word *twain* being used by the old-time's tar as more euphonious in his song than *two*.

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS G. CORBIN.

The *Hand-lead line* is always used in soundings less than 20 fathoms; the lead weighing from 7 to 14 lbs.; the line from 20 to 30 fathoms in length.

Soundings at sea in greater depth than 20 fathoms are taken by the *Deep-sea lead*, which weighs from 40 to 100 lbs.,—the line 80 to 100 fathoms long.

Both are marked as follows:—

At 2 fathoms from the lead, with 2 strips of leather.

“ 3	“	“	“	“ 3	“
“ 5	“	“	“	“	a white rag.
“ 7	“	“	“	“	a red rag.
“ 10	“	“	“	“	leather having a hole in it.
“ 13	“	“	“	as at 3 fathoms.	
“ 15	“	“	“	“ 5	“
“ 17	“	“	“	“ 7	“
“ 20	“	“	“	with 2 knots.	
“ 25	“	“	“	“ 1	“
“ 30	“	“	“	“ 3	“
“ 35	“	“	“	“ 1	“
“ 40	“	“	“	“ 4	“

And so on.

All the intermediate numbers, such as 4, 6, 8, 9, etc., are called *deeps*.

The dictionaries do not contain the word “Deep-sea,” which is in common use, as applied to the leaden weight to sink lines when fishing. Of many who have been asked how to spell it, all except one replied *dipsy*, or *dipsie*.

Queries.

HENRY KOLB.—Henry Kolb, of Van Bebber Township, died in 1730, leaving three sons, Peter, David, and Tielman.

Can any of your readers give any data relating to his or their descendants, and whether the above-named sons were born in this country or in Europe?
H. W.

ACCOUNTS KEPT IN DOLLARS.—Were accounts kept in dollars and nine-tieths of a dollar by merchants or others before the year 1775?

AN OLD LOG CABIN.—Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* give me some information concerning a log cabin, situate in Upper Darby Township, near Kellyville, a short distance from the Catholic Church? It is owned by a Mr. Kent. It is said to have been built by some English nobleman, over two hundred years ago, for a hunting-box.

May 20, 1881.

R. S. E.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.—POLK AND POLLOCK.—In Vol. II., p. 468, of the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, I have observed a query, over the initials W. H. E., made with a view to obtaining some information with regard to the advent of Scotch-Irish families in Pennsylvania between the years 1710 and 1760, and have anxiously examined each subsequent number for notes or replies throwing light upon the subject. None having appeared, the interest which I feel in the matter leads me to continue the agitation of the question. I am particularly interested in connecting the Pollock family with their ancestors and relatives in the north of Ireland. The ancestors of ex-President James K. Polk, and those of ex-Governor James Pollock, of Pennsylvania, and those of another family of Pollocks less prominent, though among the substantial men of the State, came from the north of Ireland (some place in the neighborhood of Coleraine or Londonderry), and located in Chester County not far from the year 1740. Ex-President Polk's name was Pollock. They acquired the habit of spelling it Pol'k, subsequently the apostrophe was dropped, and the name became Polk. His immediate family (his father, I think) removed from Chester County to North Carolina, where he was born. Ex-Governor Pollock is now, I believe, a resident of Philadelphia. The emigrants of the other family consisted of four brothers, John, Thomas, James, and Charles. Thomas returned to Ireland soon after his arrival in this country, and became a doctor of medicine, and remained there, further than that I have no knowledge of him; John settled at Carlisle, in Cumberland County; James, in Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County; and Charles, in Northumberland County. Information with regard to the dates of the landing of these people in this country, the places of embarkation in Ireland, place of residence previous to emigration, etc., would be extremely valuable in a genealogical point of view, besides being of interest generally.

O. W. P.

Replies.

THE ALLEGED ORIGINAL SEAL ATTACHED TO THE ROYAL GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA (Vol. IV., p. 513).—The editors of the 2d Series of Pa. Archives are not responsible for prefacing Vol. VIII. with the circus tapestry, or molluscan drawing, purporting to be a copy of the Charter Seal. In a volume of Marriages its appearance is so suggestive of idiocy, it might have been suspected there was some mistake. The editors did not know it was there until after they received the bound copies. Whether made to adorn the *geological* reports, or for what other purpose, it is very certain the editors never ordered it for the Archives, and it was flung into Vol. VIII. without their consent or knowledge. The only remedy now, for all who have copies, is to scissor it out; as it has done all the good service it can in eliciting the interesting and valuable note of my friend W. B. R.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

WILLIAMINA WEMYSS MOORE.—In connection with the note on page 377 of Vol. IV., regarding Williamina Moore, the wife of William Moore, of Moore Hall, who, it is claimed, was a daughter of the Earl of Wemyss, the following will be found interesting:—

Copied from De Brett's Peerage, page 692, vol. ii. "*William* 16th earl (of Sutherland), in Ap. 2, 1734. Elizabeth Wemyss, eldest dau. of David 3^d earl of Wemyss. They had issue . . . Elizabeth, who m. Dec. 29, 1757, her cousin the hon. Jas. Wemyss, 3^d son of James 4th earl of Wemyss, and was mother of lieutenant-general William Wemyss."

David 3^d earl of Wemyss, d. 1720, had, according to De Brett, two sons by his 1st wife, Anne Douglass, dau. of Wm. 1st duke of Queensbury. The eldest died unm., the other, *James*, was 4th earl, b. 1699. By his 3^d wife he had two daughters. One of them, *Elizabeth*, m. Wm. 16th earl of Sutherland. The eldest son of James 4th earl, viz., David, joined the rebellion in 1745, was attainted, and, after the battle of Culloden, escaped into France, where he died, without issue, in 1787. His next bro., Francis-Charteris Wemyss, b. 743, who inherited the great estate of his grandfather Colonel Francis Charteris, took the title. The third bro., *James*, succeeded to his father's (the 4th earl's) estate, and m. 1757 his cousin Elizabeth Sutherland, by whom he had a *son and heir*, born 1758, and other children.

DR. JOHN COATS (Vol. IV. p. 515; V. 119).—Dr. John Coates accompanied Arnold's expedition to Canada as a Surgeon. After his return he was commissioned, November 13, 1776, Captain in the "Old" Eleventh Penna. Regt. of the Line. He was wounded in the action at Piscataway, N. J., and resigned in October, 1777. Some letters from him, or certificates in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, indicate that he removed to Talbot County, Maryland. See Vol. X. Pa. Arch., 2d Series, pp. 8 and 745.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

PORTRAIT OF COMMODORE DALE (Vol. IV., p. 500).—There surely must be some mistake, typographical or otherwise, in the statement on page 500 of the Fourth Volume, in a note to the last page of "Descendants of Jöran Kyn"—that the portrait of Com. Richard Dale, engraved by Edwin, which accompanies the number, is from a portrait "*by Eichholtz*." This plate was engraved by Edwin, in 1817, and several years before he had engraved the same head in a small oval, for the Port Folio, which bears the lettering "*Wood pinx*"; and again, the same head, evidently copied from Edwin's first print, was reproduced by Dodson, for the National Portrait Gallery, with the addition—a license often taken by engravers to suit the purpose of the publication—of epaulettes. This last portrait is referred to by the author of the paper, on p. 499. If Dunlap is to be trusted, the portrait engraved by Edwin *in* 1817 could not have been from the one painted by Eichholtz, for he says, "Mr. T. B. Freeman informs me, that in 1821 he saw at Harrisburgh a portrait by Eichholtz, which excited his curiosity; and, going to Lancaster, he called upon him, and invited him to Philadelphia, where the first portrait he painted was Freeman's, and soon afterwards Commodore Gale's,"—the G, of course, being a misprint for D. One thing is certain, the three engravings are from the same original portrait, whether it was by Wood or Eichholtz, and the question seems to be, "Who did it?"

C. H. H.



WALDFIELD MILLS.



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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
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VOL. V.

1881.

No. 3.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from page 140.)

PART THIRD.

In its earlier day Naglee's Hill was so formidable an obstruction to travelers on their way to Germantown, as to often cause them to seek an easier ascent than it afforded. This they found on the lower ground to the westward, about where Wayne Street now is. Other terrors, however, besides steep acclivities, at times beset the wayfarer. In the Pennsylvania Packet of July 12th, 1773, is to be found the following, "On Thursday evening last, between 9 and 10 o'clock, Mr. John Lukens of this city, on his way home, on the Germantown road, was stopped by two men, one of whom seized his horse by the head, and the other springing into the chair in which he was riding, clapped a cocked pistol to his breast and demanded the delivery of his cash, threatening if he made the least resistance to blow his brains out, but Mr. Lukens telling him he had no cash about him, the fellow made a blow at him with a club, which he received on the shoulder. They then searched him, but finding no cash, they demanded

his watch, which he delivered them, and they made off. The maker of the watch's name is C. Clay, No. 12540."

Among the people who lived along the road there were some possessed of a bolder spirit than John Lukens, as the following story may show. The hero of it lived, however, as I have been told, not at the hill, but, nearer the city, in one of the other Naglee houses. John Naglee, father, it is said, of the present General Henry M. Naglee, was in 1808 arraigned in the Court of Quarter Sessions upon the charge of having committed an assault and battery upon Captain Brouvard, the commander of a French privateer schooner then lying in this port. Two years prior to that time, the privateer Dolph, of which Brouvard was commander, captured a Swedish schooner, of which Naglee was supercargo, plundered her, and took her into Baracoa. While proceedings were pending there in a prize court, one half of the cargo, of which Naglee had the care, was stolen from the vessel and taken on shore, to avoid a restoration, if it should be so decreed. Brouvard, with a file of Spanish soldiers, also attempted to arrest Naglee, who, however, was protected by the governor. The vessel was ordered to St. Domingo. Naglee, fearing for his life if he remained on board, followed in another schooner, and found, upon his arrival, that his schooner and cargo had been condemned. Among other things, Brouvard had seized a pair of pistols belonging to Naglee. The governor of the town ordered them to be returned; but, when they were received, the locks were broken and the barrels filled with slush. Naglee, who was a reverential man, of the old school, smarted under these injuries, and said to Brouvard, "I am now in your power, and must submit, but if I ever catch you in any part of the United States, except Christ Church, I will have my revenge."

Two years had now passed away when Brouvard, in command of a privateer, entered the Delaware and came up to Philadelphia for repairs. While the vessel was at the shipyard, one day Brouvard chanced to be there in company with the French vice-consul. Naglee, seeing them, immediately attacked Brouvard and struck him several blows. The vice-

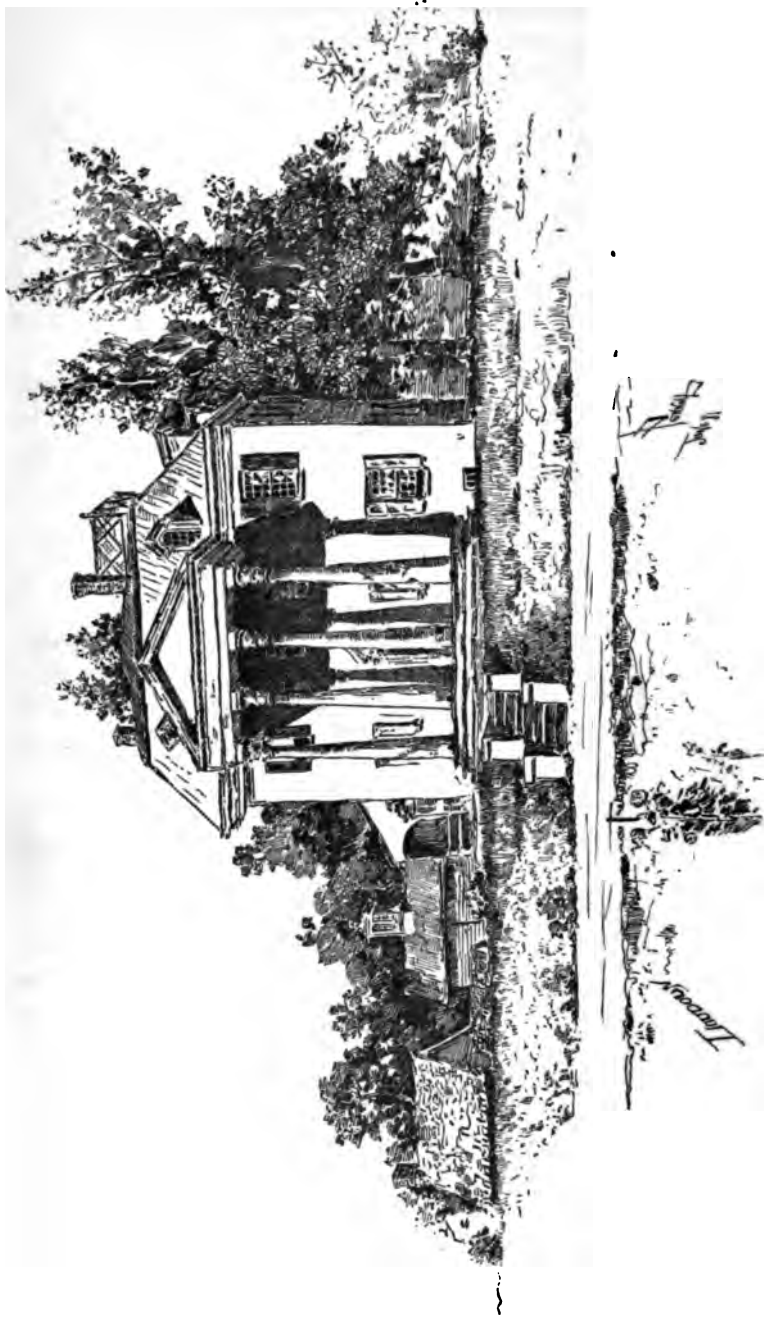
consul, attempting to interfere, was roughly handled. Brouvard was knocked down and dragged in the dirt by Naglee, who tore the epaulets from his shoulders, and pulled off his cockade and threw it away. Brouvard complained of this assault to Mon. Turreau, the French minister, and the latter brought the matter to the notice of the Federal Government. It is said that the Secretary of State ordered the United States District-attorney to prosecute Naglee. I do not understand how this could have been, for the offence was in the territory of Pennsylvania, but perhaps that attorney assisted in the prosecution. The indictment was for the assault upon captain Brouvard and the vice-consul, "against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," and "in defiance and contravention of a treaty made between the United States and Napoleon, Emperor of France, King of Italy," etc. Naglee pleaded "guilty" to the assault on Brouvard, and "not guilty" to that upon the vice-consul. Mr. Dallas appeared for the prosecution, and Bradford and Hopkins for the defendant. The jury acquitted Naglee of the assault on the vice-consul, and ordered the latter to pay the costs. On Brouvard's indictment, Naglee was sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and the costs. This amount was made up by voluntary collections among the citizens, subscriptions being started in various parts of the city. The members of the bar made up more than the sum imposed, and such was the sympathy for Naglee that the officers of the court declined to receive their customary fees.

We are at the foot of Naglee's Hill, and just at the southernmost border of Germantown or Germanopolis, as Pastorius called it. With a view to establish Germantown Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683, as agent of the Frankfort Company, made the purchase of 5700 acres of land. This was laid out in 1684 by the Surveyor-general. The description of the township in the patent of 1689, commences: "Beginning att a corner hicquerie tree," etc. William Penn, whose body quietly reposes in the simple Quaker burial ground at Jordan's, Beaconsfield, recites in the charter which he granted to Germantown, dated Aug. 12, 1689, that he is "Proprietor of

the province of Pennsylvania in America under the Imperial crown of Great Britain." Nearly two centuries afterwards, at the instance of the Earl of Beaconsfield, Parliament has declared the Queen Empress of India.

It must be borne in mind that Naglee's Hill is an important point, a boundary line crossed it, and such barriers are only to be passed with becoming formality. Stenton Avenue, formerly the township line road, marks the boundary. When Gen. Lafayette went to visit Chew's house, fifty years after the battle there, he was met at this spot by his escort. No one who was at Cliveden has told me how he received his visitors there, but doubtless it was with the tact and grace that elsewhere won all hearts. The late Dr. William H. Denny, of Pittsburgh, was one of the committee of that place selected to escort the General up the Ohio River. He told me that at each of the towns on their way there was a reception. A line would be formed, and each citizen as he approached would tell his name; whereupon Dr. Denny would introduce him, saying, "Gen. Lafayette, permit me to present Mr. John Smith." "I am very glad to see you, Mr. John Smith, I hope you are married, sir." The affirmative reply of the gratified citizen would be rewarded by the General saying to him with feeling emphasis, "Happy fellow." And then would come another, perhaps an Edward Boyle. "Mr. Edward Boyle, I am very glad to see you. Perhaps, sir, you are married." "No, sir," might be the sad reply; but he too went away happy, for the General's consoling remark would be "Lucky dog."

The second part of the walk to Germantown has elicited more positive information in regard to Governor McKean having been admitted to the Temple. He was admitted to practise in the Courts of Common Pleas of the Three Lower counties before he reached the age of twenty-one. In the following year, 1756, he was admitted in Chester County, and the next year in the Supreme Court of this province. The following letter from Judge Mitchell tells the remainder of the story.



MY DEAR SIR: Apropos of your mention (page 139 of the *Hist. Mag.*) of McKean as a student of the Middle Temple, I have a scrap cut from the *Boston Journal* a few years ago, stating that John Lathrop, Esq., of Boston (Reporter at one time of the Supreme Court of Mass.), having purchased a copy of "the laws, ordinances, &c., of the Admiralty" with the signature of "Thomas McKean, of the Middle Temple," had made inquiry in London and received a note from the Treasurer of the Temple; that "Thomas McKean, son of Wm. McKean, of Chester Co., Penna.," was admitted as a member of the Middle Temple on May 9th, 1758.

Although my authority is only a newspaper paragraph, yet the statements are so explicit, and the gentleman named so well known, that I think it puts at rest any doubt of the fact of McKean's having actually studied in the Temple.

Yours truly,

JAMES T. MITCHELL.

Sept. 30, '81.

TOWNSEND WARD, Esq.

There may be some who think that the ascent of Naglee's Hill has been too long delayed. Others, perhaps, may have to be reminded that at the end of the last walk, we were at the "Side Lot No. 2, which fell by lottery to Thones Kunders."

On this lot on the left hand, or western, side of the avenue, stands a house called Loudoun, bearing the number 4356, which was built at the end of the last century by Thomas Armat for his only descendant, a son, Thomas Wright Armat, as a summer residence. Thomas Armat, born at Dale-Head Hall, Cumberland, England, was the youngest child of a large family, and on his first coming to America settled in Loudoun County, Virginia, where his son was born in 1776. He afterwards removed to Philadelphia, and became a merchant, but left at the time of the yellow fever, and established himself in Germantown. His philanthropic and kindly nature found full scope during a long life; deeply interested in the cause of religion, he contributed to St. Luke's church the ground on which its edifice stands, and

largely aided in the erection of the first building. A chamber at his house, known as the "Minister's room," was set apart to be at the disposal of the incumbent of the parish. He was among the earliest promoters of the Sunday-schools; and also among the first interested in the use of coal as a means of heating, suggesting at an early day plans by which it might be used, as may be seen in Poulson's Daily Advertiser, Feb. 15th, 1819. He obtained a patent for an improvement in hay scales, led to it, no doubt, by contemplating the old scales, which were opposite his residence, now, No. 4788, occupied by Dr. Ashmead.

Thomas Wright Armat enjoyed Loudoun only a very short time, for he died young. Owing to the minority of his children the place was rented. One of the tenants was the justly distinguished Madame Grelaud, who, in 1793, flying with her young children from the insurrection in St. Domingo, found a refuge in Annapolis for a few years. Coming to Philadelphia about the beginning of the century, she established a school for young ladies, which, in 1808, was on the north side of Arch Street, above Third, bearing the old No. 105. It was the house formerly of Alexander Wilcocks, and, as the Second Presbyterian church occupied the corner, it stood some distance west of Third Street. About the year 1820 she removed to No. 270 South Third Street, where both she and her daughter remained during their lives. Owing to her well cultivated intellectual powers, fine musical taste, highly trained, and her remarkable administrative ability, Madame Grelaud commanded an unusual success for the long term of fifty years. She would take to Loudoun to spend the summer months, her charge of young ladies, a custom that continued from, I suppose, about the year 1820 to 1835, or perhaps later. With unusual mental and physical vigour her life continued through eighty-nine years, and the same age was attained by her daughter, the late Miss Aurora Grelaud. Loudoun is now occupied by the descendants of Mr. Armat. After the battle of Germantown the wounded Americans were carried to the hill on which the house stands; and many of the dead were buried there.



Wm. Ellakingson, fecit 1781
Philadelphia

A little beyond Loudoun, and on the same side of the road, is a house No. 4418, built about the year 1740, and now occupied by the family of Toland, who eighty or ninety years ago rented it for a summer residence, but soon bought it. It is where George W. Toland, a member of Congress in the good old times, once lived, and where on the 22d of June of this year Elizabeth Toland died in her eighty-fourth year, an age, however, not so great as her sister Margaret attained, for she died on the 1st of January, 1880, in her eighty-ninth year. It ought to be mentioned that these aged ladies practised what they believed. Considering it wrong to drive on Sundays, they would not use carriages or cars, and so their feeble limbs of four-score years' carried them on their hour's walk to St. Luke's Church. One end of the large old rambling house juts on the avenue, the entrance being on the north side. To attain it, a few steps are to be descended into the garden. Formerly the entrance was by the door on the southern side, but this had to be abandoned on account of the change of grade in the street. The altered appearance of this main street or avenue may be judged of from the fact that the cost of grading and paving in front of this house and lot exceeded the amount of purchase money which the Tolands had paid. The N. E. corner of the building appears in the lower part of the plate entitled "Bits about the corner of Fisher's Lane and Germantown Avenue." The ample and most unshapen grounds are now a tangled waste, and so thickly grown that even birds seek an easier flight. On a pane of glass in one of the windows of the house, a guest, it is believed an officer of the Hessian force, engraved with the diamond of his ring an admirable equestrian likeness of Frederick the Great. On the lower margin he inscribed his name, "M. J. Ellinkhuysen, fecit, 1783, Philadelphia." The glass of the windows are of the early 8 by 10 size, and many in their turn became broken. This one fortunately escaped, and about thirty years ago Mr. Toland had it removed and framed for preservation. One of the last acts of Miss Toland was to permit this engraving to be reproduced.

At the time of the Revolution this Toland House was

George Miller's. He was a captain and became a colonel in the army. His son Jacob Miller, at the age of eighty-two, related his reminiscences of the battle of Germantown, which occurred when he was a youth of sixteen. On the night of the arrival of the British Army more than a dozen of its officers made their quarters in the house. While gathered in the large room, they sent for him, and questioned him as to his knowledge of many of the localities. In such inquiries they designated everything American, as "rebel;" and on his saying he did not know what they meant to ask by the word "rebel," some roughly charged him with wilful ignorance, but others of them justified him and said he was not obliged to acknowledge the term, even if he understood it. One of the officers was ill that evening, and wanted him to go up to Germantown to purchase something for his relief. On his expressing reluctance, owing to fear, the officer said, "I will give you a scrip which will pass you;" with this he went, and at every little distance found a sentinel along the road, by whom he was challenged; on showing his pass, however, he was permitted to proceed till he got what was wanted.

Young Miller's mother was put in requisition as baker for the mess, and was not ill-treated, for she was required to furnish in bread only the weight of the flour she received, which left her an ample supply for the use of her family. The lad feared to go much abroad among the encampments, unless with some retainer of the army, and consequently saw but little of their doings. The youth of both sexes kept very close house, as he believed, and he heard of no violence or insult to any of the inhabitants. When the battle began, he and several others went across the road to an old house, where afterwards Lorain built, and which is now the site of the late Mr. Adamson's fine new building. There they secured themselves in the cellar, from the door of which they saw the cannon balls streaking through the air, towards Toland's, or as it then was, Miller's woods; and also heard the whistling of many leaden bullets. Just as the battle began, when he was going to the cellar, he saw Sir William Howe, with several officers, ride up from their quarters at

Stenton. They halted for a moment near where he was, and he heard Gen. Howe say in a loud voice, "My God! What shall we do? We are certainly surrounded." But they soon rode onward to Germantown.

When the sound of the guns had ceased young Miller and the others left the cellar and ventured abroad, and saw many of the wounded on foot, coming to where they were, as to the rear. Miller went towards Chew's house, across the back lots, the fences being all down. He saw many dead, and a soldier stripping an officer who had a fine watch. When near Chew's he found himself unexpectedly in peril, by a renewal of the fire, a ball going through the porch where he was standing, so he retreated rapidly homeward. When again at home, he observed a gathering at his next door neighbor Mechlin's house, the present Wagner's, and entering there, found a British Hospital had been improvised in the large stable in the yard. The surgeons were beginning to arrange long tables, made of the doors, on which to lay the wounded, friends and foes alike, for amputation. He was pressed to assist them, but managed to escape, as he did not like the employment. He had occasional glimpses of affairs until at last the British Army evacuated Philadelphia. The lines between Germantown and the entrance into the city, at the Germantown Road and Front Street, were too long to be entirely secure, and so Capt. Allen McLane often raided in the intervening country. It was not easy to obtain supplies from the city, and young Miller, therefore, with the view to secure such, would seize an occasion when parties of the British came out, to follow them back closely in their rear. He would afterward return along by-paths and back roads, keeping ever a watchful eye to shun the redoubtable McLane, who wanted for the American forces whatever came from the city.

Mr. Charles M. Wagner enables me to give a particular account of the place spoken of as the British Hospital. The present owner of the old stone house, now No. 4434, which crowns the hill, is George Mechlin Wagner. The property consists of about seven and a half acres of land, and extends

back from the avenue crossing the head waters of Logan's Run, to what was formerly the Shippen property. It first came into the family July 5th, 1764, when the executors of John Zachary, tanner, sold the same to Samuel Mechlin of Germantown, tanner. John Zachary had purchased part in 1745 from John Theobald Ent, and in 1747 built the present house and stone buildings still standing in the meadow, and established the tanyard. In 1751 he bought an additional piece of land from Baltes Reser. The old stone house is about fifty feet front and forty feet deep. A quaint pent roof extended all around it, which some fifty years ago was removed to give the building the more modern appearance, which is portrayed in the upper part of the "Bits about Fisher's Lane." Samuel Mechlin was born in 1730, and died in July, 1817. On the British army taking possession of this region in 1777, he with his family left Germantown and went into the interior. Besides its use as a hospital, everything available was taken possession of, including the untanned hides in the tanyard, which were hauled to the city and disposed of. These hides were, however, recovered a short time after the British evacuated the city, the Whigs of course having the power to reclaim the property. The portion of the old house lying farthest from the city has now been modernized. The original floors, however, remain, the spaces between the plaster of the ceiling and the floor above being filled in solidly with an admixture of cement, etc. These floors are still covered with the blood stains from the wounded in the battle. Many died there and were removed to the trench hard by, where the first brow of the hill rapidly declines to the meadow, just westward of the old currying shop and bark mill still standing. Some amputated limbs were covered but loosely, for old "Daddy Barrill," as we boys called him, said he saw a large dog, the day after the battle, feeding on a soldier's leg on the main street nearly opposite the old house. It was rescued, and buried at Mehl's gateway. Barrell was a boy at the time and too young to fight. He became the grave digger at the lower burying ground, and continued there for many years.

Samuel Fleckenstein, a boy like Barrell at the time of the battle, told Mr. Wagner over forty years ago, that a detachment of Hessians were encamped in the field just beyond the meadow, and pointed out to him the redoubt, part of which is still visible. It ran parallel with and quite near the line fence to the north, next to Taggert's. Nearly fifty years ago some workmen, in digging a post-hole, turned out a large brass plate, worn on the front of the Hessian cap, with the British Lion and the letters "F. L." stamped on it. From its huge size the Hessians got the name of "The Brass Men." Along with it was a canteen of wood, with a wooden plug stopper, about the size of a small white-lead keg cut in half longitudinally, with the letters "F. L." painted thereon. An Escopet also was found. It was short, with the ramrod thick in the middle, and its mountings were of brass. These are yet preserved in the place. Samuel Mechlin by his will in 1817 devised the old place to his nephew Jacob Mechlin, who by his will in 1824 devised the same to his mother for life, with remainder in fee to his nephew George Mechlin Wagner, the present owner.

The brief of title discloses the fact that the tract is composed of three contiguous lots, the portion fronting the avenue coming under the deed of lease and release made by William Penn 9th and 10th of March, 1682, to Jan Streepers for 5000 acres to be taken up in said Province. This portion crosses Logan's Run, and is described as "on the adjacent side land of said Germantown towards Philadelphia." The next portion comes under the deed of lease and release given by Penn to Lenart Arets, June 10th and 11th, 1683, for "1000 acres to be taken up in said Province." The remaining portion, being the rear end adjoining Shippen's, comes under the deed of lease and release from Penn to Jacob Tellner of Amsterdam, merchant, for 5000 acres, March 9th and 10th, 1682. Jacob Tellner on the 20th of April, 1688, sold 2000 acres, part of the 5000, to Herman, Dirck, and Abraham Op den Graef, brothers. The land not being particularly designated, it is recited "they had divers parts of the same surveyed to each in severalty."

Herman op den Graef, on March 24, 1702, by letter of attorney constitutes "my well beloved and trusty friend John Gibb of the county of Kent, marriner," his attorney to sell his lands, houses, orchards, etc., in Germantown. Herman by his said attorney in 1702 sells to Abraham op den Graef fifty acres in Germantown lying between "ye lots of ye Abraham op den Graef and Nellie ye widow of Dirk op den Graef," and Abraham in 1709 sells said fifty acres to Joseph Shippen, forming part of the large Shippen tract through which Manheim Street from the main street to the Township Line Road was opened. Joseph Shippen, by deed and will in 1740, gave his Germantown property to his three sons, Edward, Joseph, and William, and mentions in the deed, "The Roe Buck Tavern," of which hereafter. Partition of the property was made in the following year, and the lot of twelve acres on Plumb Street, part of the fifty, fell to Edward, through whom passed the portion belonging to the late Mechlin property. Plumb Street, laid out about 1741, is now Pulaski Avenue. Recently, in this year, Mr. Abraham Updegraff, of Williamsport in this State, has published a sketch of the life of his father, the late Thomas Updegraff. These are descendants of the Op den Graefs spoken of.

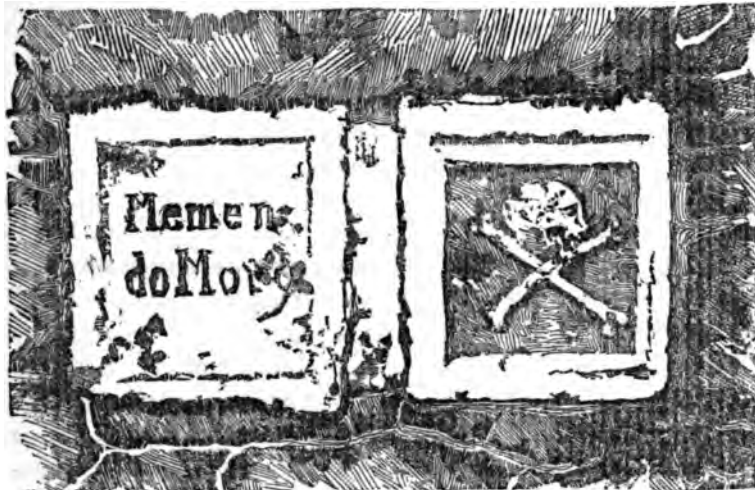
The next house, on the west side of the avenue, is directly opposite the head of Fisher's Lane. It was erected about the year 1760, but considerable additions were made by a later owner, John Gottfried Wachsmuth, who died about 1826. He was a German who came here and attained some eminence as a merchant. I find his advertisements in the papers of 1783. He married a Mrs. Dutihl, but has left no descendants. Her children, however, lived with him, and passed their summers at this house. On the 28th of December, 1828, John Bohlen and others, executors of Wachsmuth, sold the property to John Snowden Henry, a son of Alexander Henry. Although John S. Henry died before middle age, in 1835, he was prominent in affairs, being an active manager of the House of Refuge, a director of the United States Bank, and with Reuben Haines, was one of the founders of the Germantown Infant School, which still exists. The family of Mr.

Henry have held this property with only a trivial interruption until the present time. The widow of John S. Henry died here on the 28th of March of this year. Her son, Mr. Alexander Henry, for a number of years Mayor of the city, passed here the greater part of his youth.

On the east side of the avenue as we ascend the hill, there is a new building for a public school, and next to it, the Wakefield Presbyterian Church, now nearly completed. This elegant structure results from a bequest of the late William Adamson. On the lot north of it was the house long known as Lorain's. Its appearance was fine, and its position, near the hill-top, commanding, as it could be seen for a considerable distance along the road. John Grigg occupied it for a number of years, and then about 1868 it was purchased by Mr. Adamson, who replaced it by a more extensive and imposing modern building. John Lorain and his eight daughters, the youngest of whom was named Octavia, lived in the old house, but long ago they, like it, passed away, leaving hardly any trace of their existence beyond vague tradition. Some were married, one to a Mr. Swift of Easton, and others in the west. A painting of the old Shoemaker Mansion, executed by Mr. Charles J. Wister, has the two Miss Lorains who lived in it, and taught school there in their day of adversity, looking over its garden wall. They would thus exchange a word with their kindly and venerable friend, the late Charles J. Wister, whose custom it was to pause a while before the house in his daily walk. There was a Thomas Lorain of Petersburg, Va., and it may be that he and young Armat were fellow students at William and Mary College, for a letter from him is to be found in Currie's account of the yellow fever here in 1798. It is dated the 24th of September of that year, from Petersburg, and contains a well-written account of that terrible scourge in his town and at City Point. It is not improbable that in their correspondence, Armat's account of the salubrity of Germantown lured the Lorains to visit it, and to ultimately build a house near to their friends. A previous letter, the 31st of August, 1798, is addressed to John

Lorain at Charleston, S. C. The names of two Lorains, John, Sr., and John, Jr., merchants, appear in our directories of the early part of the century. It is not far to William Mehl's old house, now No. 4429, and entirely changed in its appearance by Mr. William Henson, who lives there. I am told that the Mehls are now extinct except an Edward, who lives in Virginia. After this house, there are but a few buildings until Fisher's Lane is reached. At its southeast corner John Dedier in 1733 built a hip-roofed house that disappeared some twenty years ago, but of which the outward form and semblance, preserved by Mr. Charles J. Wister, appears in the middle of the plate of "Bits about Fisher's Lane."

Built in the wall on Fisher's Lane at the corner of the avenue is part of an old tombstone, with its emblems of mortality, a skull and cross-bones, and its somewhat strangely written text, "Memendo Mory." It must be remembered the old times Germans put a spell, not always a good one, upon everything. A picture of the stone illustrates this page.



The stone marks the Lower Burial Ground which originally was of half an acre, the gift of Jan Streepers of Holland. Subsequently more ground was added, so that now it has a



HITS ABOUT THE CORNER
OF
FISHER'S LANE
AND
GERMANTOWN
AVENUE.



front of about one hundred and eighty feet on the avenue and a depth of three hundred and fifty feet. Two tombstones have been discovered since Mr. Watson's time which bear dates more than forty years earlier than those mentioned by him as occurring here. The inscription on one of them is,

Here
Lyeth the Body
Of Joseph Covlston,
On Husband of
Margaret Covlston
And Son of Capt. Thomas
Covlston, of Hartshorn,
In Darleyshire, in old
England, who departed
This Life Vpon
The first day of
February, 1707-8.
Aged 38 years
And 8 months.

The stone on which this is inscribed is talcose slate, of a very dark green color. The top is rounded, as is usual, and there is a rudely cut border, in which, on each side, is the representation of a column surmounted by a capital, leaving the centre of the circular part of the border to be adorned with an emblem of mortality, an hour-glass. The other stone is of the same material, and bears the name of Samuel, a son of Joseph and Mary Coulston, who was "aged six weeck." The use of v for u was common in that day,—the double u, —w, of our alphabet, comes from two vs, but its pronunciation follows the u. Wavertree in Lancashire, England, is pronounced Wartree, and with us the well-known name Livezey is pronounced Leusley.

Gen. Agnew and Col. Bird, who fell in the battle, were buried in this old ground side by side. They reposed in no unremembered grave, for, half a century after their fall, John F. Watson, to mark the spot, piously placed a marble tombstone thereon, with the following inscription:—

"No more at War.
Gen. Agnew & Col. Bird,
British Officers,
Wounded in the Battle of Germantown."

In after years several relatives of Gen. Agnew visited his grave. Mr. Charles J. Wister has been fortunate enough to obtain some letters of the general, and also one describing the manner of his death, written by Alex. Stewart, his orderly, to Mrs. Agnew. It also gives an account of the disposition of his personal effects. "With regard to his effects that were present with him were equally divided among all the servants everything being delivered over by Major Leslie to Major Hope. Payn was cook and came to the Genl. in Boston but the other man Seymour was only part of one campaign tho' he received an equal proportion of everything the same as me—Agen even a pick't up negro receiv'd equall with me who bore the burden and head of the day Silver Buckles excepted Col'l Hope gave me them extraordinary as a reward (said he) for your good and faithful services to your master."

Post, the Moravian Missionary, was buried here in 1785, and has his tombstone near the gateway, to the right. To this pious man is largely owing one of the mightiest changes in the destinies of this continent; the fall of the vast power of the old French Monarchy. "In order to prevail upon the Delaware, Shawanese, and the Mingo Indians to withdraw from the French, Christian Frederick Post was dispatched to the Ohio by the government of Pennsylvania, in advance of the second English Army marched through the wilderness for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne; the army under the Head of Iron (as the Indians called him), General John Forbes, a native of Scotland." Post succeeded in his mission, and the French at the fort, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, fired it, and fled, as the dying general with his army made their appearance. Mr. Frank Cowan, the poet of southwestern Pennsylvania, tells the story in one of his songs, of which I give a verse.

“The Head of Iron, from his couch,
Gave courage and command,
Which Washington, Bouquet, and Grant
Repeated to the band ;
Till, hark ! the Highlanders began
With their chieftain’s words to swell,
‘To-night, I shall sup and drain my cup
In Fort Du Quesne—or Hell !’
But the Man of Prayer, and not of boast,
Had spoken first, in Frederick Post.”

There is a stone over the remains of Captain Robert Lee, a native of Northumberland, in Great Britain, who died in 1798. A more recent one is of a youth of twenty-two years, named after the “Father of his Country,” and immortalized on the enduring stone:—

“He was noble hearted & amiable &
Intelligent, having been awarded
A silver goblet for a literary
Production at the age of 18.”

Many years ago William Hood went from Germantown to the island of Cuba, and there he greatly prospered. He died in Paris in 1850, and was buried here, and by his will provided for the erection on the front of the ground of an appropriate wall. His nephew and heir Mr. William H. Stewart, a member of the Historical Society, living in Paris, carried out his uncle’s intention by causing to be erected by William Struthers the imposing massive marble wall surmounted by a rich balustrade, also of marble, which forms one of the most striking features of Germantown Avenue.

The southern boundary of this burial ground is Fisher’s Lane, originally laid from “the Germantown Lower Burying Ground to Busby’s, late Morris’s, Mill in June, 1747. An old draught describes it as a “Public Road 24 feet 9 inches wide, leading to the late Christian Kintzing’s, now Charles Hay’s Mill.” In a survey made for John Wister in 1768, it is called “Charles Hay’s Mill Road.” Long ago it was continued over to the Old York Road. An attempt has been made by an ordinance to affix to this ancient lane another name—East Logan Street. Although backed by sign-boards,

still up, it has proved to be a ridiculous failure. To some this may seem like idle play, but it is a question whether in the future there may not arise serious trouble from such wanton destruction of ancient landmarks. The lane, as far as the railway, near Ruscombe Street, is well built up, and the houses have fine grounds and numerous trees surrounding them. On the south side between Stenton Avenue and the railway are two old wide-spreading oaks of considerable size and of great beauty. They are of the primeval forest, as is the case with much of the wood in this vicinity. One who of late years has lived in England and with every opportunity to indulge her taste in the way of seeing fine old British oaks, says she has seen none there to equal these. Older ones there were, but none so beautiful. An old stone house that stood at the N. E. corner of the lane and the present Wakefield Street, was torn down about a dozen years ago. It was built in 1743 as the farm-house of John Wister, grandfather of the late Charles J. Wister, who facetiously called it the castle of Rosenheim. Though but of one story, it was of considerable height, for its cellar was large, as was also its loft or garret. Mr. Wister has an ambrotype of it. Buttons with certain marks thereon being found there on its demolition, was reasonably enough held to be sufficient proof that the British forces once had occupied it. About the time these buttons were left there, the "2d Battalion of British Guards" had their quarters on this ground. The lane now descends rapidly, for the Wingohocking cuts deep and is about to cross it. The old mill-seat on this stream is now the site of the Wakefield Mills, and has become of considerable note, as will presently be shown. The accompanying etching represents a portion of the buildings, including, on the left hand, the powder mill. On the higher ground between the Wingohocking and its eastern branch, called Mill Creek, in 1777 the "1st Battalion of British Guards" were posted. The site must be just where the house of Little Wakefield now is. These military posts on Fisher's Lane were for the protection of the Headquarters of Sir William Howe then at Stenton. There is much more to be said of Wakefield, but it must be reserved to the next Walk.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PAPERS OF GENERAL
WILLIAM IRVINE.

Everything connected with the surrender of Cornwallis possesses at present a special interest. The history of the siege of Yorktown and the movements of the armies of Washington and Rochambeau has been fully written, and but little remains to be told of it that is either new or instructive. There are, however, some incidents, which were not directly connected with the manœuvres of the allied armies, which have been overlooked, and, as they form connecting links in the chain of events, and add touches of life to the pictures of the time, it is well now to gather up the fragments which remain concerning them, that we may have the story as complete as possible.

In the correspondence of General William Irvine, in the possession of his grandson, Dr. Wm. A. Irvine, of Irvine, Warren Co., Pa., there are a number of letters which show the excitement that was created when it was supposed Cornwallis intended to invade Pennsylvania in 1781, as well as several more directly connected with the history of the siege of Yorktown. Through the kindness of Dr. Irvine we are able to lay these letters before the readers of the *MAGAZINE*, together with information derived from other sources. We have connected them with such brief remarks as we have thought necessary to explain the circumstances under which they were written and the events to which they refer.

During the summer of 1781, General Irvine was actively engaged in recruiting for the Pennsylvania Line, the second brigade of which was under his command, and he was greatly disappointed when, in place of being sent to the field with the men he had raised, he was ordered to Pittsburgh to defend the western frontier. During the greater part of the time covered by the following correspondence, he was at his home in Carlisle.

The first letter of the series is from Lafayette, and was written from his camp at Malvern Hill. It is addressed to Wayne, who was with Morgan at Goodie's bridge over the Appomattox, where they had marched on account of Tarleton's expedition to Bedford County to destroy stores which the British feared would be sent to Greene's army in South Carolina. Cornwallis was at Portsmouth, Va., where he had marched to enable him to comply with Sir Henry Clinton's request, that a portion of his forces should be sent to New York. Subsequent orders, however, permitted him to retain all the troops under his command until he had made his position on the Chesapeake secure, which the commander-in-chief advised him should be at Old Point Comfort. But Cornwallis's engineers did not think that that place offered the advantages required, so he moved his troops up the James River and began to fortify Yorktown and Gloucester. It was the embarkation from Portsmouth which created the serious apprehension that the British intended to move up the Chesapeake, threaten Philadelphia and Baltimore, and endeavor to release the Convention prisoners at Lancaster. Nor was the idea as wholly groundless as may be supposed. It had been a part of the plan formed by Clinton and Phillips, when the latter was sent to Virginia, that, under certain circumstances, he was to operate on the Upper Chesapeake, and threaten Philadelphia; and Simcoe tells us that, after the Queen's Rangers were embarked, it was supposed that they were destined for Philadelphia, but that the order was countermanded, and that, sailing up the James River, they landed at Yorktown on the 2d of August. Of the alarm created by this movement we have evidence in the diary of Christopher Marshall, who wrote at Lancaster, on the 9th of August: "News for some days past of the English's landing at head of Elk, in order to pay Lancaster a visit. Some people, I understand, talked of moving their goods and families. The militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness upon call."

When Lafayette wrote to Wayne he thought that the campaign in Virginia was over. He was, to use his own

words, "home-sick" to be at headquarters, and no wonder, for there he would have found his countrymen in numbers. But five days after the letter was written one was received from Washington, dated the 13th of July, giving him a hint that Virginia might possibly become the scene of the most important operations of the year. He had himself written to Washington on the 20th: "If the siege of New York does not succeed, and there is no plan, I imagine you will march here in force;" but he could hardly have expected such a movement to have been made, as on the 6th of August, after having received Washington's letter of the 13th ult., he wrote: "Had not your attention been turned to New York something might have been done in this quarter. But I see New York is the object." Washington's hint was, however, sufficient to make him continue his close watch on Cornwallis; for it was important that he should not be allowed to return to Carolina, and, to use Lafayette's own language again, "he knew him to be a bold active man, two dangerous qualities in this Southern war," and that "his Lordship plays so well that no blunder can be hoped from him to recover a bad step of ours."

The passage which speaks of the prospect of Wayne's remaining in Virginia is an allusion to another intended movement which was postponed by force of circumstances until after the surrender of Cornwallis. It was certainly the intention of Washington, at the time Wayne marched south, that he should reinforce Greene as soon as he could be spared from Virginia, and in writing to Greene, on June 1st, he says: "the detachment with Wayne will be a most valuable acquisition to you. They are chiefly old soldiers and completely furnished with every necessary." On July 14th one of Wayne's officers (Lieut. Feltman) recorded in his journal, "This day the Incorporation took place, when our officers knew who was for the southern campaign." But Lafayette's caution prevented the movement, and it was well it was so, for no sooner had Washington decided upon the transfer of the allied armies to the southward than he wrote to Lafayette (August 15): "Should General Wayne with the troops

destined for South Carolina still remain in the neighbourhood of James River, and should the enemy have made no detachment to the southward, you will detain those troops until you hear from me again, and inform General Greene of the cause of the delay. If Wayne should have marched, and should have gained any considerable distance, I should not have him halted."

Lafayette to Wayne.

HD. QRS, 25th July, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

Intelligences from Carolina, tho' not official, appear favorable to our affairs. Rawdon, it is said, was retiring, or, rather, was manœuvred down towards Charlestown. General Greene is inferior in numbers, but has gotten the inestimable blessing of a superior cavalry; Sumpter's new levies and the Virginia Militia will add to his forces. But your brave veterans would be a precious reinforcement. However, in this season, and under our ignorance of the enemy's farther intentions, I wish, as I mentioned before, to act upon certainties. Perhaps it will be better for the general cause to move together towards Portsmouth. Public moneys nor private concerns will decide me. But I cannot help thinking that I would think it a great happiness to act with your gallant Detachment. I think, my dear Sir, it will be well for you to be ready to march any way, and to look forward to means of subsistence on the road to Portsmouth. But without giving any hints of your marching that way. The Carolina climate is so hot, that [it] would be a great saving of men, to keep them, if possible, in this state.

By intercepted letters from Lord George Germaine, extracts of which have been officially sent to me, I find that the Conquest of Virginia was the grand object of this campaign. A conquest that the ministry consider as certain, and M. de Mabois writes me it has been anticipated by official communications from the court of England to the several courts in Europe. Your State voted 2700 new levies. The Army of the Allies is encamped at Phillipsburg, every letter speaks of the friendship and harmony that reigns between all ranks. A large fleet of transports, full of men, must by this time have sailed from Portsmouth, it is Portsmouth in Virginia that I mean. A flag dragoon of mine was admitted into Lord Cornwallis' room, who says he made him particular questions. But could only learn that he had

left us on the road. I request that you will communicate this letter to General Morgan. I have not yet heard from his people. Pray, find out who Tarleton has been fighting with below Petersburg.¹

GENERAL WAINE.

The second letter is from Col. James Moore, of Hanover, Pa., to General Irvine, inclosing one from Colonel James Wood, who had charge of the Convention prisoners. Colonel Wood's letter, and the information it contained, was forwarded to President Reed, as will be seen by General Irvine's letter printed in the *Pa. Archives*, vol. ix., p. 345.

Colonel Moore to General Irvine.

DEAR GENERAL,

Inclosed you find a letter from Colonel Wood and several copies of letters respecting the motion of the enemy.

You will also discover from him the apprehensions of the Board of War. That their principle object is the release of their Prisoners at this place and Lancaster.

I have sent his letter to you by express. I conceive their would be a propriety in ordering the Recruits from the different Rendezvous to this place or Lancaster, least an attempt might be made to rescue the prisoners, or in case the enemy had nothing further in View than Ravaging the Country near Baltimore. I presume the number of Recruits now raised will amount nearly to the number of arms that are here.

I have good intelligence of 100 Recruits in Reading.

We shall want ammunition, the militia over the Prisoners are furnished out of what was left here by Genl. Wayne. The militia have notice to be in readiness in the neighborhood of York.

Might it not be proper to order a light piece of artillery to this place if you have any in Carlisle. I have no knowledge of a contractor being appointed to supply us here as yet. I have the Honor to be,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. MOORE.

August 8th, 1781.

¹ The last paragraph and signature of this letter are wanting, but Lafayette's grandson said it was in the handwriting of his ancestor.

P. S. Horsemen are stationed at different places between this, Head of Elk, & Baltimore, which will furnish us with the earliest intelligence of the Enemy's motions.

GENERAL IRVINE.

Colonel Wood to General Irvine.

YORK 8th August, 1781.

SIR—

I received letters last night by express from the Board of War, informing me that a considerable part of the British Army were proceeding up the Bay and that Baltimore was their apparent object. Copies of the letters which came by the express will be inclosed you by Major Moore. As there is upwards of two thousand three hundred prisoners of war at this place, Lancaster, and Reading, which would certainly be an object with the enemy, considering the distressed and unprepared state of the militia, I would beg leave to refer it to your consideration whether it would be a proper measure to call the recruits from Carlisle and Hanover to this place, and those at Reading to Lancaster, and to put arms in their hand; those Recruits, and the militia which could be suddenly assembled, would, in all probability, be sufficient to check any Body of Horse they would be able to detach from the Head of the Bay. I shall be at Lancaster, & will forward any orders to Reading you may think proper to send. I have the Honor to be with great respect and esteem,

Sir, Your Obt. and very hble. Servant,

JAMES WOOD.

GENERAL IRVINE.

The following papers appear to have been inclosed in Colonel Wood's letter to General Irvine.

No. 1.

WAR OFFICE, Augt. 6, 1781.

SIR,

The Board inclose copies of letters from the marquis Le Fayette & others Respecting the movements of the Enemy up the Bay, which has made them very uneasy about the Prisoners at Yorktown & Lancaster.

The Board have thought it necessary to give you this Information, in order that you may provide for a sudden movement, and that you may also take the most Efficient measures in your power to guard against the Bad Consequences of a surprise. They have it not in their power to furnish you

with cavalry so Essential in procuring Intelligence, however they are of opinion you may supply this Defect by Employing a few horsemen on the Publick acc't & Stationing them at such places as you may think most advisable for the Purpose of Procuring Information of the Designs & Movements of the Enemy.

Should you think it Prudent to move, it will be proper to point towards Eastown, or push over the main line as you think Proper.

Having the utmost Confidence in your Prudence, the Board will say nothing more on the subject at present, as you are no doubt thoroughly sensible you are in their Power from a sudden and unexpected stroke.

Yours &c.

W. GRAYSON.

COLONEL WOOD.

No. 2.

MELVERN HILL August 1, '81.

SIR,

Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Commodore Barron, by which it appears to be his opinion that the fleet is destined up the Bay. It is for Your Excellency to Direct the necessary Information to the Depot Quarter Master's & Commissary's where stores may be exposed.

I have the Honor to be,

LA FAYETTE.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVR. LEE.

No. 3.

HAMPTON, VIRGINIA, July 31, '81.

SIR,

The fleet weighed [anchor] this morning from Cape Henry, & stood up the Bay, 'tis certain they are bound to Baltimore (40 sail in number, with some large barges full of troops). Remains in the Road 2 men of war, 8 sail of other vessels. By a man from Portsmouth last night, am informed Cornwallis is still at Portsmouth with part of his troops. I think the above fleet must contain near 3000 men and about 200 horse.

I am, &

JAMES BARRON.

MARQUIS LA FAYETTE.

No. 4.

HAMPTON, July 31, '81.

The fleet weighed this morning at sunrise and stood up the Bay, about 15 miles, the wind and tide being ahead.

They anchored off Cherry Stones. They are certainly bound for Baltimore. By a person from Portsmouth last night am informed that Cornwallis with troops are at Portsmouth.

No. 5.

Extract of letters from Mr. McHenry to his Ex'y, Govr. Lee:—

Malvern Hill, 1 August, '81. The whole army, that which is on the South side of James River, and that on this side, will be in motion towards Fredericksburgh for your support.

No. 6.

Extract of another letter from same person:—

The case of difficulty is nearly decided. The British appear determined to try our spirit and patriotism. Maryland cannot keep her ground at first, but let me prognosticate that the event will be different from the enemy's expectations.

The levies, which the Marquis ordered on, are to be stopt and applied as your Excellency will perceive by the enclosed letter which is left open for your perusal.

General Gist goes to Baltimore. The officer who carries it has instructions, in case we should meet the Levies, to return them to Maryland.

At this moment it is impossible for me to say what succour you can have from this army, but you shall soon know.

The following letter is from General Mordecai Gist to Col. Wood, inclosing one from Lafayette. Col. Wood, doubtless, sent both to General Irvine, but if such was the case the letter which covered them has been lost:—

General Gist to Colonel Wood.

BALTIMORE, August 11th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have this moment received a letter from the Marquis de La Fayette informing that the enemy have taken post at York, in Virginia, a copy of which I herewith inclose you. They appear to be prepared for sudden and active operations, and it is probable, when a favourable opportunity offers, part of their force may be detach'd against this State.

Upwards of two thousand militia were discharged at this post by order of the Council and Governor on Wednesday last. The cheerfulness and alacrity with which they turned out on this occasion adds greatly to their Credit and is a

proof of Zeal and attachment that never fails to afford a pleasing confidence in action.

They are to hold themselves in readiness to assemble on the shortest notice, and if supported as we expect by the neighbouring militia of Pennsylvania, I make no doubt but we shall be in force to check any of their intended operations.

The route from this place to Yorktown through Bustletown is near 30 miles out of the way. I am from this circumstance induced to suggest the propriety of disposing the Horsemen at different Stages on the direct Road through Ruster's Town, in order that such intelligence as may be necessary to communicate to you be convey'd as expeditiously as possible; and I shall not fail to give you the earliest information respecting such movements as may tend to affect the security of the several posts under your direction.

I have the honor, &c.,

M. GIST.

To COL. JAMES WOOD, in Lancaster.

Lafayette to Gen. Gist.

(Inclosed in the above.)

NEW CASTLE, 6th August, 1781.

DR SIR.

Since my letter to you through Mr. McHenry enclosing Commodore Barron's Report, the fleet spoken of entered York River & landed their troops, they are fortifying on the Gloucester side, and have made a place of arms of York. Lord Cornwallis is present with his whole army, the Garrison of Portsmouth excepted. It appears that a part of this fleet was originally intended for New York, but a Dispatch arriving from General Clinton produced the present arrangement. It is very essential to your safety that we should be in some force here. For this purpose I have ordered on all the Levies with the utmost expedition. But I would beg leave to observe that Maryland might make some Disposition for her own defence. The enemy does not lose sight of Baltimore, and they may only wait for a more favorable moment. You are on the spot and acquainted with its strength, and of course know best what measures should be taken. In all cases you will take care of the Public Stores.

I am Dr Sir

Your Ob. Ser't

LA FAYETTE.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GIST.

The following letter from Colonel Richard Humpton to General Irvine refers to the recruits for the Pennsylvania Line:—

Colonel Humpton to General Irvine.

PHILADELPHIA, 14th Augt. 1781.

DR. GENL.

On my arrival at Lebonon I found the Regt. had marched to Lancaster. Col. Marsteller who supply'd the provisions on his own acct. was satisfy'd without rendering any account of payment. Genl. St. Clair was in town. I went to Council with him, he apply'd for tents, &c., but could obtain nothing. They mentioned their intention of marching the 1st & 4th Regim'ts to Lancaster, the 2d & 3d to Reading. I saw Major Bankson, he had got all the returns except the 6th which he received only a few days ago.

The person who Major Grier sent it by, had neglect'd delivering it. There is a resolve of Congress for 6 months' nominal pay on acct. but there is no money to be got. Mr. Morris & Mr. Peters are gone to Head Quarters, & I have heard there is a plan on foot for another arrangement of the Army this winter, from what I see Recruits are got very slowly here as well as in the country. Major Parr's corp has little success. Genl. St. Clair left town a few days ago and went to Potsgrove. Genl. Wayne may expect a reinforcement, and I think that is as much as he will get. I have just heard that a Frigate of ours is taken, & five or six sail of other vessels off the Cape. Genl. Washington's army remains near Valentine's Hill, it is said the English ships of war have been sail'd for New York some time, but nobody pretends to know where they are gone. It was reported this day that 3000 Hessians had, or will arrive soon, that they come North.

Hope Mrs. Irvine & family are well. My compliments.

I am Dr. Genl.,

Yours with esteem,

RICH. HUMPTON.

In the latter part of September, while Washington was before Yorktown, Sir Henry Clinton made a demonstration in the direction of Philadelphia, whether with the idea of drawing Washington from Virginia or not we are unable to say. Certain it is that that interpretation was put on it by some persons at the time, and as the burning of New London and the attending atrocities were fresh in the minds of the

people, the excitement was intense. In Morris's Diary¹ we find the following:—

“September 21st, 1781. At 1 P. M. I waited on the President of the State of Pennsylvania at his house in Market Street and met there Mr. Peters and Mr. Cornell, of the Board of War, General St. Clair, General Irvine, and General Irwin of the militia. This conference lasted a considerable time, and in its consequence took up the rest of the day. I gave it as my opinion that Sir Henry Clinton did not intend for this city, nevertheless as the inhabitants are alarmed and uneasy, I agreed to the propriety of being prepared, although I lamented the expense such preparation would put us to. I advised the placing a garrison at Mud Island, and putting that place in a posture of defence, and mentioned the plan proposed to me by Mr. Paine of collecting immediately one quarters rent from all the houses in Philadelphia in order to have an immediate supply of money to defray the expenses.”

The first Gen. Irvine mentioned by Mr. Morris was the gentleman whose correspondence we have used. The General Irwin of the militia was James Irvine, no relation to General William. James had been Colonel in the Continental Army, and while Brigadier-General of the Pa. Militia had been taken prisoner at Chesnut Hill. At the time we are writing about, he had just been exchanged, and was called to take an active part in the affairs of the day, as the following letter, in the collections of the Historical Society, will show.

General James Irvine to Ephraim Douglas.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 26th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 13th inst. by Mr. Ambersson, but must request you will not measure the extent of the friendship I have for you by the little or indeed no service that I have been of to that gentleman in the business he came upon. I am happy in being able to inform you that on the third instant another exchange of prisoners took place, and that I am included in the happy number.

Since the burning of New London by the Enemy this City has been menaced by them, and a body of troops with light artillery, etc., were embarked at New York, designed, it was said,

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. xi. p. 473.

for that expedition, in consequence of which half the country militia were ordered to march to Newtown, in Bucks Co., and the whole of the City Militia to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. I was called upon to take a command upon this occasion, and could not with propriety decline it, and the President being gone to Newtown it lay upon me to collect the returns of deficiencies wanting to complete the several Battalions, and take the necessary measures to have them supplied; this took up the whole of my time and attention and prevented me from doing as much for your friend as I otherwise should with cheerfulness have done.

This morning (the 28th) we learn that the enemy have debarked their troops and landed them on Staten Island to the amount it is said of six thousand men. They have with them one hundred and fifty waggons passed on Long Island, and a number of flat bottomed Boats or carriages, and appear ready for a movement, but their destination or object can as yet only be guessed at; the militia of this city, in consequence of this intelligence, are ordered to parade on Sunday next at 10 o'clock in order to march.

Mr. Rush and his family send their best wishes, and I beg you will believe me when I assure you that no length of time or distance of place will ever abate the esteem I have for you.

I Remain dear Sir

Your Sincere friend

And humble servant

JAMES IRVINE.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing your favor of the 29th of Augt. has been delivered to me by Mr. Willson.

Directed to

EPHRAIM DOUGLAS, ESQUIRE,
Pittsburgh.

Forwarded by

MR. WM. AMBERSON.

The next letter is from Wayne's aid-de-camp, Benjamin Fishbourn, to Irvine. It, no doubt, should be dated from Williamsburg.

Major Fishbourn to General Irvine.

WILMINGTON, Sept. 27, '81.

MY DEAR GENL.,

Your of the 24th ultimo do not come to my hands till this day. Its very surprising that men who pretend to Senti-

ment & feeling should so abuse the confidence reposed in them.

His Excellency, Genl. Washington, returned a few days ago from a toure on board the French fleet, where he settled everthing to his advantage as well as expectations. The Count de Grass acquiesced in every proposal, so that matters are now settled for a speedy Cooperation against Lord Cornwallis, to comply with which on our part the whole allied army march to morrow at 5 o'clock in one column, the Americans on the right and the French on the left, the Baggage to follow in Rotation after the Column. We shall take our first position to morrow evening, and proceed from thence accordingly.

We have every wish to bring my Lord to immediate action by drawing him out of His works. Should he attempt this, America's glory is settled, and Britton is ruined.

By dispatches just received from the Southerd, we have the agreeable news of the British under the command of Col. Stewart having been drawn into a general action in which many fell on both sides. We, in the first instance, were beat, and lost two field pieces, but the fate did not long remain so, for on Genl. Green's rallying his army (only part), they drove the enemy from their first Victory, retook the two pieces of Artillery, and took two from them, killing and wounding a great many. (It is said 400. of enemy lay dead on the field.) Lee, with his Legion and two Regiments of Infantry which was not engaged was in pursuit of the enemy when the express came away. It is said that all Washington's Corps is cut up, every officer in it killed or wounded, except one, Capt. Parsons. Washington wounded, who came in two days after the affair—the express is from Genl. Jones to the Marquis de La Fayette, so that the particulars is not yet arrived. When they do, I shall transmit you such of them as may come to my knowledge. However, in the present situation of affairs from the South, we can reflect with pleasure that matters has terminated much in our favour, our expectations on that head are very great, not less than the whole of the British army on this side of Charlestown, to be ours, I assure you. I write you this at 12 o'clock at night, I would not omit doing myself the pleasure of giving you the earliest Intelligence of *so good news*.

I have also the pleasure to assure you that our animosities, in a great measure are subsided, and that Genl. Wayne is so far recovered as to be able to take command to-morrow—he desires me to assure that he ever retains the highest friendship for

you, and will write you by the first opp'y. Accept his Compliments, writing you to come on as soon as possible, bringing with you all the troops, and all of everything, Cash, Clothing, &c. &c., you can possibly collect.

I had almost forgot to Inform you that by the same Southern express, we have the disagreeable news of Governor Burke and his whole family being taken prisoners by a party who surprised the town of Hillborough. Hector McNeal commanded, but was very fortunately killed, and several other officers by the Militia who collected and pursued them on the alarm being given.

I am, my dear Genl. & friend, your very sincere friend and very Obt. Servant.

BEN. FISHBOURN,
A. d. Camp.

Ere you hear from me again, I shall be in the trenches perhaps. Make my compliments to all friends. *God bless you all.* Will you be so obliging as to inclose me the News Papers, when you write, and let me hear from you soon.

B. F.

Butler has been sick, but is recovering fast. We all else are well.

GENERAL IRVINE.

The last letters of the series are from Colonel Richard Butler, commander of the 9th Pa. Regiment. He was one of four brothers who served with distinction in the Revolution, and was St. Clair's second in command in the ill-fated expedition which bears his name. He was killed in the action of Nov. 4, 1791.

Colonel Butler to General Irvine, No. 1.

WILLIAMSBURG, 14 Sept. 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

I had determined not to write you, as we were informed from accts. that you would join us in a few days with a body of well appointed troops recruited from the State; however, least I shd. be disappointed, on second consideration thought it would be a satisfaction to you to hear how matters stand in case you do not get on. On the 1st inst. 5 Frigates & near 4000 French troops landed in James bay when Col. Stewart & myself visited them just as they landed, & were kissed by about 30 officers. On the 2nd they landed at Jamestown. On the 3d we crossed over the river and took post at Green

Spring, where our battle was. A few days after we all moved (in different bodies) to the place where we are encamped, on the side of our allies & live in great harmony. 4 Sail of the line were sent to block up York river, & the Frigates stationed along the James to prevent Cornwallis crossing and stealing a march in the night. (If it were Sir Harry he would attempt it, as he loves moonlight marches.) On the 8th the British Fleet, 18 Sail, came into the bay; they were attacked vigorously by two French ships that lay close to them, and were obliged to stand it for over two hours, the wind not serving for the other part of the fleet to come up. At last six more of the line got up and the engagement continued two hours longer, when the British saw 8 sail more moving to block them in, when the whole wd. have fell foul of them; they did not like the movement and immediately determined on flying and passed out to sea. The Count de Grasse followed with 22 sail leaving the other 6 to secure the bay, and the last acct. by one of the Frigates who returned, states that the Count was in full chase & was within 6 hours of coming up with 12 sail of Victualers that were coming under convoy for the relief of Cornwallis, and were abandoned to the fate by the flight of Mr. Hood. This will reduce the Earl to short commons in a little time. There have been several prisoners and deserters, both soldiers & sailors who generally agree that the stock of provisions is not large & that the force is about 15000 men, having drawn the sailors on shore. All these people are hard at work fortifying, and a siege will certainly be the result, as they cannot (and I think will not), fight us in the field. We are making our small arrangements and collecting magazines of provisions, though but slowly, though I think the exertions of ye gov. of this State will bring out the supplies. We are hourly expecting accounts of the fleet, also of the arrival of our Illustrious Gen. Washington, who at last has arrived at his own home. Many of our sanguine gentry are for taking the British in a few days, but I am not quite so warm on the matter, tho' we shall take them I have no doubt if we manage right, but I am convinced it will require perseverance & hard blows, as I think Cornwallis a brave man, & his troop regard him. He has also a character in the world as a military man which he will try to support; he has also a powerful rival in Sir Henry Clinton who he will wish to disappoint. All these, exclusive of his political motives, will cause him to make a gallant defence. He has 5 redoubts and some other good works on the land side, & two batteries of heavy cannon on the water side

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& is still adding. Our heavy artillery has not yet come, and can do but little but circumscribe him & his parties [or position] till that arrives.

Our mutual friend G[eneral] Wayne met with a very bad accident, going to an interview with the Marquis on the evening of the second with a sentry not hearing his answer when challenged fired & shot him in the thigh with a buck-shot. On recovering the wound he was almost instantly struck with the Gout in his feet for the first time in his life. However, he is getting better, & we had the pleasure of his company yesterday to dine, & I hope he will take the field in a few days. I find we shall have here a world of Generals shortly. The Barron Steuben *has arrived already*. May I request you to present my respects to Genl. Armstrong with these accounts. Please accept the sincere wishes of your real friend and humble servt.

RICHD. BUTLER.

GENL. WM. IRVINE,
Carlisle, Pa.

Colonel Butler to General Irvine, No. 2.

CAMP AT YORK, Oct. 22d, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

As time presses, I know you'll be so good as to excuse me from giving you a journal of the minutia of the siege of Yorktown. Let it suffice to say, that on the 6th ultimo, we opened our first paralell, on the 9th, at 3 o'clock P. M. our batteries. On the 11th I began the second paralell within 200 paces of the enemy's works, & on the 14th two of their advanced redoubts were taken by storm by a detachment under the Marquis Lafayette, who attacked the one with his Americans, & Baron Viominel with the French, which put it in our power to complete the second Paralell that night. 16th formd. Batteries & fired seventy, did great damage to their works. 17th, Ld. Cornwallis sent a flag requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, & 2 commissioners from each army to be appointed to form a capitulation for the army, and the surrender of the shipping and posts of York & Gloster. The General sent no answer to the first message which came about 10 o'clock A. M., he recd. a second about 4 P. M., & hostilities were ordered to cease & a capitulation agreed to—the general purposed thus, The garisons prisoners of war till exchanged., the whole to march out with Colors cased, and not to beat a French or an American march. The whole to keep their private baggage. All public stores to

be delivered to American Commissary, &c. &c. &c. On the 19th, at 11 o'clock.

Their Flag was struck, and Major Hamilton, with 100 men (Americans) took possession of one work and planted our flag, and a French major, with 100 men (French) another. Then the allied Army and the American Army was drawn up opposite to each other, and, I assure you Sir, they made a most elegant appearance. About 3 o'clock P. M., the British & Foreigners marchd. out to a place assignd., & was ordered by General Lincoln to ground their Arms. The same was done on the side of Gloster, and the whole marchd. off this day for the places assignd. for their residence during Captivity. The Earl & a number of his favourites are allowd. to go to Britain on Parole, & (I am told) Col. Laurens is to be sent out in his Room on Parole, or else the earl to return to America or France. Their stores are immense, there are about 70 pieces of Brass ordinance, beside ship-guns, with a great quantity of ammunition, & arms almost innumerable.

Their force will amount to better than 7000 total, officers included, in the two posts, their loss considerable, in killed and wounded, ours really trifling for so great an affair.

Thus has the Earl been brought to anchor in the height of his career. Col. Craig & his detach't just arrived in time for some of his officers to see the surrender, what the effect may be, God knows, but I hope it will bring a speedy peace. I expect we shall immediately press for Carolina, but this is a surmise. My next shall be more particular, in the meantime be assur'd of the sincerity of my wishes, and believe me to be your real friend and Obdt. Humble Servt.

RICHD. BUTLER.

P. S. Not a principal officer wounded or killed, and but very few men, & I think I may with propriety now congratulate you, my friend, and country in general, with certain Independence, and the pleasing approach of Peace.

To GENERAL IRVINE, at Carlise or Pittsburg.

A NOTEWORTHY BOOK.

DER BLUTIGE SCHAU-PLATZ ODER MARTYRER SPIEGEL. EPHRATA, PA., 1748.

BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

“Among all the things which men have or strive for through their whole lives,” said Alphonse the Wise, King of Arragon, “there is nothing better than old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends for company, and old books to read. All the rest are only bagatelles.” The wise King was something of a bookworm, and mentioned last by way of climax the treasures that lay nearest to his heart. Doubtless, he was thinking all the while how the wood turns to ashes, the fumes of the wine disappear with the hour; that sooner or later “marriage and death, and division” carry off our friends, and that the pleasure derived from old books alone is pure and permanent. What can exceed the delight of a connoisseur familiar with authors, imprints, paper and bindings, and educated to an appreciation of the difference between leaves cut and uncut, upon discovering a perfect copy of an extremely rare book? For him the calm satisfaction of the *littérateur* and the gratified avarice of the miser are blended into a glowing passion. In the present age of the world we measure the value of pretty much everything by the amount of money it will bring. In Europe a copy of the first edition of the Decameron has been sold for £2260 sterling, and one of the Gutenberg Bible on vellum, for £3400. In this country we have not yet reached to that height of enthusiasm or depth of purse, but in the late sale of the library of Mr. George Brinley, a copy of the first book printed in New York, by William Bradford, brought \$1600; and unquestionably as years roll on, and the number of persons who have the means and the leisure to devote themselves to literary pursuits increases, while the early imprints through absorption by public libraries and in other

ways become more inaccessible, the market value of these volumes will immeasurably enhance. Up to the present time the noblest specimen of American colonial bibliography has remained utterly unknown to the most learned of our bibliophiles. There is no reference to it in the appendix to Thomas on Printing, published by the American Antiquarian Society, whose purpose was to give all the pre-revolutionary publications of America. So far as can be learned no copy of it has ever appeared at a book-sale or been in the hands of an American bookseller.¹ Though printed within a comparatively short distance of Philadelphia, until within the last year the librarian of the Philadelphia Library had never heard of its existence; and Sabin, whose knowledge of Americana is unsurpassed, was equally in the dark. It is to call the attention of those who love our literature to this very remarkable work, and to give its points and history so that it may no longer lurk in obscurity, that this article is written.

Men, communities, and nations have their origin, development, and fruition. So have books. In Holland, in the year 1562 there appeared a duodecimo of about two hundred and fifty leaves in the Dutch language called *Het offer des Heeren*. This was the germ. It contained biographical sketches of a number of the early martyrs of the Doopsgezinde or Mennonites, a sect which was the antetype of the Quakers, and these sketches were accompanied by hymns describing in rhyme not only their piety and sufferings but even the manner and dates of their deaths. To publish such a book was then punishable by fire, and the title-page therefore gives no indication as to where it was printed or who was the printer. Meeting together in secret places and in the middle of the night, the linen weavers of Antwerp and the hardy peasants of Friesland cherished their religious zeal and their veneration for Menno Simons, by singing and reading about their martyrs. Next to the Bible this book was most in demand among them,

¹ Since this was written a copy was secured by a publishing house in Philadelphia, and was sold for \$120.

and later editions were printed in the years 1567, 1570, 1576, 1578, 1580, 1589, 1595, and 1599, but many copies were along with their owners burned by the executioners, and the book is now very scarce. It was followed by a large quarto of eight hundred and sixty-three pages with an engraved title-page, written by Hans de Ries and Jacques Outerman, and printed at Hoorn, in 1617, by Zacharias Cornelisz, called "Historie der Warachtighe getuygen Jesu Christi;" and this again by a handsome black-letter folio of ten hundred and fifty-six pages, printed at Haerlem by Hans Passchiers von Wesbusch in 1631, entitled "Martelaers Spiegel der werelose christenen." The subject was capable of still more thorough treatment, and in 1660 Tieleman Jans Van Braght, a Mennonite theologian at Dordrecht, who was born in 1625 and died in 1664, published "Het Bloedigh Toneel der Doops Gesinde en Wereloose Christenen," a folio of thirteen hundred and twenty-nine pages. It was reproduced in 1685 in two magnificent folio volumes, handsomely illustrated with a frontispiece, and a hundred and four copper-plates engraved by the celebrated Jan Luyken.

This book in its immense proportions is thus seen to have been a gradual culmination of the research and literary labors of many authors. In his first edition Van Braght gives a list of 356 books he had consulted. It is the great historical work of the Mennonites, and the most durable monument of that sect. It traces the history of those Christians who from the time of the Apostles were opposed to the baptism of infants and to warfare, including the Lyonists, Petrobustians, and Waldenses; details the persecutions of the Mennonites by the Spaniards in the Netherlands and the Calvinists in Switzerland, together with the individual sufferings of many hundreds who were burned, drowned, beheaded, or otherwise maltreated; and contains the confessions of faith adopted by the different communities. The relations between the Quakers, who arose much later, and the Mennonites were close and intimate; their views upon most points of belief and church government were identical, and where they met they welded together naturally

and without a flaw. Penn, along with others of the early Quakers, went to Holland and Germany, to preach to, and make converts among the Mennonites, and he invited them pressingly to settle in his province. In 1683, and within the next few years, many families from the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands went to Germantown in Pennsylvania, branching from there out to Skippack; and in 1709, began the extensive emigration from Switzerland and the Palatinate to Lancaster County, where are still to be found the largest communities of the sect in America, and where the people still turn to the pages of Van Braght to read the lives of their forefathers.

Many copies of the book were brought to America, but they were in Dutch. No German translation existed, and much the larger proportion of those here who were interested in it could read only that language. It was not long before a desire for a German edition was manifested, and the declaration of a war between England and France in 1744, which in the nature of things must involve sooner or later their colonies in America, made the Mennonites fearful that their principles of non-resistance would be again put to the test, and anxious that all of the members, especially the young, should be braced for the struggle by reading of the steadfastness of their forefathers amid sufferings abroad. Their unsalaried preachers were, however, like the members of the flock, farmers who earned their bread by tilling the soil, and were ill fitted both by circumstances and education for so great a literary labor. Where could a trustworthy translator be found? Where was the printer, in the forests of Pennsylvania, who could undertake the expense of a publication of such magnitude? Naturally, they had recourse to the older and wealthier churches in Europe, and on the 19th of October, 1745, Jacob Godschalek, of Germantown, Dielman Kolb, of Salford, Michael Ziegler, Yilles Kassel, and Martin Kolb, of Skippack, and Heinrich Funck, of Indian Creek, the author of two religious works published in Pennsylvania, wrote, under instructions from the various communities, a letter to Amsterdam on the subject. They say: "Since according to

appearances the flames of war are mounting higher, and it cannot be known whether the cross and persecution may not come upon the defenceless Christians,¹ it becomes us to strengthen ourselves for such circumstances with patience and endurance, and to make every preparation for steadfast constancy in our faith. It was, therefore, unanimously considered good in this community, if it could be done, to have the *Bloedig Toneel* of Dielman Jans Van Braght translated into the German language, especially since in our communities in this country there has been a great increase of young men who have grown up. In this book posterity can see the traces of those faithful witnesses who have walked in the way of truth and given up their lives for it. Notwithstanding we have greatly desired to have this work commenced for many years, it has hitherto remained unaccomplished. The establishment of a new German printing office has renewed the hope, but the bad paper used here for printing has caused us to think further about it. Besides, up to this time, there has not appeared, either among ourselves or others, any one who understood the languages well enough to translate it accurately. We have not felt that we could with safety entrust it to those who have been mentioned and promised to do it, and while it concerns us that this translation should be made, it concerns us just as much that the truth should remain uninjured by such translation. We have at last concluded to commit our design to the brethren in Holland and our *Diener* and *Vorsteher* will unanimously be governed by their advice. We earnestly ask you then to receive our request in love, and to send over to us as soon as it can be done an estimate and specification. We want to know what it will cost to translate it and to print and bind a thousand copies, whether they could be sent here without great charges and expense, what they would come to with or without copper-plates, whether you think it best that they should be sent over in parcels or all at once if it is feasible, and what in your opinion is the best way in which it can be

¹ Wehrlosen Christen, a name they often gave themselves.

done. We appeal to your love, since all here have a heart-felt desire that the book may be translated into the German, and we ask in the matter your love and counsel about undertaking it, whether in these dangerous times of war it can be accomplished, and what it will cost to translate it and print and bind a thousand copies. We hope you will receive our request in love, and as soon as possible let us know your counsel and opinion."¹

The Dutch are proverbially slow, and in this instance they maintained their reputation, since they did not reply until Feb. 10, 1748, nearly three years later. They then threw cold water on the whole enterprise. They thought it utterly impracticable both because of the trouble of finding a translator and because of the immense expense that would be incurred. They further suggested a way out of the difficulty which would have been worthy of Diedrich Knickerbocker. It was to get some of the brethren who understood the Dutch language to translate the chief histories in which the confessions of the martyrs are given and have them copied by the young people in manuscript. By so doing would be secured the "double advantage that through the copying they would give more thought to it and receive a stronger impression."

Without waiting for this valuable advice the Americans had in the mean time found a way to accomplish their purpose. At Ephrata, in Lancaster County, had been established some years before, and still exists, a community of mystical Dunkers, who practised celibacy, and held their lands and goods in common. About 1745, they secured a hand printing press, now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on which they printed over fifty books, which are among the scarcest and most sought after of American imprints. In the Brinley library, perhaps the most complete collection of Americana which has ever been sold, there was but a single specimen from the Ephrata press. Some of the Ephrata hymns have been rendered into English

¹ Dr. J. G. De Hoop Scheffer very kindly sent me this letter, which has never before been printed, from the Archives at Amsterdam.

verse by Whittier. The chronicle of the Cloister says: "Shortly before the time that the mill was burned down the Mennonites in Pennsylvania united together to have their great martyr book, which was in the Dutch language, translated and printed in German. For this work there was nobody in the whole country considered better fitted than the brotherhood in Ephrata, since they had a new printing office and paper mill, and moreover could place hands enough upon the work. The agreement was very advantageous for the said Mennonites, since it was determined upon both sides that the brethren should translate and print the book, but the Mennonites should afterward be at liberty to purchase or not. But scarcely was this agreement known before it began to be everywhere feared lest the good brethren might heap up a Mammon for themselves. Yes, even letters of warning were written by friends in Germany because of it. But the good God had other views therein of which the brethren themselves were unconscious until they had so far progressed with it that they could no longer withdraw. The *Vorsteher* who was the abettor of this work never let it come to a standstill or rest, and took every opportunity to keep all those under his direction in constant action so that no one might again be satisfied in this life and be forgetful of the trust from above, for which purpose this martyr book served admirably, as will be further mentioned in its place."

"After the building of the mill was completed, the printing of the martyr book was taken in hand, for which important work fifteen brethren were selected, of whom nine had their task in the printing office, viz., a corrector who was also translator, four compositors, and four pressmen. The others worked in the paper mill. Three years were spent upon this book, but the work was not continuous because often the supply of paper was deficient. And, since in the mean time there was very little other business on hand, the brethren got deeply into debt, but through the great demand for the book this was soon liquidated. It was printed in large folio, using sixteen quires of paper, and making an edition of thirteen hundred copies. In a council held with

the Mennonites, the price for a single copy was fixed at twenty shillings, from which it can be seen that the reasons for printing it were very different from a hope of profit. That this martyr book was a cause of many trials to the recluses, and added not a little to their spiritual martyrdom, is still in fresh remembrance. The *Vorsteher* who had put the work in motion had other reasons for it than gain. The spiritual welfare of those who were entrusted to him lay deep in his heart, and he neglected no opportunity to provide for it. The three years that this book was on the press were an admirable preparation for spiritual martyrdom, although their worldly affairs were in the mean time unfortunate and permitted to fall into neglect. If this is considered, and the small price and how far those who worked on it were removed from all self-interest, it cannot fail to appear how valuable must have been to them the descriptions therein contained of the lives of the holy martyrs."

In this rather remarkable way have been fortunately preserved the particulars concerning the publication of the Ephrata martyr book. The *Vorsteher* referred to in the chronicle was Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Cloister, who among the brethren was known as *Vater Friedsam*. The greater part of the literary work upon it was done by the learned prior, Peter Miller, who later, at the request of Congress, according to Watson the annalist, translated the Declaration of Independence into seven different European languages. The publication of the first part was completed in 1748, and the second in 1749. The title-page in full is as follows: "Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer Spiegel der Tauffs-Gesinten oder wehrlosen Christen, die um des Zeugnuß Jesu ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormalß aus unterschiedlichen glaubwuerdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnuessen gesamlet und in Hollaendischer Sprach herausgegeben von T. J. V. Braght. Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht. Ephrata in Pensylvanien, Drucks und Verlags der Bruederschafft Anno MDCCXLVIII." It is a massive folio of fifteen hundred

and twelve pages, printed upon strong thick paper, in large type, in order, as is said in the preface, "that it may suit the eyes of all." The binding is solid and ponderous, consisting of boards covered with leather, with mountings of brass on the corners, and two brass clasps. The back is further protected by strips of leather studded with brass nails. Some of the copies when they were issued were illustrated with a frontispiece engraved upon copper, but they were comparatively few, and the book is complete without this plate. The creed of the Dunkers differs from that of the Mennonites mainly in the fact that the former believe in the necessity of immersion, while the latter administer baptism by sprinkling, and over this question the two sects have contended with each other quite earnestly. The plate referred to represented John the Baptist immersing Christ in the river Jordan, and consequently the Mennonites refused to have it bound in the copies which they purchased, and, on the other hand, in those secured by the Dunkers it was inserted. There was another plate prepared for the book, but for some unknown reason it was not used, and there is but a single known print from it.¹ These plates appear to have been engraved by M. Eben, at Frankfort in Germany. In some instances it was bound in two volumes. The title-page to the second part says that it was "out of the Dutch into the German translated and with some new information increased." Among the additions made at Ephrata were twelve stanzas upon page 939, concerning the martyrdom of Hans Haslibacher; taken from the *Aussbundi* or hymn-book of the Swiss Mennonites. Some of the families in Pennsylvania and other parts of the United States, the sufferings of whose ancestors are mentioned in it, are those bearing the names of Kuster, Hendricks, Yocum, Bean, Rhoads, Gotwals, Jacobs, Johnson, Royer, Zimmerman, Shoemaker, Keyser, Landis, Meylin, Brubaker, Kulp, Weaver, Snyder, Wanger, Grubb, Bowman, Bachman, Zug, Aker, Garber, Miller, Kassel, and Wagner. In Lancaster County there are to-day many of the Wentz family. The story of the burn-

¹ In the possession of A. H. Cassel.

ing of Maeyken Wens, at Antwerp in 1573, is more than ordinarily pathetic. "Thereupon on the next day," says the account, "which was the sixth of October, this pious and God-fearing heroine of Jesus Christ, as also her other fellow believers, who in like manner had been condemned, were with their tongues screwed fast, like innocent sheep brought forward, and after each was tied to a stake in the market place, were robbed of life and body by a dreadful and horrible fire, and in a short time were burned to ashes. . . . The oldest son of this aforementioned martyr, called Adrian Wens, about fifteen years old, upon the day on which his dear mother was sacrificed, could not stay away from the place of execution, so he took his youngest brother, called Hans Matthias Wens, about three years old, on his arm, and stood on a bench not far from the burning-stake to witness his mother's death. But when she was brought to the stake he fainted, fell down, and lay unconscious until his mother and the others were burned. Afterward when the people had gone away and he came to himself, he went to the place where his mother was burnt, and hunted in the ashes until he found the screw with which her tongue had been screwed fast, and he kept it for a memento. There are now, 1659, still many descendants of this pious martyr living well known to us, who, after her name, are called Maeyken Wens."

The before-mentioned Heinrich Funk and Dielman Kolb were appointed a committee by the Mennonites to make the arrangements with the community at Ephrata, and to supervise the translation. Their certificate is appended, saying: "It was desired by very many in Pennsylvania that there should be a German translation and edition of the martyr book of the Defenceless Christians or Tauffs-gesinneten, before printed in the Dutch language, and the Brotherhood in Ephrata, on the Conestoga, offered and promised not only that they would translate the book, but would take care that it should be of a neat print and a good paper and at their own cost, if we would promise to buy the copies and have none printed or brought here from any other place. Thereupon the elders and ministers of those communities of the

Taufts-gesinneten which are called Mennonites (to which communities the said book is best adapted) went to Ephrata and made there with their said friends an agreement that they, the said *Taufts-gesinneten*, would buy the said books at a reasonable price, and would not give orders elsewhere, provided they should receive assurance of good work, paper and translation, but if the print should not turn out well they should be released. Heinrich Funk and Dielman Kolb had such a great love for this book that they both with common consent gave their time and labor to it, and, as the leaves came from the press and were sent to them in their order, went over them one at a time, comparing them with the Dutch, and in this work have not omitted a single verse. They have not found in the whole book one line which does not give the same grounds of belief and sense as is contained in the Dutch. They have indeed found a number of words about which they have hesitated and doubted, and which might have been improved both in the Dutch and German, but it is not to be wondered at that in so large a book a word here and there is not used in the best sense; but nobody ought to complain for this reason, for we are all human and often err. Concerning the Errata placed before the Register, it has been found that many that were in the Dutch edition have been corrected, though not all, and some have been found in the German, although, as has been said, they are not numerous. We have therefore at the request of the rest of our fellow ministers very willingly read through this great book from the beginning to the end and compared it with the Dutch, and we have according to our slight ability and gift of understanding found nothing that would be disadvantageous to this book, or in which the teachings of the holy martyrs have not been properly translated, but we believe that the translator has done his best, with the exception of the typographical errors, of which in our opinion there are few for such a great book. But should some one go through it as we have done, and find some mistakes which we have overlooked or not understood, it would be well for him to call attention to them, because two or three witnesses are better than one. We further believe that the best thing about

this book will be that the Lord through his Holy Spirit will so kindle the hearts of men with an eager desire for it that they will not regard a little money but buy it, and taking plenty of time, read in it earnestly with thought, so that they may see and learn in what way they should be grounded in belief in Christ, and how they should arrange their lives and walk in order to follow the defenceless Lamb and to be heirs of the everlasting Kingdom with Christ and his Apostles. In this book are contained many beautiful teachings out of both the Old and New Testament, accompanied with many examples of true followers from which it is apparent *that we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God. Acts xiv. 22.* We see in it many true predecessors who have followed the Lamb, of whom Paul says, Hebrews, xiii. 7: *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.* Although the road is small and narrow, nevertheless it leads to everlasting joy."

When Israel Acrelius, the author of the History of New Sweden, visited Ephrata in 1754, he was shown the martyr book, which, he says, of all the works published there, had given the most trouble and least return. "We went down again to Müller's room, and there he showed me the *History of the Persecution of the Anabaptists*, a large and thick folio volume, which he himself had translated from the Holland into the German language, and had afterward had it printed there in Ephrata, saying it was the largest book that had been printed in Pennsylvania, as also that he had labored for three years upon the translation, and was at the same time so burthened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night. He believed that the Anabaptists had not suffered any persecutions in Sweden. I however gave him to understand that King Gustavus Adolphus had in his time had great difficulty in curing their infectious reformatory sickness which would otherwise have gone very far, although he did this without persecution. The edition of Müller's book was one thousand two hundred copies, of which seven hundred have been circulated and five hundred are still on hand. He said that they could be sold within

ten years. I think he meant twenty. The price is twenty-two shillings. I asked him how they could be sold at so low a price. Why not? said he: *for we do not propose to get rich.*"

There is still another event in the history of this publication recorded in the chronicles of the cloister. "This book had finally in the revolutionary war a singular fate. There being great need of all war material and also paper, and it having been discovered that in Ephrata was a large quantity of printed paper, an arrest was soon laid upon it. Many objections were raised, and among others it was alleged that since the English army was so near, this circumstance might have a bad effect. They were determined however to give up nothing, and that all must be taken by force. So two wagons and six soldiers came and carried off the martyr books. This caused great offence through the land, and many thought the war would not end well for the country, since they had maltreated the testimonies of the holy martyrs. However they finally again came to honor, since some judicious persons bought what there was left of them."

It is manifest that the publication of this book was regarded as an event of great magnitude and importance, or the record of it, gathered as it is from such widely separated sources, would not have been so complete, and it is also plain that only religious zeal could have made the production of such a literary leviathan possible at that time. It was reprinted at Pirmasens in the Palatinate in 1780. A note in this edition says: "After this martyr book was received in Europe, it was found good by the united brotherhood of the Mennonites to issue this German martyr book after the copy from Ephrata again in German print, that it might be brought before the united brotherhood in Europe." They secured the old copper-plates of the Dutch edition of 1685, which had since been used on a work entitled *Théâtre des Martyrs*, published about 1700, without text, date, or imprint, and with them illustrated the publication. It thus appears that the uncomplimentary implication contained in the old query of who reads an American book applies only to our English literature. The republication at that early date of a work

so immense certainly marks an epoch in the literary history of America.

The war of 1812 called forth another American edition, which was published by Joseph Ehrenfried at Lancaster, Pa., in 1814, by subscription at ten dollars per copy. It is a folio of 976 pages, fifteen inches tall, and magnificently bound. There is a preface, authorized by many of the *Diener and Vorsteher* of the Mennonites in the name of the whole community, which gives some information concerning this and other publications.¹ The Pirmasens edition seems to have been unknown to them. Shem Zook, an Amish Mennonite, had a quarto edition published in Philadelphia in 1849, and John F. Funk, of Elkhart, Indiana, issued another in 1870. An imperfect English translation by I. D. Rupp appeared in 1837, and in 1853 a translation by the Hanserd Knollys Society of London was in course of preparation, and was afterward published.

Copies of the Ephrata edition are, as has been said, exceedingly scarce. A copy has been known to bring thirty-two dollars among farmers at a country sale, and one which had found its way into the hands of Frederik Muller & Co., in Amsterdam, was held at 180 florins. There is one in the library of the German Society in Philadelphia, one in that of the Mennonite College at Amsterdam, and another in that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but to the great libraries elsewhere it is as yet unknown. Having regard to the motives which led to its publication, the magnitude of the undertaking, the labor and time expended in printing it leaf by leaf upon a hand-press, its colossal size, excellent typography, the quality of its paper made at Ephrata, its historical and genealogical value, and its great rarity, it easily stands at the head of our colonial books. Among the literary achievements of the Germans of Pennsylvania it surpasses, though eight years later, the great quarto Bible of Saur, the first in America, printed at Germantown in 1748, which for nearly half a century had no English rival.

¹ I have the editions of 1660, 1685, 1748, 1780, and 1814. They cannot be found together anywhere else.

THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN.

JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN DAVIS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

[Major Charles L. Davis, U. S. Army, has placed in our hands what we believe to be the original manuscript of the Journal of his grandfather, Captain John Davis, written during the Yorktown Campaign. He has also left with us a transcript of the Journal as published in the *Village Record*, West Chester, Pa., 1821. This last appears to be an enlargement of the first, and while its language has been improved and many errors of haste corrected, the facts recorded are in most cases essentially the same; the second, however, contains the general orders issued after Washington took command of the troops in Virginia.

Our space will not permit of the printing both Journals in full, so we shall follow that of which we have the original manuscript, and append to it in the form of notes such entries as appeared in the *Village Record* in a materially altered form. The general orders from Sept. 15 to the 26th will also be given in notes; after that they will be omitted, as they are accessible in the Yorktown Orderly Book published in Philadelphia, 1865.

The original Journal was kept in a small book, and occupies only one side of its pages. On the opposite page the names of the places, which are printed in *Italics*, are given, but not always in such a way as to make it perfectly clear to which entry they refer. As it was impossible to print the Journal as written, we have given the localities in the entries opposite to which they were recorded, although in so doing we have in several cases differed from the journal in the *Village Record* and that of Lieut. Feltman.

Captain John Davis, says the late Dr. William Darlington in his *Notæ Cestrienses*, was "a worthy member of one of the Welsh families in the Great Valley of Chester County." He was commissioned, March 19, 1776, Lieutenant in Colonel Samuel J. Atlee's Musketry Battalion, and on the 15th of November was made Captain in the 9th Pa. Regt. On the 17th of January, 1781, he was transferred to the 1st Pa. Regt., of which Daniel Brodhead was Colonel, Thomas Robinson Lt. Colonel, James Moore Major, and Davis senior Captain. "He first saw fire at Three Rivers, and fought at Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point, Green Spring, Yorktown, and in Georgia." He retired from the army January 1st, 1783, and in 1800 was commissioned Brigadier General of the Penna. Militia; in 1803 he was associate Judge of Chester; he died July 10, 1827, aged seventy-four, near Paoli, and was buried in Chester Valley Presbyterian churchyard. A sketch of him will be found in Martin's *History of Chester*, p. 146.

The senior Lieutenant of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, as arranged

in 1781, was William Feltman, and he was probably in Captain Davis's company. His Journal was published in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1853. The language used in the Journals of Davis and Feltman is in so many cases strikingly similar that it is impossible not to suppose that the brother soldiers compared notes before recording the events of the day.—Ed.]

May 26th, 1781. York Town [Pennsylvania].—Marched from York Town 9 oClock morning under comm'd Gen'l Wayne, & encamped 11 miles on the road to Frederick Town.

27th. General Beat at sun rise, troops took up the line of March & halted near Peter Lytles, town being 14 miles.

28th. Troops took up the line of March at Sun rise, pass'd through Tawny Town, & halted near pipe Crek, about 14 miles.

29th. Troops took up the line of March at 8 oClock & encamp'd on the S. W. Side Manochosy, 15 miles.

30th. This day continued on the ground. Soldiers Washed their cloathes, clean'd thir arms, & was Reviewed at 7 oClock in the evening by G. Wayne.

31st. Louden County.—Took up the line of March at Sun rise, pass'd through Fredirck Town, Maryland, & reach'd Powtomack (Nowlands Ferry, Virginia), which in crossing in Squows, one unfortunately sunk loaded with (artilry, & Q. M. Stores &) men, in which one Sergeant and three men were drowned; encamped on the S. W. side of the River. Night being very wet our baggage not cross'd; officers of the Reg't took Quarter in Col. Clapams Nigro Quarter where we agreeably pass'd the night.

June 1st. Continued on our ground till Four oClock in the afternoon when we mov'd five miles on the way to Liesburg.

2d. Very wet day . . . & continued till evening.

3d. Took up the line of March at 10 oClock passed through Liesburg. The appearance of which I was much disappointed in encamp'd at goose creek, 15 miles.

4th. Prince William County.—March'd from goose creek at six oClock, at which place we left our baggage & sick, and

proceeded through a low country; roads bad in consequence of the rains; encamp'd at the red house 18 miles.

5th. A wet morning. Clear'd of at 10 oClock. March'd at 1 oClock, proceeded 12 miles on the road to Rappahanack, lay out without any kind of shelter.

6th. *Farquear County*.—March'd at 6 oClock 9 miles on the Road.

7th. This day continued on our ground, consequence of a heavy rain preceding night.

8th. *Culpepper County*.—Took up the line, March at Sun rise. Reach'd the North Branch Rappahanack at 10 oClock, troops waded the river and proceeded nine miles into this County.

9th. *Orange County*.—Took up the line of March at six oClock, cross'd the South Branch Rappahanack & proceeded Five miles into this County; cuntry poor & buildings very small.

10th. March'd at 5 oClock; a thin poor cuntry. Join'd the Marquis's this day,¹ made a march of 23 miles, pass'd a body of Militia, 1800 men.

11th. March'd at 4 oClock, encamp'd 10 oClock, 10 miles.

12th. *Louisa County*.—March'd at 6 oClock through woods and Pines, at length got to the main road, leading to Fredericksburg, proceeded 5 miles on it & encamp'd.

13th. Troops continued in their encamp't this day.

14th. March'd at 5 oClock, 10 miles, through so poor a cuntry it did not produce one drop of water. At this place we left all our Tents.

15th. *Hanover County*.—Took up the line of March at sun rise; this day was attended with much fatigue for want of water, refreshed in an Orchard with the Colo. where the Marquis took part with us.

16th. Took up the line of March at day Break, proceeded Six miles, where we wash'd & rested ourselves the day, at this place we built an agreeable Bush house, & walk'd

¹ In the *Village Record* the entry of the 14th states that on *that* day they here [*Louisa County*] joined the Infantry under the Marquis's command.

out in the afternoon in comp'y with Mr. White to see a pennsyl'a family who I hapned to know—A Mr. Parker.

17th. March'd at 3 oClock through the best cuntry, we had seen in the state 20 miles, to Mr. Dandridges.

18th. A sweet morning. I mounted guard. This day the enemy advanc'd on us. Our Camp struck at Sun Set. All the Continental troops March'd in order to surprize a party of horse; we continued till day, But on our arrival where they were, they had gone some hours.

19th. *Henrico County.*—Lay on our arms till 1 oCloc, then retir'd 4 miles in the cuntry where we lay down contented, destitute of any refreshment, Bedding, or covering.

20th. March'd at 6 oClock 3 Miles; revie'd by the Gen'l at 5 oC'k lay on our arms all night at Colo. Simm's Mill.

21st. March'd at 12 oClock A. M., 8 miles, and lay at Burrells ordinary, destitute of every necessary, both of life and convenience. This day Cap. Wilson and Myself dined with Colo. Stuart.

22d. *New Kent County.*—March'd at 2 oClock¹ through a well inhabited country, though I can give no acc't of the people as I have not been in a house for some days, though the look well on the road where the generally parade to see us, this day pass through Richmond, in 24 Hours after the Enemy evacuated it it appears a scene of much distress. I see Jas. Humphey as we march'd through on our arrival at Camp. I return'd when I found The distressed very kind, had the pleasure of drinking Tea with a Mrs. Parke a Lady of Penn'a.

23d. March'd at 2 oClock halted at 8 for refreshment when we had an alarm. Reports from our lite horse the Enemy within 1 mile of us. The army form'd for action, a universal Joy prevail'd that certain success was before, we lay on our arms 10 Hours, Hourly receiving acco'ts of their advance. But to our Great mortification, turn'd out a false alarm. At 6 we mov'd our position for convenience of Encampm't & got very wet this night with a rain, came on at 12 oClock.

¹ A. M., *Village Record.*

24th, Sunday. James City County.—A fine morning, we lay on this ground all day enjoy ourselves & cooking this day one of our soldiers Taken deserting to the Enemy, 4 oClock he was tried, & Executed in the evening—March'd at dark in order to surprise Tarleton, 12 miles, he got wind of our approach and retir'd.

25th. Lay by this day. At dark took up the line of March in order to overtake Simon¹ who had plunder'd a quantity of Cattle.

26th. At Six oClock in the morning we overtook a covering party, who retreated before us. We mounted a party of Infantry² behind lite Horse, who overtook their rear. We had a smartt skirmish Horse & foot³ in which we took some lite Horse & Cattle & kill'd 30 on the spot with inconsiderable loss.

27th. This day we lay at Birds Ornary, I mounted guard, a wet night.

28th. Clear morning, made some movements for advantage of Ground.

29th. Maneuver'd considerably in this Cuntry, in consequence of Bad information.

30th. Extreemly Fatigued; lay by greater part of this day. Our tents brought to us in the Evening.

July 1st, Sunday. Col'l Bassett's, York River.—March'd at daybreak 8 miles to York River where we encamp'd return'd that night to our former post.⁴

2d. March'd down to Birds Ornary, return'd that night to our post.

3d. March'd Sunrise to some Body's old fild. Maneuvers retrograde, and many troops wore out; hot weather.

4th. A wet morning, clear'd off 10 oClock. This day we had a Fudejoy in celebration of the Independance of America.

¹ Simcoe.—*Village Record.*

² Capt. Ogdens, *Ibid.*

³ At Hot Water, *Ibid.*

⁴ Col. Bassett's, York River.

July 1st. Troops marched this morning to York River in order to wash, when Doctor Downy was unfortunately drowned; supposed by a fit of cramp. 16 miles.—*Village Record.*

After that was over, Penn'a Line perform'd several manœveres, in which we fir'd.

5th. March'd at 7 oClock on our way for Williamsburg proceeded as far as Chickahomony Church where we lay on our arms till Sun up.

6th. *Chickahomony Church.*—At sun rise we took up the line of March for James's town which place the Enemy lay at the 1st Batt'n was detach'd with some rifle men which brought on a scattering fire, that continued many Hours, when the 2d & 3d Batt. with one of Infantry arriv'd in sight, we form'd & brought on a Gen'l Action. Our advances regular at a charge till we gott within 80 y'ds of thir main body under a heavy fire of Grape shot at which distance we open'd our musquttry, at this time 8 of our Artilery horses being wounded; & their right flanking our left render'd a retreat necessary with the loss of 2 pieces of Artilery.¹

7th. This day we lay at this church . . . Dressing & sending our wounded to Hosp'l.

8th. At 12 oClock this day we march'd 8 miles towards Jas. River for Camp, this evening I went to see the wound'd at the Bird Ornary.

9th. *Charles City County.*—I return'd to camp, a warm day, water scarce & bad—this day we lay on this ground.

10th. *Holts Forge & Mills.*—March'd at 2 oClock P. M. to Holts Iron works, Country good but reduc'd.

11th. Orders for washing & cleaning our arms.

¹ 6th. Marched at 5 o'clock A. M. for Jamestown, where the enemy at this time lay in force. When the army had advanced within 5 miles of this town the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion was detached with a number of riflemen to Green Springs, which brought on a scattering fire that continued for (3) hours, when a body of light infantry came with the other two Battalions of Pennsylvania troops. The line was displayed and we advanced, by this time the enemy was meeting us when a general action ensued. At the distance of one hundred yards we charged on their main body under a heavy and incessant fire of grape and cannister shot, at this instant we opened our musketry. Their right flanked our left, a retreat was found necessary with the loss of two pieces of artillery, we retired to a church where we lay this night.—*Village Record.*

12th. March'd at 7 oClock toward James River. Roads bad.

13th. Orders for cleaning Ourselves & preparing for an incorporate which was much wish'd for.

14th. This day the incorporation to take place when officers drew who was for the Campaign.

15th. This day was taken up in crossing the James River when our fre'ds took their leaves.

16th. *Chesterfield County*.—March'd at 3 oClock and encamp'd at chesterfield church.

17th. March'd at 3 oClock for Chesterfield Court House, water very good these Two days, & the country the most fertile we had seen.

18th. *Goods Bridge*.—March'd at 3 oClock P. M. to Cheatums farms 12 miles.

19th. *Appomatack River*.—March'd at 4 oClock A. M. for Goods Bridge 10 miles.

20th. Cloudy day.

22d. *Amelia County*.—This day we had a sold'r hang'd for marauding, a raining day, cool and pleasant.

23d. I din'd this day with Gen'l Wayne, when we pass'd an agreeable afternoon.

24th. Mov'd our Camp 200 yards in the Rear. No particular acc'ts of the Enemy.

25th. *Goods Bridge*.—About 2 oClock this day this Bridge fell in—whose construction was of a singular nature. No person hurt tho' many about & under it.

26th. Wet morning & cloudy day.

27th. *Amelia County*.—A clear fine morning w'm day.

28th. Nothing material this day.¹

29th. Nothing material this day.²

30th. General Beat this morning at day Break, troops march'd by the right to Watkins Mill, which place we arrived at 10 oClock 9 miles. Mr. McKinney & myself rode out

¹ Dined at Mr. Booker's.—*Village Record*.

² Orders to march to-morrow.—*Village Record*.

agreeable to appointment to dine with Mr. Eagleson where we see a pretty agreeable country.

31st. *Amelia County*.—This day we lay still; the country the most fertile we had seen in the State.

August 1st. Dunwody County.—Army march'd day Break 12 miles.

2d. This day we march'd to Amazuin¹ River.²

3d. March to Right about for the North 21 miles.³

4th. March'd at day Break for James River opposite Westam 10 miles—Capt't Barthol'o Bond⁴ & my self rode to Richm'd when we were agreeably enterta'd by Mrs. park, some Carolina Ladys, and the Gentlemen of the Virg'a Line who had been prisoners return'd to Camp next day.

5th. Cross'd James River and took post at the Hight Westam.

6th. Lay on this ground this day which place enemy had occup'd before us.⁵

7th. Lay on this ground.⁶

8th. March'd at 1 oClock A. M., pass'd Richmond daylight encamp'd 3 miles below.

9th. *Savages Farm, N. Kent County*.—Gen'l Beat at 1 oClock A. M. March'd at halfpast to Bottom Bridge, made a short halt, proceeded to Savages Farm, 11 miles, this day Our Baggage ariv'd from Cox's Mill, *all well*.

10th. Troops continued on the ground this day.

¹ Namozine Creek.

² So far on our way, we expected for South Carolina.—*Village Record*.

³ *August 3d*. General beat day-break—this day we counter-marched and returned to join the Marquis at James River—21 miles.—*Village Record*.

⁴ Boudé.—*Village Record*.

⁵ 6th. Troops lay on this ground this day, which place the enemy had occupied before us. Near this place a Mr. Ballentine attempted to confine the James River to a single canal in order to transport the produce of the upper counties past the falls, which he effected in part. It discovered a very great idea—Also was a Foundery and a Bloomery, and an excellent Malt and Brew house, all which was consumed by General Arnold, except the Brew house.—*Village Record*.

⁶ 7th. We lay in this camp this day when a body of Militia passed us commanded by General Campbell.—*Village Record*.

11th. Continued on this ground No official acc'ts of y^e Enemy.¹

12th. A wet day. A sold'r of the Virg'a Line executed for shooting attempting mutiny in shooting a Cap Kirkpatrick.

13th. *New Kent County*.—Very wet day.

14th. A fine day, lay still.

15th. lay on the ground; this day din'd at Doct'r Hall's 9 miles from Camp with some Gent'n of the line.

16th. lay on the ground, a cool agreeable day.

17th. Genl. Beat 2 oClock morning, troops marched at 3, to Phillips's Farm, near Newcastle, & within Four miles of Hanover Town.

18th. *Hanover County, Philip's Farm*.—A showry day, country abound in the Best water mellons I ever see.

19th. Troops continu'd on this ground, this day.

20th. Troops lay still. Messrs. North, McKinny, & myself rode out to see the country & a certain Mr. Skeltons seat which was elegant, as well his situation singular.

21st. *Hanover County*.—This day the troops lay still.

22d. *Charles City County, Birds Farm*.—Weather quite cool, rode out & din'd at Mr. Andersons, with some Virg'a officers.

23d. Troops march'd at 8 oClock, A. M. arriv'd at Savages Farm.

24th. March'd at 4 oClock A. M. for Birds farm on James River. A beautiful situation. This *Bird* was allow'd to be richest man in Virg'a when living, his buildings very elegant.

25th. *Birds Farm*.—We lay still this day, a looking around us admiring the greatness of this mans Idea, in his improvements.

26th. Attended Divine Worship on the River side, under a shade of Cedars.

¹ New Kent County.

11th. Troops lay on this ground. This country good and an excellent Spring of water here, for which reason this Mr. Savage is a capital sufferer. — *Village Record*.

27th. March'd this day at 8 oClock A. M. to Mawbin hill¹ 9 miles. On the banks y^e river.

28th. March'd this day at 2 oClk to Westover.

29th. Nothig materil.

30th. *Surrey County*.—began this night to Cross the river, which keps us, some, Two days as the river is One Mile wide & boats very bad.²

Sept. 1st. Information this morning at 7 oClock of a French Fleet riding in Chesepeck Bay, with 4000 troops on board. We march'd at 8 A. M. & halted opposite James Town 6 miles where we pass'd the night.

2d. At 10 oClock this morning a number of boats hove in sight, (with the troops) which landed at James Town.³

3d. Their Boats cross'd the river next Morning at sun rise & cross'd Our Troops, our boats not yet ariv'd we lay on James town plains, this day at night we march'd to Green Springs where we pass'd y^e night.

4th. March'd at day break for Williamsburg, halted on y^e commons, at 4 oClock P. M. was review'd by Gen'l St. Simon, this night we took post in the City Collidge.

5th. Pass'd the greater part of this day in [re]viewing the City; & its public buildigs which does the State credit lay on our Arms near town in a thicket of woods.

6th, 81. *Williamsburg*.—This morning at 8 oClock the troops took up y^e line of March & pass'd through the City & halted within 7 miles of York, & encam'd at Colo. Burrells Mill, we were now y^e advanc'd Corps y^e Army.

7th. This morning at 8 oClock we were alarm'd by y^e firing of Several shots from our front Piquett.

8th. *Williamsburg*.—We were reliv'd by the advanc'd Corps of the Army appointed in orders,⁴ and march'd to Join our Good ally which cut a respectable figure & encamp'd the

¹ Where is erected a stone monument in memory of a very extraordinary fresh in James River—year '71.—*Village Record*.

² Encamped on the South side on a Mr. Meade's farm.—*Ibid*.

³ Commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon.—*Ibid*.

⁴ Gen. Muhlenberg commanded.—*Ibid*.

whole, north of Williamsburg, I was order'd to repair to Jamestown to superintend the crossing y^e Baggage.

9th. din'd this day as well as yesterday with Genl. Wayne at his Sick Quarters, and repair'd to Camp at night.

10th. Reports this day say a Genl. Action have been fought off Chesepeak bay between Adml. Grass & Hood, that y^e latter have made to Sea, & a superior fleet in full pursuit of him.

11th. Nothing Material, din'd with some Militia officers at y^e Capitol landing in comp'y with several Genls. of y^e line.

12th. *Williamsburg.*—Nothing Material occur'd.

13th. Rode out in the country, & return'd in y^e evening.

14th. Twenty one Gun firing anounc'd the arival of Genl. Washington in Camp the army paraded, & was review'd before he lighted from his horse.

15th. A very wet day, which was much wanted.¹

¹ GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.

15th Sept. 1781.

The Commander-in-chief takes the earliest opportunity of testifying the satisfaction he feels on joining the army under the command of Major-Gen. the Marquis De La Fayette, with prospects which (under the smiles of Heaven) he doubts not, will crown their toils with the most brilliant success; a conviction that the officers and soldiers of this army will still be actuated by that true martial spirit and thirst of glory which they have already exhibited on so many trying occasions, and under circumstances far less promising than the present affords him the most pleasing sensations.

The arrival of a powerful fleet and army, under the command of his Excellency, Count de Grasse and the Marquis de St. Simon, displays a new and striking instance of the generous attention of his Most Christian Majesty to the interests of these United States.

A very respectable body of troops, both French and Americans, are on their march from the Eastward and may soon be expected to aid our operations in this quarter.

The zeal and celerity with which Maj.-Gen. de St. Simon debarked his troops and joined the army under the command of the Marquis de La Fayette at so critical a juncture demands his most grateful acknowledgements which he entreats the Marquis to accept. He also prays him to have the complaisance to signify to the officers and soldiers under his command, the high sense the General entertains of the *Spirit* and *ardour* they have shown on that occasion. He particularly admires the patience with which they supported the scarcity of provisions that unfortunately existed at the time of their junction, owing to particular circumstances; circumstances

16th. *Williamsburgh.*—I mounted y^e Genl. Guard y^e officers of the Infantry waited on the Genl. to congratulate his arriving at the Southern States.¹

17th. this day the Genl. with y^e French Genls. left camp in order to see Count De Grass who lays at Hampton Road.²

18th. Nothing material except the landing the 1st Detatcht. from y^e Northward.

19th. *Williamsburgh.*—This day I rode down to Holts Mill, cross'd to Surry County with Mr. Collin when we din'd with Coll. Hutchins on the Banks of the river we pass'd an agreeable afternoon, recross'd y^e river after night, lay at Holts Mill.³

which he exceedingly regrets, but hopes they are already remedied and that the like misfortune will not be again experienced.

Accurate Returns of the different Corps, as well Continental as Militia, now serving here, to be given in at Head Quarters to-morrow at 10 o'clock, specifying the number of Militia that are unarmed. Commanding officers of corps must be answerable for the correctness of their Returns, and that the men returned on duty must be particularly and satisfactorily accounted for.

¹ GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.
September 16th, 1781.

During the present scarcity of provisions the Quarter Master will take care that a sufficient number of corn-fields are procured for the use of the troop. The Commander-in-chief, in the most pointed manner, forbids the soldiers entering or taking corn from any field but those pointed out by the Quarter Masters, and hopes that every officer will see this order attended to.

² GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.
September 17, 1781.

The Quarter Masters of Brigades and separate Corps are to make returns of Camp Equipage and all other articles in the Q. M.'s department to the Q. M. G. to-morrow at orderly time. The President and members of the General Court-martial will return to their duty in their respective lines until the pleasure of the Commander-in-Chief be known with respect to their proceedings.

³ GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.
Sept. 19, '81.

The Inspector General will review the Maryland troops Friday morning at 8 O'Clock; at the same hour he desires to see all the Continental Field

- 20th. return'd to camp this morning.
 21st. Second division of y^e Northward troops arivd.
 22d. No meterial acc'ts.¹
 23d. Evry vigilanc in preparig for y^e Siege.
 24th. Northward troops, landing & marching up to this place.²
 25th. *Williamsburgh.*—Nothing Material.³

Officers on the Grand Parade. The Grand Parade for the present is assigned on the field in the rear of the College.

¹ The *Village Record* says that on this day the troops moved up to Williamsburgh.

² GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.

September 24, 81.

An accurate inspection of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition to be made immediately, and the deficiencies compleated.

The Continental troops composing the troops in Virginia are to be brigaded as follows—

Col. Vose's, Lt.-Col. Barber's, and Lt.-Col. Jemott's Battalions of Infantry will form a Brigade to be commanded by Brigadier-Gen. Muhlenburgh.

Col. Scammell's Regt. and Lt.-Col. Hamilton's Battalion of Infantry and Hazen's Regiment; the Brigade to be commanded by Brig.-Gen. Hazen.

Col. Gaskin's Virginia Regiment and the two Battalions of Pennsylvania, a Brigade to be commanded by Brig.-Gen. Wayne.

The two Jersey Battalions and the Rhode Island Battalion, a Brigade to be commanded by Col. Dayton.

The 3d and 4th Maryland Regiments, a Brigade to be commanded by Brig.-Gen. Gist.

The 1st and 2nd New York Regiments, a Brigade to be commanded by Gen. Clinton.

The Inspector General desires the commanding officers of Regiments and Corps may have them inspected without delay, agreeably to the General Orders of this day, and report to him the state of their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements.

³ GENERAL ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG.

Sept. 25th, 81.

All deserters and persons coming from the enemy's lines are to be sent in the first instance to Head Quarters: no horses, arms, or accoutrements are to be purchased from them, except for the public service, unless it is specified to the contrary in the written papers which will be granted them by the Adjutant-General. Any person of the above description found without

26th. Orders to move down below y^e town & form an encampment.¹

27th. March'd East of town, & form'd the Grand Army, Americans on y^e right & French on y^e left.

28th. *Camp: before York.*—Army march'd this morning at 5, by the right for York. On ariving on its environs the British horse appear'd. The French open'd some Fild pices & they retreated in their works.—lay on our arms.

29th. This morning form'd a compleat investment round the Town and pitch'd our Camp. The Enemy retreated this night in their contacted works.

30th. Took possession of their out lines.

Oct'r 1st. A warm fire continued all this day, about 40 Guns to the hour, on an average & 10 by night to the hour 2 men only kill'd one of them in y^e works.²

2d, 81. *Camp before York.*—A continual firing from the Enemys Batteries all this day. Our works goes on rapidly.

3d. A continual firing was kept up all this day. A deserter went in who inform'd them where our covering parties lay They directed their shot for them the first kill'd 3 men & mortally wounded a fourth Our works go on rapidly.

proper passes with the army, or within the environs of the encampment, to be apprehended and sent to the provost-guard.

The Deputy Commissary General of prisoners will report to Head Quarters all prisoners of war immediately after their capture.

The several issuing Commissaries will be particularly careful, in reserving all the sheep-skins for the use of the artillery; they will be delivered to Mr. Thomas Jones, D. C. M. S., on his application.

At a General Court Martial, assembled at Williamsburg, by order of Maj.-Gen., the Marquis La Fayette, Col. Vose, President, Capt. Wilkin, of Col. Stewart's battalion of the Pennsylvania Line, charged by Col. Stewart with riotous behavior, in his tent, in an unseasonable hour of the night, with disobedience, in not desisting when ordered to do so by the field officer of the day through the Adjutant, Capt. Vanhorne, and for using language and conduct subversive of good order and discipline, was tried and acquitted.

¹ Orders this day to move East of town and form the Army: Americans on the right and French on the left.—*Village Record.*

² The Journal in the *Village Record* says the Americans took possession of the out-works on this day, and that Col. Scammel was wounded and taken prisoner.

4th. *Camp before York.*—Our cannon and mortars now arived. This day Col'l Tarlton made a charge on Duke Luzerne's Legionary Corps, on Glochester side, and was repuls'd with the loss of his commaning off'r of Infantry kill'd and Tarlton badly wounded with 50 privates kill'd on the spot.

5th. Our works go on day and night some chance Men kill'd with the incessant fire kept up on our works.¹

6th. A rainy day. 3000, fatigued this night, a making lines for our covering parties.²

7th. The first paralel finish'd carrying on the Batteries an incessant firing Day & Night.

8th. Our heavy artilery taken up 10 pieces this night.

9th. *Camp before York.*—A heavy cannonnade kept up from us, which dismounted all their pieces.³

10th. A Mr. Nelson came this day out who say our shells do much execution.

11th. Continual firing kept up, this night we broke ground & form'd 2d paralel with the loss of 2 millita men kill'd.

12th. The Enemy kept up a very hot fire all this day.

13th. This morning 2 Hessian deserters came in who says our shells do much execution.

14th. *Camp before York.*—this morning a deserter says the Infantry refus'd doing duty, that Cornwallis flatters them they shall be reliv'd in a few days & gave each reg't a pipe of wine. This night the Marquis took their river Battery with very inconsiderable loss, and Maj'r Gen. Virmiuel took another on their extreme to the left, with little loss likewise, & run our second paralel compleat.

15th. This night the Enemy made a sally & impos'd on the French for American, & cover'd our advan'd posts and trenches but on finding out the imposition drove them with the loss of 8 prisoners & 8 kill'd on y^e spot.

¹ A number of men preparing cannon cartridges, and the teams of the army all employed hauling cannon, mortars, ball, and shell from the Landing.—*Village Record.*

² This night we run our first paralel.—*Ibid.*

³ This day—THIS HAPPY DAY—we returned their fire. American and French flags hoisted on our batteries.—*Ibid.*

16th. pushig our advan'd posts forward as fast as possible.¹

17th. Lord Cornwallis proposes deputies from Each Army to meet at Moores House to agree on terms for the Surrender of the garrison at York & Gloucester. An answer sent by 3 oClock when a cessation of arms took place.

18th. Flags passing this day alternately.

19th. At 1 oClock this day our troops march'd in & took possession of their batteris, and the British Army march'd Out & Grounded their Arms. Our Army drew up for them to march through French on one side & American on the other.

20th. *Camp York.*—Lay quiet in Our Camp cleaning Our-selves.

21st. British Army march'd out for their cantoonments under Militia G'ds.

22d. Brgade on duty.²

23d. Orders for y^e troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

24th. Marquis de St. Simons troops embarking their Canon.

25th. *Camp York.*—Orders for Brigades daily to be on duty to demollish our works.

26th. Nothing Meterial.

27th. Acc'ts Sir H. Clintons embark'd from New York for y^e South.

28th. Orders contermanded respectg our cannon going on board. Nothing Meterial occur'd till 5 Nov'r.³

¹ Our Batteries compleating very fast.—*Village Record.*

² York affords very good Port-wine.—*Ibid.*

³ 28th. The American cannon put on board vessels for the Head of Elk.

29th. Nothing material.

30th. I was on duty at Gloster.

31st. Col. Tarleton dismounted from his horse by an inhabitant who claimed him in the midst of the Street.

Nov. 1st. A supply of cloathing purchased by agents appointed for that purpose.

2d. Distributions of the supplies.

3d. Orders for Pennsylvania and Maryland troops to march to-morrow for South Carolina.

Nov. 5th. Camp York.—March'd at 9 oClock to Burrells Mill 10 mile.

6th. March'd at day light pass'd through Williamsbg encamp'd at Birds Orna'y 18 miles.

7th. March'd at Sun rise by the right encamped at Kent Court House 14 miles.

8th. March'd at Sun rise, encamp'd at Bottoms Bridge.

9th. March'd at sun rise encamp'd at Richmond.

10th. troops began to cross the river. Craft very unsuitable for the purpose.

11th. Richmond.—Waggons & Ammunition crossing.

12th. Our brigade began crossing.

13th. continue crossing no accident except a boat sinking in the river but no men drowned.

14th. Marylanders proceed on their way for petersburgh.

15th. Our Brigade march at 12 oClock. Encamp'd Osbrons Woffum.

16th. March'd at sun rise encamp'd at Petersburgh.

17th. Chesterfield County.—Cross'd Appomatock.

18th. lay still this, which was a very fine day.

19th. Brunswick Co.—March'd at sun rise encamp'd near Dunwoody court House—19 miles.

20th. March'd at sun rise encamp'd at Nottoway bridges—14 m.

21st. March'd at sun rise encamp'd at East Edmunsons 15 m.

22d. March'd at sun rise encamp'd at Mitchells Ornary 15 miles.

23d. Mecklenburgh Co.—March'd at sun rise encamp'd at Hugh Millers—14 miles.

24th. March'd at sun rise. Ariv'd at Roanoke 11 oClock cross'd with great expedition.

25th. this day we lay still. The morning foggy, heavy rain afternoon.

26th. lay on y^e Banks River.

4th. General beat at 8 o'clock. Tents struck and loaded. Troops march at 9.—*Village Record.*

27th. *Mecklenburgh Co., N. Carolina*—Maryland line cross'd.

28th. Wet day, lay still.

29th. *Gwynville County, N. Carolina*.—March'd at sun rise 10 miles to Williamsburgh.

30th. March'd at sun rise 12 miles to Harrisburgh.

December 1st. March'd at sun rise to Gen'l Parsons, 12 miles through the best country I see since crossing potomack.

2d. March'd at sun rise the roads sloppy encamp'd at Pains Orinary 16 m.

3d. *Caswells County, N. Carolina*.—March'd this morning at sun rise, pass'd Caswell Court House & Cross'd Hico Creek 10 miles.

4th. March'd at sun rise cross'd Country [County] line creek when it began to snow at 12 oClock continued till night when it was four Inches deep. We had a very tedious days mar'h 18 miles.

Capt. Bartholomew Broke his leg by a fall from a horse.

5th. *Caswell County*.—this day the troops lay on their Ground, roads very Bad, deta'hs of 1 Hundred Men with the stores Stays behind in order to hasten our march.

6th. This day the troops lay on this ground, Capt. Bond & myself din'd with Cols. Dicksons 6 miles from Camp.

7th. *Guilford County*.—This day the troops march'd at sun rise, through a very good country, waded Haw River, & encamp'd on it 16 miles.

8th, 81. *Guilford County*.—Troops march'd at Sun rise through a good looking Country encamp'd at Guilford Court House 20 miles.

9th. This day we lay on this ground which turn'd out very rainy.

10th. This day we likewise lay still very cold.

11th. This day troops march'd at sun rise, through a Quaker Settlem't. Country good & well wooded. Encamp'd near Barny Hidits on Abbots Creek 15 miles.

12th. *Roan County*.—The troops took up the line of March at sun rise march'd through a German Settl'mt where the farm much as penna left Moravian town on our right 8 miles. Encamp'd at Mr. McCuaneys 16 m.

13th. This morning at sun rise the troops march'd. Cross'd the Yadkin in boats, waggons & Cattle waded, beautiful river, about 80 perches wide encamp'd within a mill, 14 m.

14th, 81. *Roan County.*—Troops march'd at sun rise pass'd through Salisbury town which is a very pretty town considering its remoteness in the state, 7 m.

15th. Troops march'd at sun rise pass'd a good settlm't encamp'd at Mr. Taylors, 12 m.

16th. Troops march'd at usual time Cross'd Coddle Creek on a Bridge we made & waded Rocky river, 14 m. diu'd with Gen'l Wayne & visited our Encampment of Catawba Indians.

17th, 81. *Mecklenburgh Co., North Carolina.*—We lay still in consequence of heavy rain.

18th. Troops march'd at sun rise the country good encamp'd at Charlotte a small & ornary looking place. 14 m.

19th. March'd at sun rise Roads bad. Country not so good as we have pass'd encamp'd at Clems branch. 15 m.

20th, 81. *Camden District, South Carolina.*—Troops march'd at sun rise, pass'd through a country adjoining Catawbaw River & belonging to a Reduc'd Nation of that name. Encamp'd on Twelve Mile Creek, 10 mile Rivers run all in this Country a Westerly Course.

21st. *Waxaws Creek & Settlement.*—Troops march'd this day at 12 oClock, encamp'd on Waxwaws Creek: 6 miles. These Creeks high.

22d. *Camden District.*—Troops march'd at sun rise cross'd several small creeks encamp'd near Maj. Bartley 10 miles.

23d. Troops march'd at sun rise through a country cov'd with pine and sands, intermixed with Black Jacks, this march we pass'd hanging Rock. This road had many marks of wilful destruction in Waggons and Military Stores which was made in Gates's Army. Encamp'd near that Rock. 20 m.

24th. *Camden District.*—Troops march'd at sun rise the day excessive wet & waded several Creeks. This days march as well as yesterdays the country uninhabited & ever will remain so, I presume. Encamp'd near Camden 18 miles.

25th. *Camden Town.*—Troops lay still this day Eight Offi-

cer of the Batt'n din'd with a Mr. Le Count where we far'd well & spent an agreeable Evening. This town ruin'd much by the British.

26th. *Camden, Wateree River.*—Troops march'd at sun rise & cross'd the Wateree River $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from town this river is about Two Hund'd yards wide & deep, encamp'd on the south side.

27th. Troops march'd at sun rise through a low country covered in many places with—and swamps—encamp'd at Reynolds Mills 8 m.

28th. Troops march'd at sun rise through a poor country destitute of Inhabitants, known by the name of Sand Hills encamp'd on the Banks of the Congeree River 23 m.

29th, 81. *Congeree River.*—Troops march'd at 8 oClock cross'd Congeree in Excellent Flats. This River is 300 y'ds wide. One of the hansomest I ever see encamp'd on the south side—4 miles.

30th. *Orangeburgh County.*—Troops march'd at 9 oC'k through a good country encamp'd at Adam Tintly 12 m.

31st. Troops march'd at sun rise country tolerable settled by Germans. Encamp'd at Orangeburg—12 m.

January 1st, 1782. Orangeburg County.—Troops march'd at sun rise through a Wilderness, waded more than twenty Creeks some Three feet deep, encamp'd in a place, amonst surrounded with water, destitute of inhabitants—20 m.

2d. Troops march'd at sunrise this days march through a fine body of pine and sand, uninhabited, waded a number of Creeks or rather Guts, of water communicating from one to another, encamp'd as yesterday, 15 m.

3d, 82. *Edisto River.*—Troops march'd at Sun rise wet low country pas'd through. Saw Mills which work'd with 8 Saws on one frame encamped at Hickey ridge—10 m.

4th. *Round O Settle't.*—March'd at sun rise. Join'd the army at this post. 3 m.

5th. This day taken up in cleaning Our selves & Arms after Two Months Constant march.

6th. Cleaning Our selves & resting. Rode out to see their farms.

7th. *Round O Camp.*—A command of 100 men to relieve one now at the lines (of Our line) Maj'r Hamilton Command.

8th. Some Gentlemen din'd with us in Camp.

9th. *Jackson's Borough.*—Pennsylv'a Brigade march'd at 9 oClock to Jacksons Borough, where the Legislator of the State now Sits encamp'd on its Right. 14.

10th. Mr. McKinny & my self walk'd out to hunt call'd at a house where liv'd a Mr. Duverse from Penn'a. Din'd with him & pass'd the afternoon.

In the diary of Lieut. Feltman, which is continued until April 25, 1782, there is a correspondence between General Greene and some of the officers of the Pennsylvania line, who felt themselves aggrieved by the appointment of a junior officer of the Maryland line to the command of a detachment detailed for a special service. The name of Captain Davis is among those signed to the letters addressed to Greene, but as they treat of nothing but the subject which called them forth we will not reprint them.

There is an old song on the surrender of Cornwallis, which although devoid of literary merit is characteristic of the times, and considering the circumstances under which it has been handed down to us is deserving of preservation with the diary of Capt. Davis.

The words were written by a son of Erin, who had been captured with Cornwallis, and who sent them home to his father. They were there learned by an Irishman, who subsequently lived with Captain Davis in Chester Co., who used to make him repeat them again and again at harvest gatherings, and thus they reached the columns of the *Village Record*, then edited by the well-known Charles Miner.

THE IRISH SOLDIER'S LAMENT,

OR

CORNWALLIS' SURRENDER.

Dear father, peruse
This sad unhappy news,
Which from prison I have sent you ;
It 's of the brave Cornwallis,
I write the tale that follows,
Which grieves me sore to acquaint you.

Our warlike General,
Who was never known to quail,
And never was daunted by any ;
His foes they did combine,
He was forced to resign,
Made a prisoner of war in Virginia.

We ever may bemoan
The year eighty-one,
When at Yorktown we capitulated ;
Bewail we ever may,
The sad, unhappy day
When brave Cornwallis was defeated.

Like champions of great might
Our men did boldly fight,
And our foes still kept cannonading ;
Till many bodies dead,
All o'er the ground were spread,
And ankle deep in blood we were wading.

Courageous, bold, and stout,
Unwilling to give out ;
Our provisions being almost expended ;
We had nothing for to eat,
Though our hunger it was great,
Yet our rights we nobly defended.

We fought them ten to one,
Long as we could stand by a gun,
Led on by a daring commander ;
Till at length unto our grief,
Our worthy noble chief,
To his foes was obliged to surrender.

Here by a numerous band,
We were marched to Maryland,
And some were confined in Virginia ;
In a loathsome, dirty jail
Each man his fate did bewail,
I'm sure that our sorrows are many.

The provisions are so bad,
No worse can be had,
Which fills my soul with vexation ;
Far better we had died,
When on the action wide,
Than be starved by a capitulation.

Here we may freeze and thaw,
On beds of rotten straw,
For no covering we have to put round us ;
Heads and points we do lie,
Like to hogs in a sty,
And lofty dark walls do surround us.

Full fifteen hundred men,
All in a prison den,
Like thieves in a dungeon are crowded ;
Ah ! doleful is our case,
In this God-forsaken place,
To remain till the peace is concluded.

JOHN BOGGS.

WILLIAM PENN.**HIS INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE IN WEST NEW JERSEY.****BY JOHN CLEMENT.**

The little notice taken of the interests of William Penn in *Nova-Cæsaria*, and of his connection with the initiatory steps for colonizing the territory and establishing a form of government, is a noticeable feature in the writings of his biographers; this may be accounted for by the willingness of his admirers to subordinate everything to his successful efforts in founding a colony of his own, which soon overshadowed the sparse settlements on the east side of the Delaware River, which had been planted by and were under the patronage of John Fenwick.

It was more than seven years before he received the grant for Pennsylvania that Penn became interested in the effort to establish in America a colony where Friends could enjoy with freedom the dictates of their conscience.

John Lord Berkeley had (March 18, 1673) conveyed to John Fenwick his individual moiety of New Jersey. This conveyance, for reasons which do not appear, was at once questioned by the creditors of Edward Byllynge, a brewer of Westminster, London, at that time insolvent, they suspecting that Edward Byllynge had paid for the grant with money justly due to them.

After much controversy between John Fenwick, Edward Byllynge, and Edward Byllynge's creditors, William Penn was called upon to act as arbitrator; who, after careful examination and inquiry, decided that John Fenwick was entitled to but ten parts, and that he (Fenwick) should convey the ninety parts of said territory to such persons as should be chosen as trustees for the benefit of Edward Byllynge's creditors. The creditors, who were mostly Friends, pressed William Penn into their service as one of the trustees in the sale

of these lands and in the payment of Byllynge's debts, the others being Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas. On February 9, 1674, John Fenwick made conveyance of the ninety parts to said trustees, reserving ten parts whereon was planted his colony.

In the discharge of the intricate duties which his position as trustee imposed upon him, Penn's sense of justice and fair dealing was often displayed, as were also his foresight and business penetration. The records of the times prove that while thus engaged he rendered many valuable services, not incident to his stewardship, and also helped to frame a form of government acceptable to adventurers, that met the wishes of the owners as well.

During these days the leading and more thoughtful members of the Society of Friends were casting about them for some "new country" where the adherents to their religious belief could be at peace, and where their persons and estates would be secure from the hands of those who, under the color of law, excused their shameless persecutions.

"The plantations in America" were attracting some attention, and the reports from there as to climate and soil were good. William Penn was at that time a prominent and influential member of the Society, and being one of the trustees of Byllynge; New Jersey was naturally looked to as the spot where their wishes could be realized, and in its settlement they became interested.

The primary object was to sell the land to colonists, or the debts of Edward Byllynge could never be discharged, and to prompt Friends to avail themselves of the opportunity which now offered, a form of government had to be established and promulgated embodying the fundamentals sought for, but not so much at variance with the home policy as to be rejected by those in authority. This was a delicate task, and yet a necessary one, for this wilderness country had but few inducements to cause people to break up their homes and settle here. Passing over *The Concessions and Agreements* published by Berkeley and Carteret, in 1664, as applied to the whole territory of New Jersey; "*The Concessions and Agree-*

ments of the proprietors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the province of West New Jersey in America," as made in 1676, show the success of William Penn and his associates in their first efforts to establish the true basis of a representative government by placing the fountain of power in the people.

These "concessions," contained in forty-four chapters, are the best evidence of the broad views and liberal sentiments of the framers whose object was to secure those who came within their operation and control, against the encroachments and abuses from which they were then suffering. No one can read them without being convinced that men of strong minds and decided purpose only, could so well put their intentions into words.

Touching the vital question of taxation, the subject is met in this plain and direct manner.

CHAPTER XI.

"They are not to impose, or suffer to be imposed, any tax custom or subsidy, tollage, assessment or any other duty whatsoever, upon any colour or pretence, how specious soever, upon the said province and inhabitants thereof, without their own consent first had, or other than what shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the general assembly, and that only in manner and for the good ends and uses as aforesaid."

And again, that of "the exercise of their consciences in matters of religious worship," is neither vague nor ambiguous.

CHAPTER XVI.

"That no man, nor number of men upon earth, hath power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters, therefore it is consented, agreed, and ordained that no person or persons whatsoever within said province at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways, upon any pretence whatever called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his

opinion, judgment, faith or worship towards God in matters of religion, but that all and every such person and persons may from time to time and at all times freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments, and the exercise of their consciences in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province."

In these "concessions and agreements," almost every detail necessary to the proper working of a new system was anticipated and provided for, and as was demonstrated, it only needed a sufficient number of settlers in the colony to warrant its success.

To say that William Penn had neither part nor lot in the production of this document, would be to ignore all knowledge of the man, and his subsequent life of usefulness devoted always to the advancement and benefit of his fellow creatures.

The next step was to agree with Sir George Carteret, upon a line of division of the whole territory, so that no trouble should occur in the taking up and settling of land. The deed to accomplish that object was signed July 1st, 1676, and although sufficient for their present purposes, it ultimately led to much confusion and endless litigation extending nearly to the present time.

In 1681, William Penn with others, purchased the eastern province, and regarding the position of this boundary of but little importance to himself, he avoided the controversy then existing. In 1687, George Keith, Surveyor-General of the eastern division, ran part of this line in the interest of his employers, but much to the dissatisfaction of the western owners, and in 1721, after the death of William Penn, Keith's line was retraced by John Chapman for the Council of the West Jersey proprietors, but accomplished nothing by way of settlement. In 1743, another line was run by John Lawrence, more in conformity with the wording of the original quintipartite deed of 1676, with about the same results.

Soon after the deed from Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick was executed to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and

Nicholas Lucas (February 9th, 1674), and deeds were made by the trustees to other proprietors, a description of the country of which they had become the owners was circulated in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to induce persons to emigrate and settle there. Like John Fenwick, these proprietors indulged in some rather questionable expressions and promises which soon attracted the attention of William Penn and his co-trustees.

They probably had access to John Ogilby's *History of America*, printed in London in 1671, and if they adhered closely to what is therein contained relating to "the plantations in America," it is easy to discover the necessity of a protest on the part of more sober-minded and considerate Friends. This was in the shape of a letter addressed to the members of their society and signed by William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, the trustees. It reads as follows:—

"Dear friends and brethren,

In the pure love and precious fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ we very dearly salute you.

Forasmuch as there was a paper printed several months since, entitled *The description of New Jersey*, in the which, our names were mentioned as trustees for one undivided moiety of the said province; and, because it is alleged that some partly on this account, and others, apprehending that the paper by the manner of its expression came from the body of Friends as a religious society of people and not from particulars, have through these mistakes weakly concluded that the said description in matter and form might be writ, printed, and recommended on purpose to prompt and allure people to dis-settle and transplant themselves as it's also by some alleged.

And, because that we are informed that several have on that account taken encouragement and resolution to transplant themselves and families to the said province, and lest any of them (as is feared by some) should go out of a curious and unsettled mind, and others to show the testimony of the blessed cross of Jesus, of which several weighty Friends have

a goodly jealousy upon their spirits, lest an unwarrantable forwardness should act or hurry any beside or beyond the wisdom and counsel of the Lord, or the freedom of his light and spirit in their own hearts and not upon good and weighty grounds. It truly laid hard upon us to let Friends know how the matter stands, which we shall endeavor to do with all clearness and fidelity.

1. That there is such a *province as New Jersey* is certain.

2. That it is reputed of those who have lived and travelled in that country, to be wholesome of air and fruitful of soil, and capable of sea trade is also certain, and it is not right in any to despise or dispraise it, or dissuade those that find freedom from the Lord and necessity put them upon going.

3. That the Duke of York sold it to those called Lord Berkeley, baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret, equally to be divided between them, is also certain.

4. One *moiety* or half part of the said *province*, being the right of the said Lord Berkeley, was sold by him to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllynge and his assigns.

5. Forasmuch as Edward Byllynge (after William Penn had ended the difference between the said Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick) was willing to present his interest in the said *province* to his creditors, as all that he had left him towards their satisfaction, he desired William Penn (though every way unconcerned), and Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, two of his creditors to be trustees for performance of the same, and because several of his creditors particularly and very importunately pressed William Penn to accept of the trust for their sakes and security. We did all of us comply with those and the like requests, and accepted of the trust.

6. Upon this we became trustees for one moiety of the said *province*, yet undivided; and after no little labor, trouble, and cost, a division was obtained between the said Sir George Carteret and us, as trustees. The country is situated and bounded as is expressed in the printed description.

7. This now divided moiety is to be cast into one hundred parts, lots, or proprietries, ten of which upon the agreement

made betwixt E. Byllynge and J. Fenwick, were settled and conveyed unto J. Fenwick his executors and assigns, with a considerable sum of money, by way of satisfaction for what he became concerned in the purchase from the said Lord Berkeley, and by him afterwards conveyed to John Edridge and Edmond Warner, their heirs and assigns.

8. The ninety parts remaining are exposed to sale on the behalf of the creditors of the said Edward Byllynge. And forasmuch as several Friends are concerned as creditors as well as others, and the disposal of so great a part of this country being in our hands, we did in real tenderness and regard to Friends, and especially to the poor and necessitous, make Friends the first offer, that if any of them, though particularly those that being low in the world and under trials about a comfortable livelihood for themselves and families should be desirous of dealing for any part or parcel thereof that they might have the refusal.

9. This was the real and honest intent of our hearts, and not to prompt or allure any out of their places, either by the credit our names might have with our people throughout the nation, or by representing the thing otherwise than it is in itself.

As for the printed paper some time since set forth by the creditors as a description of that province, we say as to two passages in it, they are not so clearly and safely worded as they ought to have been, particularly in seeming to limit the winter season to so short a time, when on further information, we hear it is sometimes longer and sometimes shorter than therein expressed, and the last clause relating to liberty of conscience, we would not have any think that it is promised or intended to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force and arms; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience, yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience forced against invaders thereof.

10. And be it known unto you all, in the name and fear of Almighty God; his glory and honor, power and wisdom, truth and kingdom is dearer to us than all visible things, and

as our eye has been single and our heart sincere to the living God in this as in other things, so we desire all whom it may concern that all groundless jealousies may be judged down and watched against and that all extremes may be avoided on all hands by the power of the Lord, that nothing which hurts or grieves the holy spirit of truth in any that goes or stays, may be adhered to, nor any provocation given, break precious unity.

This am I, William Penn, moved of the Lord, to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation upon themselves or others, and in offending the Lord, slay their own peace. Blessed are they that can see, and behold him their leader, their orderer, their conductor and preserver, in staying or going. Whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills.

And as we formerly writ, we cannot but repeat our request unto you, that in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended *plantation* such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not readily or rashly conclude on any such remove, and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations, but soberly and conscientiously endeavor to obtain their good wills, the unity of Friends where they live, that whether they go or stay it may be of good favor before the Lord (and good people), from whom only can all heavenly and earthly blessings come.

This we thought good to write for the preventing of all misunderstandings and to declare the real truth of the matter: and so we commend you all to the Lord who is the watchmen of his Israel.

We are your friends and brethren.

WILLIAM PENN,
GAWEN LAWRIE,
NICHOLAS LUCAS."

As much as these three persons wished the land sold and the territory occupied by settlers, they would not consent that any one should be deceived by the extravagant representations of others, apparently sanctioned by themselves.

The closing paragraphs of the foregoing letter are by Wil-

liam Penn himself and prove how solicitous he was that truth should not be over-reached, and unsuspecting persons led astray. It may not be going too far to say that the whole letter, or address, originated in his own sense of the duty he owed to those around him, and who placed so much faith in his acts and his opinions.

Another source of solicitude among the older Friends was the many letters sent from the colony by those who had already settled there, to their friends and relatives at home; describing the advantages of the country in climate and productiveness. Some of these letters found their way into print, and created considerable excitement among such as were inclined to remove thither, and as was feared inducing them to take a step that might result in great injury and loss.

Samuel Smith, in his history of New Jersey, copied several of these letters to prove how much the new-comers were pleased with the country, and in what flattering terms they spoke of it in their correspondence.

Richard Hartshorne, a Friend in whom William Penn placed great confidence, and who removed to Middletown, Monmouth County, East Jersey in 1669, and settled there, indulged in some florid descriptions in regard to the territory, and its many advantages; thus tempting some of his friends to break up their homes and follow in his footsteps. In proof of this, one of his letters written in 1675 is here copied.

“Dear friend. My love is to thee, and thy wife, desiring your welfare, both inward and outward, and that we may be found steadfast in that truth which is saving, for the welfare of our immortal souls. And dear friend the desire of my soul is, that we may know true love, and I should be glad to see thee and thy wife. And I have partly a remembrance of thy wife. And I have thought on thee many times with tears in my eyes, and the Lord hath done wonderous works for me, unto him I return thanks and praises, who is God over all Blessed forever.

Now friend I shall give thee something of an information concerning *New Jersey*, but time will not permit me to write

at length. Thou desirest to know how I live; through the goodness of the Lord I live very well, keeping between 30 and 40 head of cows, and 7 or 8 horses or mares to ride upon, &c. There are 7 towns settled in this province (viz) Shrewsbury and Middletown upon the sea-side and along the river-side, and up the creeks there is Piscataway and Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newwake and Bergane, most of these towns having about 100 families, and the least 40. The country is very healthful, &c. In Middletown where I live, in 6 years and upwards there have died but one woman about 80 years old, one man about 60, a boy about five years old, and one little infant or two; there are in this town, in twenty-five families about 95 children most of them under 12 years of age, and all lusty children.

The produce of this province is chiefly Wheat, Barly, Oats, Beans, Beef, Pork, Pease, Tobacco, *Indian* corn, Butter, Cheese, Hemp and Flax, French beans, Strawberries, Carrots, Parsnips, Cabbage, Turnips, Radishes, Onions, Cucumbers, Watermellons, Muskmellons, Squashes. Also our soil is very fertile for Apples, Pears, Plums, Quinces, Currants, red and white, Gooseberries, Cherries and Peaches in abundance, having all sorts of green trash in the summer-time and the country is greatly supplied with creeks and rivers which afford store of Fish: Perch, Roach, Baste, Sheepshead, Oysters, Clams, Crabs, Sturgeon, Eels, and many other sorts of fish that I do not name; you may buy as much fish of an *Indian* for a half a pound of powder as will serve 6 or 8 men; Deer also are very plenty in this province; we can buy a fat buck of the *Indians* much bigger than the English deer for a pound and half of Powder or Lead, or any other trade equivalent, and a peck of Strawberries the *Indians* will gather, and bring home to us for the value of 6d, and our Beef and Pork is very fat and good; the natural grass of the country is much like that which grows in the woods in *England*, which is food enough for our cattle, but by the waters side we have fresh meadows and salt mashes; we make good *English* bread and beer, besides we have several other sorts of drink, and travelling in the country and coming to any house, they generally

ask you to eat and drink and take Tobacco, and their several sorts of drink they will offer you as confidently as if it were Sack.

Here an abundance of Chestnuts, Walnuts, Mulberries, and Grapes; red and white, our Horses and Mares run in the woods, and we give them no meal winter nor summer unless we work them, but our Cows must be looked after; our timber stands for fences about the lands we manure; we plough our land with Oxen for the most part; a Husbanman here and in old *England* is all one, making most of our utensils for Husbandry ourselves, and a man that has 3 or 4 sons or servants that can work along with him will down with Timber amain, and get Corn quickly. The best coming to this Country is at the Spring or Fall; we make our Soap and Candles and all such things ourselves; in the Winter we make good fires, and eat good meat; and our women and children are healthy; Sugar is cheap; Venison, Geese, Turkeys, Pidgeons, Fowle and Fish plenty, and one great happiness we enjoy which is we are very quiet. I could give thee more information concerning this Country but time will not give leave.

In short, this is a rare place for any poor man, or others, and I am satisfied people may live better here than they do in old *England*, and eat more good meat, &c. The vessel is going away, I have not time to copy this over, therefore take the sense of it; my love salute thee, farewell.

RICHARD HARTSHORNE

NEW JESSIE, MIDDLETON, 12 of the 9th month, 1675."

Much dissatisfaction was created by the Governor of New York, who required the payment of a tax of five per cent., on the value of all goods brought by the emigrants to West Jersey; which was demanded upon the arrival of the ships in the Delaware River and before any goods could be landed. By the proprietors this was looked upon as an assumption of power, entirely unauthorized and contrary to the grants as made by the Duke and those holding under him.

These Customs were always paid under protest, and special inquiries were sent to London to know of those in authority by whose direction such measures were enforced.

The emigrants generally had no merchantable goods, and only brought such as were necessary for their immediate wants. They were in most instances unable to pay the demand and felt it to be especially oppressive and intolerant.

The attention of the Trustees and proprietors in England was called to this matter at once, but three years passed away before anything was accomplished. William Penn was especially interested in this question, and with others succeeded in showing that the wrong was so palpable that measures were at last taken to remove the tax. The familiarity of William Penn with the meaning and spirit of the grants, and his influence at Court are again shown in this instance. He joined with George Hutchinson and others in an address to the Duke's Commissioners, extracts of which are here given, showing their knowledge of the subject and the force of their arguments.

"To those of the Dukes Commissioners whom he has ordered to hear, and make report to him concerning the Customs demanded in New West Jersey in America by his Governor of New York.

1st. The King has granted to the Duke of York a tract of land in America consisting of several Indian countries with such powers and authorities as are requisite to make laws, and to govern and preserve the territory when planted. But with this restriction twice expressed and several times referred to, viz:

'So always as the said statutes, ordinances and proceedings be not contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws, statutes and government of this our realm of England.' In another thus: *'And further it may be lawful for our dearest brother, his heirs and assigns by these presents to make ordain and establish all manner of orders, Laws, directions, instruments, and forms of government and magistrates fit and necessary for the territory aforesaid. But still with this limitation, "so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereto."*

2nd. The Duke of York by virtue of this grant from the King to him, for a competent sum of money (paid by the

Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret) granted and sold to them a tract of land called now by the name of New Cesarea or New Jersey, and that in as ample manner as it was granted by the King to the Duke.

Thus then we come to buy the moiety which belonged to Lord Berkeley for a valuable consideration, and in the conveyance he made to us, *powers of government are expressly granted*, for that only could have induced us to buy it, and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men the government of any place is more inviting than the soil, for what is good land without good laws, the better, the worse.

And if we could not assure people of an easy and free and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property, that is an uninterrupted liberty of conscience and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms by a just and wise government, a meer wilderness would be no encouragement, for it would be madness to leave a free good and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure. This single consideration we hope will excuse our desire of the government, not asserted for the sake of power but safety, and that not only ourselves, but others, that the plantation might be encouraged.

3rd. The Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret considering how much freedom invites, that they might encourage people to transport themselves into these parts, made and divulged certain concessions containing a model of government. Upon these several went and are there planted; the Country was thus possessed and the said government uninterruptedly administered by the said Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; or their deputy's for several years, during which time no custom was demanded.

4th. We dealt with the said Lord Berkeley upon the sight of these concessions, and the presumption that neither he nor Sir George Carteret would attempt to act anything they had no power to do, much less that they or either of them would pretend to sell a power they never had, since that would not

only be a cheat to the people that dealt with them for it, but an high affront to the Duke.

5th. The moiety of New Cesarea or New Jersey thus bought of the said Lord Berkeley, we disposed of part of our interest to several hundreds of people, honest and industrious, these transport themselves, and with them such household stuff and tools as are requisite for planters to have. They have at Delaware bay the bounds of the Country we bought, the passage God and nature made to it; at their arrival they are saluted with a demand for custom, of five per cent., and that not as the goods may be there worth but according to the invoice as they cost before shipped in England; nor did they take them as they come, but at pick and chose with some severe language to boot. This is our grievance, and for this we make our application to have speedy redress, not as a burthen only with respect to the quantum or the way of levying it or any circumstances made hard by the irregularities of the offices, *but as a wrong*, for we complain of a wrong done us and ask yet with modesty, *quo jure?*, &c. &c. &c. . . .

To conclude this point we humbly say that we have not lost any part of our liberty by leaving our Country, for we have not lost our King, nor our government by quitting our soil, but we transplant to a place given by the same King, with express limitations to erect no policy contrary to the same established government, but as near as may be to it, &c. &c. . . .

And the conclusion is this, that for all these reasons in law equity and prudence alleged, you would please to second our request to the Duke, that like himself, he would void this taxation and put the Country in such an English and free condition, that he may be as well loved and honored as feared by all the inhabitants of his territory; that being great in their affections, he may be great by their industry, which will yield him that wealth, that parent of power, that he may be as great a prince by property as by title."

Shortly after this paper had been laid before the Commissioners, steps were taken to release the emigrants from this onerous claim, and instructions were sent to Peter Alricks,

the Collector of Customs in the Delaware River to make no further demand of persons going to settle in West New Jersey.

Samuel Jennings, who was afterwards deputy governor by appointment from Edward Byllynge, was in the first ship allowed to pass up the river freed from these payments; and in a letter to the trustees, dated October 17th, 1680 (about six weeks after his arrival), among other things informed them of this important fact.

The money transactions between William Penn and John Fenwick are involved in some mystery; yet it is evident William Penn was a large creditor of Fenwick and fearful of being a loser by him. Neither had he the fullest confidence in his integrity, as is shown by the tone of a letter dated August 18th, 1676, from the trustees and Edmond Warner in England to James Wasse, Richard Hartshorne, and Richard Guy in New Jersey, concerning the division of territory with John Fenwick and those associated with him.

A few days after the date of the before named letter, another was specially addressed to Richard Hartshorne by the same persons with the name of John Edridge added, intimating the same distrust of John Fenwick and fear of his influence. One passage is here quoted to that point, "for Richard Guy we judge him to be an honest man, yet we are afraid that John Fenwick will hurt him, and get him to condescend to things that may not be for the good of the whole, so we hope thou wilt balance him to what is just and fair, that John Fenwick betray him not, that things may go on easy, without hurt or jar."

These letters relate more particularly to the position and extent of the ten lots assigned to John Fenwick and which it is more than intimated he was disposed to enlarge. The vague and uncertain description of these lots was calculated to lead to trouble, and Fenwick may have been unjustly suspected of taking advantage thereof. Be that as it may it was the source of much solicitude to William Penn and his associates, as it prevented them from making sales of land near where Fenwick claimed under the grant from them.

This extension of boundary however only applies to the southern part, as Oldmans Creek or Berkeley River on the north was accepted and has remained the boundary of the Salem tenth from the first.

The conveyance made by John Fenwick to John Edridge and Edmond Warner (July 17th, 1675) of his ten lots to secure the payment of £110. 15. 00, with its interest, complicated and endangered the security or payment of Penn's claim. Their conduct was inexcusable, as their deed was in the nature of a mortgage, but under the common law and in the absence of a Court of Chancery in the Colony the default in payment at date became a forfeiture of which they were disposed to take advantage, and claim the entire estate, although they had been partly paid, with a tender of the remainder of their claim.

William Penn became involved in this controversy, which was fierce and unrelenting for a long time, but was eventually compromised and settled much to the relief of other and larger creditors. This transaction has always been involved in mystery, but the arrangement of the facts in chronological order may throw some light upon it.

February 10th, 1674, John Fenwick received the title to his ten parts in severalty; the same day he released the undivided ninety parts to Penn, Lawrie and Lucas. July 19th, 1675, he conveyed to John Edridge and Edmond Warner his said ten parts to secure the payment of one hundred and ten pounds and fifteen shillings, being money he owed them, and to secure the payment of other debts due from him to several persons, which the said Edridge and Warner assumed to see discharged. This conveyance excepted such portions of his said ten parts as he had previously conveyed. The deed contains a covenant that the grantees had the right to sell so much of said land as would be sufficient to pay said debts, and if there be any overplus the same was to be paid to Fenwick or his assigns.

John Edridge sold his interest to Edmond Warner July 25th, 1682, under the same limitations, and Warner conveyed said Edridge's share (and 4500 acres, part of 10,000 acres Fenwick had conveyed to said Warner June 2d, 1675) to James

Wasse August 9th, 1682. Edmond Warner conveyed his original or remaining undivided one half of said ten parts to William Penn September 6th, 1682, and about six months after (March 23d, 1682) John Fenwick conveyed to William Penn all his remaining interest in said ten parts, thus placing William Penn in possession of Warner's interest and also of Fenwick's undivided remaining right and estate in the said ten parts.

James Wasse conveyed his undivided one half and the 4500 acres to Edward Byllynge April 25th, 1683; Byllynge died intestate and the same passed to his two daughters as his heirs at law. They conveyed to Daniel Coxe February 26th, 1686, and he to his son Daniel Coxe July 29th, 1701, and he to William Penn April 21st, 1707.

It will therefore be seen that by the deed from Edmond Warner of September 6th, 1682, the deed from John Fenwick March 23d, 1682, and the deed from Daniel Coxe April 21st, 1707, William Penn had extinguished the claims of these grantors to any and all unsold and unlocated lands within the bounds of the Salem tenth. This put an end to a much embittered litigation and placed the title on a basis by which purchasers could secure the land freed from the cloud that had so long hung about it.

Another peculiarity touching this transaction may be seen in the deed of the Duke of York made August 6th, 1680. In the war between England and "the states of the United provinces of the Netherlands," the British territories in America went into possession of the Dutch by conquest, but were restored under a treaty afterward made between the contending parties. To avoid any uncertainty in relation to the title, that might arise, the King made a second deed to the Duke of York for all the lands he had before conveyed to him.

August 6th, 1680, the Duke of York also made a new conveyance to Edward Byllynge, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas for the ninety parts and to John Edridge and Edmond Warner for the ten parts, thus entirely ignoring John Fenwick as in any way interested in the said

ten parts. The effect of this was to strengthen Edridge and Warner in their claims of absolute ownership, and increase the difficulty of Fenwick to prove that their deed carried with it the equity of redemption, and which by the payment of their debt had restored the title and possession to himself.

The quit-rent clause found in most of the ancient deeds was a peculiar feature, and sometimes in later days cast a shadow upon the title. In the ten parts assigned to John Fenwick they varied, and in some instances were odd and apparently insignificant. They read in this wise: "Three skepples of winter wheat to be delivered on every 29th day of September unto William Penn, Samuel Hedge, John Smith, and Richard Tindall, during the minority of the heirs of the said John Fenwick dec.," also, "yielding and paying one ear of Indian corn every year to the Lord of the fee," or, "two fatt hens to be delivered each year if demanded," also, "two bushels of winter wheat, or twenty shadd each year in proper season."

These had their importance in the early settlements of the country, for the quit-rent lists were annually made out and levied upon the owners of the soil in the same manner and with the same power of exaction, as the annual tax authorized to be levied and collected by those administering the government of the Province.

In the sale of the land purchased by William Penn of John Fenwick in 1682, by James Nevell as attorney, the same quit-rent clause was introduced in the deeds. Much of this land was sold to the Swedes and Finns and Dutch, whose parents and ancestors already occupied the estate conveyed to them by John Fenwick. Nominal as these quit-rents were, they came to be onerous and distasteful to the owners, many of whom demurred or refused to continue the said annual payment. James Nevell encountered much opposition in their collection, so much so that he called the attention of William Penn to the fact. Finding the representations of his agent correct, the complainants were requested to meet the Proprietor at Salem and hear his explanations and intentions upon the questions involved. In addition to the meet-

ing James Nevell was directed to give notice that a dinner would be provided, which proved to be an inducement for more to appear, as they could by this means come in contact with this distinguished person, and exchange their views with the man whose reputation for honesty and fair dealing was world wide.

The dinner was an attractive feature at this interview as it was intended to be, and shows that diplomacy was not altogether absent in the arrangements. The weak points of men may be reached through different channels, and a careful student of human nature seldom fails when these points are to be traced and taken advantage of.

Here was a class of persons to be approached who were uneducated, but honest and well intentioned, who could not understand why the annual demand was made of them, after they had paid full consideration for the land when the title was delivered. Their difficulty was appreciated by William Penn and also by his attorney James Nevell, and it was considered proper to stimulate their good natures and to secure their good opinions before negotiations could be hinted at.

The entertainment at which the Proprietor presided was enjoyed by these rustic people, and the toothsome viands and palatable liquors softened their feeling and modified their views so much, that the existing troubles were soon adjusted and a permanent agreement reached which continued in force as long as quit rents were recognized in the colony. The governor of Pennsylvania was on this occasion received by the people of Salem with every mark of respect due his honorable position, and their reverence for his exalted character, and the event which brought him there became an era in the history of the little community; a point of time to and from which other incidents in that region were measured as to date, and to this day no talk about the early history of Fenwick's Colony is complete, until the story of Governor Penn's visit to Salem and the various incidents therewith connected have been related.

The large interests of William Penn in the proprietaries of West New Jersey entitled him to rights or unlocated acres

under each dividend as made by the Council of Proprietors from time to time, and he turned these rights to value by making surveys in various parts of this division. To show the extent of his interest in this direction lists of his surveys are here given.

In 1706 he located twenty-three different surveys, containing 10,479 acres of land, in Gloucester County. His deputy surveyor was Thomas Sharp. The same year he located five surveys, containing 27,653 acres of land, in Salem County. Benjamin Acton was the deputy surveyor.

In 1712, 1715, and 1716, he located nineteen surveys, containing 42,563 acres of land, "above the falls" (Trenton), lying between the river Delaware and the Province line. John Reading, Jr., John Chapman, Richard Bull, and Samuel Green were the deputy surveyors employed by him. Much trouble grew out of the situation and boundaries of these last named, by reason of "squatters" on the land; contact with other surveys and the indefinite and uncertain description of lines.

After his death his sons John, Thomas, and Richard applied the rights to which his estate was entitled in the same manner. In 1737 and 1738 there were returned in their names two surveys, containing 1899 acres of land, in Salem County by James Alexander the Surveyor-General, and in 1742 and 1743, eight surveys were made to them, containing 10,000 acres of land, situate in Gloucester County, also by the Surveyor-General, James Alexander.

In 1749 and 1750, Thomas and Richard Penn located two surveys, containing 25,959 acres of land, in Salem County; in 1753 they made one survey of 384 acres of land in Gloucester County; and in 1755 they made one survey of 9026 acres of land in Cumberland County, James Alexander, S. G., making the returns.

In 1773 Governor Richard Penn located ten surveys, containing 458 acres of land, in Burlington County, and in 1775 he also made one survey, containing 11,993 acres of land, in Sussex County; Robert Smith and Daniel Smith were the deputies.

This last-named survey was made in the "angle," being on

part of the territory embraced between the lines of dispute of East and West New Jersey, one known as Keith's line and the other known as Laurance's line, starting from the same point at Little Egg Harbor, but diverging as they run north leaving a large amount of land between them. This land, by an arrangement between the East and West Jersey proprietors, could be located on what is known as "angle rights," but was a constant source of litigation on account of the uncertainty of the true division boundary of the two provinces.

These extensive tracts of land required much attention, to keep off trespassers, to have the tax assessments properly made and discharged according to law, to see that persons making adjoining locations observed the lines of the "Penn surveys" as their own, to prevent the destruction of the timber by fire, and other things connected therewith, which necessitated the employment of agents in different parts of the Colony who reported to Governor Penn and were controlled by his instructions.

The apostacy of George Keith first showed itself in Philadelphia in 1691, during the absence of William Penn from the Province. This controversy, which shook the Society of Friends to its foundation, was continued by this talented but erratic man and his admirers through the yearly meetings and the subordinate meetings of the society both of the Colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and in England, until 1695, when he was disowned.

William Penn must have been familiar with this controversy and solicitous about the issue, and must have seen its baneful effects upon the cause of religion and morality. His business intercourse with George Keith, which extended through several years, gave him some knowledge of the temperament and prejudices of the man, and enabled him to judge of his ability for good or evil.

As William Penn returned to England in 1684 after his first visit to Pennsylvania, and did not arrive here again until 1699, he was absent during the greatest excitement caused by this dispute, and only participated in it when the

several parties were heard before the yearly meeting in London. He had left Pennsylvania a second time before George Keith, clothed with authority from another religious body to preach the gospel and propagate the tenets of the established church, returned to America. He was welcomed in West New Jersey by many who had been faithful adherents of the Society of Friends, but now estranged therefrom, and so remained ever after; to the building up of another denomination whose influence and usefulness are felt in every community.

That the moral and religious influence of William Penn was felt throughout the Colony of West New Jersey is evident to every one. His letters to John Fenwick in the controversy with Edward Byllynge show that while faithfully adhering to the right, he always counselled to peace and good-will.

When the fundamental principles for a representative government come to be discussed and applied, his comprehensive mind compassed the whole subject and left its impress upon the "concessions and agreements" in a manner and to a purpose which will never be erased or forgotten. New and untried as this system was, no material points passed unnoticed, freedom of religious opinion, security from illegal arrest, no assessment of taxes without representation, open and lawful trial by jury, and many other safeguards to the citizen as significant and attractive as those already named, originated with him, or received his approval.

In the proper application of these principles or of the administration of the laws that made them operative, the commissioners and trustees had much to do, and make the system acceptable to all.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 222.)

YEATES—LATHIM—MEDFORD—MCCALL—INGLIS—BARKLY—
HERING—DOW.

125. ELIZABETH YEATES,⁵ daughter of George and Mary (Donaldson) Yeates, was born near New Castle on Delaware, February 10, 1731-2. She married (Register of Immanuel Church, New Castle), October 22, 1761, James Lathim, a merchant of Philadelphia, dealing in rum, sugar, tea, coffee, chocolate, spices, and so forth. Mr. Lathim was then in partnership with a Mr. Read, and conducted his business at "stores a few doors above the draw-bridge, in Water Street," whither they had removed, the previous spring, from "Mr. Joseph Sims's wharf."* This relation was dissolved the following May, and Mr. Lathim continued his traffic on "Penrose's wharf, near the draw-bridge."† He afterwards had William Jackson for a partner, trading under the style of "Lathim and Jackson." He signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765. His will was dated at Philadelphia, January 24, 1766, and was admitted to probate May 14. Mrs. Lathim survived her husband and removed to Kent County, Maryland, where she resided with her brother, Donaldson Yeates. She died December 18, 1795. Mr. and Mrs. Lathim had four children:

289. JOHN, b. September 3, 1762; d. unm. January 11, 1811.

290. GEORGE, b. November 13, 1763; d. in infancy, before his father.

291. MARY, b. January 18, 1765; d. in infancy, before her father.

292. ELIZABETH, b. March 6, 1766. She m. (Register of Immanuel Church, New Castle), December 18, 1791, George Medford, son of Marma-

* See their advertisement in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1761.

† Notice, *ibid.*, May 14, 1762.

duke and Hannah Medford, of Kent County, Maryland, who d. in 1804. Mrs. Medford d. July 9, 1827, leaving issue.*

127. CATHARINE MCCALL,⁵ daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born, it is presumed, in Philadelphia, Pa., where she was brought up by her parents, and married October 16, 1736, to John Inglis, a native of Scotland, who came to our city from the West Indian Island of Nevis, where he had followed the business of merchant.† Mr. Inglis pursued the same career in Philadelphia in partnership with his wife's brother-in-law and cousin, Samuel McCall, Senior, and attained very honorable distinction in the commercial and social relations of life. He was elected a Common-Council-man of our city October 1, and qualified November 11, 1745. January 1, 1747-8, he was commissioned Captain of the First Company of the Associated Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia, of which his kinsman Samuel McCall was chosen Major, and was a fellow-private in the Association Battery Company of Philadelphia of 1756 with Mrs. Inglis's brother Archibald McCall and brother-in-law William Plumsted. During the absence of Collector Abraham Taylor, from 1751 to 1753, he served as Deputy-Collector of our Port. He was added March 13, 1756, to a Commission consisting of Commissary-General Robert Leake,‡ Edward Shippen, Samuel Morris, Alexander

* Her daughter, Hannah Medford, married her cousin, Peregrine Wethered, son of John and Mary (Sykes) Wethered, hereafter spoken of.

† See *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, October 16, 1736.

‡ Robert Leake was born in Calder, Lanarkshire, Scotland, in 1720. About 1739 he entered the Horse Guards, in which he served until the battle of Dettingen, where his horse was shot under him, and, falling on him, broke one of his legs. On his return to England he became an out-door pensioner of Chelsea Hospital. In 1745 he obtained a Second Lieutenant's commission in one of the new regiments raised to repel the invasion of the young Pretender. In the following year, as a reward for his services, he was appointed Commissary of the British forces at Cape Breton, where he stayed until 1748. He then returned to England, and remained there until ordered to America as Commissary-General for Braddock's Expedition. After Braddock's defeat he was appointed Commissary-General of the forces in North America, and directed to make his headquarters at New York, where he

Stedman, and his brother-in-law, Samuel McCall, Junior, appointed by Lieut.-Gov. Robert Hunter Morris, at the desire of Maj.-General William Shirley, "to audit, adjust, and settle the accounts" of certain owners of horses and wagons, contracted for by Benjamin Franklin and lost in the service under General Braddock, a duty which occupied him for a month.* His name, with those of his brothers-in-law, Samuel and Archibald McCall, John and Joseph Swift, Willing, Morris & Co., William Coxe, Hugh Donnaldson, John Nixon, and other merchants of Philadelphia, is appended to an ineffectual remonstrance presented to Lieut.-Gov. James Hamilton against an Act of Assembly, passed March 14, 1761, "for laying a duty on Negroes and Mulattoe Slaves imported into this Province," the reasons they allege being "the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd, for some time past, for want of Labourers and artificers, by numbers being inlisted for His Majesty's Service, and near a total Stop to the importation of German and other white Servants," and the "hardships" they would "Labour under by such a Law taking immediate effect," when it was not in their power to countermand orders already issued for the importation of negroes, or advise their friends of the event.† Mr. Inglis signed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765. He became a Member of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia at its organization in 1749, and succeeded Governor Morris as President of the association. He was one of the four Direc-

acquired a handsome fortune, engaging in private commercial ventures as his official duties would permit. His first wife died in England. In 1764 he married Ann, widow of Christopher Bancker, and daughter of John Leake, of the Hermitage, N. Y. He died at his country-seat in the Bowery December 31, 1774, and was buried with military honours in his father-in-law's vault in Trinity Churchyard. Out of the estate of his son, John George Leake, was founded the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum in New York.

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. ii. pp. 598-9 and 638-9. Mr. Inglis was also named in a letter of Maj.-Gen. Amherst to Lieut.-Gov. William Denny, dated "New York, 30th March, 1759," as a proper person to inspect and report on "outstanding Accounts of Expences incurred" the previous year "in the Expedition against Fort Duquesne." (*Min. Prov. Council*, April 6, 1759.)

† The petition appears in *Min. Prov. Council*, February 28, 1761.

tors of the First Dancing Assembly of our city, held in 1748* (the other gentlemen being Lynford Lardner,† John Wallace,‡ and John Swift§), and a constant subscriber to similar balls in later years. He was one of the contributors to the completion of the building of Christ Church, in Philadelphia, in 1739. Mrs. Inglis died in this city, and was buried December 22, 1750, in Christ Church Ground. Mr. Inglis died here also, August 20, 1775, and was buried with Mrs. Inglis.¶ The following obituary notice of him appeared in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* issued that week: "On Sunday morning last, after a lingering and painful indisposition, which he supported with great equanimity, died John Inglis, Esq., of this city, in the 68th year of his age; a gentleman who early acquired, and maintained to the last, the character of a truly honest man. Possessing a liberal and independent spirit, despising everything which he thought unbecoming a gentleman, attentive to business, frugal but yet elegant in his œconomy, he lived superior to the world, beloved and respected as an useful citizen, an agreeable companion, a sincere

* The original List of the Subscribers and Regulations for this Assembly are in the possession of our Historical Society. The former is printed in *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, pp. 6-7.

† A Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, who purchased land of Peter Keen (26), on the river Delaware, still owned by his descendants.

‡ Son of the Rev. John Wallace, Minister of Drummelzier, County Peebles, Scotland, where he was born, and from whence he emigrated in 1742 to Philadelphia, removing afterwards to Hope Farm, in Somerset County, New Jersey. For his very illustrious lineage see Burke's *Royal Descents*, ped. xvi. His great-grandson, John William Wallace, Esq., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, married a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

§ Elder brother of Joseph Swift, who m. Mrs. Inglis's sister Margaret McCall (136), second husband to Magdalen Kollock, widow of Mrs. Inglis's brother Jasper McCall (128), and brother-in-law of Matthias Keen, of Tacony (66).

¶ A portrait of Mr. Inglis, painted by Charles Wilson Peale about 1770 for the City Dancing Assembly, is in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Joshua Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia. His rope-walk was occupied for many years by Messrs. Joseph Blewer and George Ord, referred to in this MAGAZINE, vol. iv. p. 258.

friend, and an excellent father of a family." Mr. and Mrs. Inglis had eleven children, probably all born in Philadelphia:

293. ANNE, bapt. (Christ Church Register, Philadelphia) September 14, 1737, aged five weeks. She m. (*ibid.*) December 31, 1761, Gilbert Barkly, a kinsman of Alexander Barclay, whose daughter Patience became the second wife of Reynold Keen (85). Mr. Barkly first arrived in our city about 1755, and became engaged in mercantile pursuits. He is mentioned in a letter from Lord London to Governor Denny, dated "New York, April 19th, 1757,"* as "having proposed to Hire and fitt out a Vessel," and load her "with Wine, Liquors, and other Necessaries for the use of the Troops" under the command of the writer, who desires the Governor to suffer the clearing out of the ship from Philadelphia that she might proceed under convoy to New York. While here Mr. Barkly joined an Independent Company of Foot, organized in 1756, which included among its members Mrs. Inglis's brother George McCall, and brother-in-law Andrew Elliot. A year or so after this he visited England. He became a Member of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia in 1762, and his name heads the list of the Subscribers to the Mount Regale Fishing Company for 1763,† which comprised many of the gentlemen mentioned in this genealogy. About 1765 Mr. Barkly went to Quebec, but in 1773 was once more in Philadelphia, where he remained until the period of the Revolution, when he retired to Scotland. He left issue.
294. GEORGE, bapt. (*ibid.*) April 23, 1739, aged two weeks; bur. in Christ Church Ground, April 25, 1739.
295. MARGARET, bapt. (*ibid.*) March 9, 1739-40, aged six days; bur. *ibid.* August 7, 1741.
296. ARCHIBALD, who d. in infancy, and was bur. *ibid.* April 1, 1741.
297. MARY, bapt. (*ibid.*) April 30, 1742, aged ten weeks. She was m. by the Rev. Richard Peters, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, April 2, 1761, to Captain Julines Hering, a wealthy planter of the Island of Jamaica, descended, according to Burke's *Commoners*,‡ "through the lines of Oxenbridge, Throckmorton, Nevil, Beauchamp, and Le Despencer, from Edmund Plantagenet, of Langley, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III.," King of England. They had issue.§

* Given in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. iii. p. 138.

† For which, as well as a bill of fare of one of their entertainments, see *Letters and Papers*, etc., just cited, p. xx., note.

‡ Art. "Beckford, of Fonthill."

§ For the descendants of their daughter Anna Maria Hering, who married John Lumley-Savile, Seventh Earl of Scarborough, and of their daughter Eleanor Hering, who married Sir John Peniston Milbanke, Seventh Baronet (cousin-german to Lady Byron), see Burke's *Peerage and Baron-*

298. JOHN, b. March 20, 1742-3. He became a captain in the merchant service of Philadelphia, commanding the ship *St. George*, registered in our city November 9, 1773,* and afterwards obtained a commission as Captain in the Royal Navy, in which he attained the rank of Rear-Admiral. He m. Barbara —, and lived at Red Hall, near Edinburgh, Scotland.† He was elected an Honorary Member of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia.
299. DAVID, b. July 10, 1744; bur. in Christ Church Ground, January 4, 1744-5.
300. SAMUEL, b. November 3, 1745. He resided in Philadelphia, following his father's pursuit of merchant. He was elected a Member of the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse in March, 1777, but took no part in its campaigns. He contributed £2000 to the National Bank established in Philadelphia in June, 1780, to supply the American Army with provisions at that juncture of the Revolution. He m. Ann Renald, of Virginia, by whom he had issue, and d. in our city September 14, 1783, being bur. in Christ Church Ground. Mrs. Inglis survived her husband, and afterwards m. Doctor James Currie. She d. by 1797.
301. CATHARINE, b. September 10, 1746; bur. in Christ Church Ground, June 29, 1747.
302. CATHARINE, bapt. (Christ Church Register, Philadelphia) October 26, 1749. She lived with her cousin-german Margaret, daughter of Samuel and Anne (Searle) McCall, for fifty years, the greater part of the time at No. 91 Pine Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, Philadelphia, and d. unm. July 10, 1821. They are bur. in the same tomb, "sacred to Friendship," in Christ Church Ground, bearing the legend: "United through life: united in the grave."
303. GEORGE. He resided in Abington, Montgomery Co., Pa., and d. unm. in 1833.‡

128. JASPER McCALL,⁵ son of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born, it is presumed, in Philadelphia, Pa. He became engaged in commerce, and in 1741, the year after his

tage, and similar authorities. Another daughter, Mary Helen Perring, married the Hon. Henry Middleton (son of the Hon. Arthur Middleton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence for South Carolina, for an account of whom see this MAGAZINE, vol. iii. pp. 314 *et seq.*), Member of the Legislature and Governor of South Carolina, Member of Congress, and United States Minister to Russia. Portraits of Captain and Mrs. Hering are in the possession of Mr. Middleton's daughter, Mrs. Fisher. The family of the latter are included in a work soon to appear, entitled *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania from 1733 to 1776 and their Descendants*.

* *Penna. Archives*, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 663.

† So Mr. Balch, *Letters and Papers, etc.*, p. lxxxii.

‡ *Ibid.*

father's death, his name is found appended to an agreement to receive certain foreign coins at stated valuations, signed by his uncle John Yeates, his brothers-in-law, John Inglis and Samuel McCall, Senior, Joseph and Edward Shippen, Charles Willing, Richard Nixon, Clement Plumsted, William Moore, and other prominent merchants of our city.* He married (Register of Christ Church, Philadelphia), October 10, 1745, Magdalen, daughter of Jacob Kollock, of Lewes, in Sussex County on Delaware,† born about 1724. Mr. McCall died in Philadelphia, in August, 1747,‡ and was buried the 26th in Christ Church Ground. Mrs. McCall survived her husband, and married, May 20, 1749, John Swift, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia from 1762 to 1771, and brother-in-law of Matthias Keen, son of John and Susannah (Steelman) Keen, already spoken of (66), whose brother Joseph Swift subsequently married Mr. McCall's sister Margaret.§ Mrs. Swift died at Mr. Swift's country-seat

* Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. xcv.

† Son of Jacob Kollock, of Lewes, Sussex County (where the father's name occurs as early as 1689), born about 1693. "In 1727 he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace, and Register of Wills for Sussex County, and soon after was chosen Representative from Lewes in the Assembly of the Three Lower Counties; he was annually re-elected until his death, a period of forty years, and from 1760 to 1765 occupied the Speaker's chair. In addition to his seat in the Assembly, he held for nearly the same length of time the offices of President-Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Treasurer of the County, Trustee of the Loan Office, and Clerk of the Orphans' Court. He was also the Colonel of the Sussex Regiment of Militia, of which his son, Jacob Kollock, Jun., was a Lieutenant." (*N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record*, vol. viii. p. 184, q. v.)

‡ His death (from a malignant fever) is mentioned in a letter of John Swift (who afterwards married his widow) to Mr. Swift's uncle, John White, in London, dated August 29, given in the *Letters and Papers* frequently cited, pp. 9-10, as well as in one from Secretary Richard Peters to the Proprietaries, September 4, printed in *Penna. Archives*, vol. i. pp. 768-9. "The last week," says Mr. Peters, "produced something extremely shocking. Mrs. Kearsley, young Joseph Turner, Mr. Jesse McCall, Mr. Andrew Hamilton, & Mr. Curry were all attack'd Sunday or Monday, & they all Died and were buried within the week, except Mr. Curry, who is since Dead." See, also, Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. cii.

§ By whom she had issue, one of her descendants marrying a grandson of John and Mary (Crathorne) Montgomery (229).

known as "Croydon Lodge," in Bucks County, Pa., March 27, 1790, aged sixty-seven years, and was buried in St. James's Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, Bristol. Mr. and Mrs. McCall had one child:

304. MARY, bur. in Christ Church Ground, July 1, 1747.

129. ANNE McCALL,⁵ daughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 7, 1720. She was married in our city, May 28, 1737, to her cousin-german, Samuel McCall, son of Samuel McCall, a prosperous merchant of Glasgow, Scotland, engaged in the Virginia trade,* by his first wife Isabel, daughter of William Blackburne, also a merchant of Glasgow, by his wife Margaret Murdock. Mr. McCall was born in Scotland, October 8, 1710, and, on joining the family of his uncle George McCall in Philadelphia, entered into a commercial partnership with Mr. McCall's son-in-law, Mr. John Inglis, distinguishing himself from his brother-in-law, Samuel McCall, by adopting the style of "Senior." He took an active part in association for the defence of the city and Province against anticipated attacks of French and Spanish enemies of Great Britain, necessitated by the apathetic attitude of the Quaker element of our General Assembly, and in November, 1747, acted as one of the Managers of a lottery instituted for the purpose of obtaining money to construct a fortification to command the river approaches to the city, known as the "Association Battery," on the recent site of the United States Navy Yard in Southwark. On the organization of the Associated Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia, he was commissioned, January 1, 1747-8, Major of that body. Mr. McCall was one of twenty-one Philadelphians (among whom were his brothers-in-law Samuel and Archibald McCall, and their brother-in-law William Plumsted), who pledged the subscription of £500 (the estimated tax on the Proprietary Estates) to facilitate the assent of Lieutenant-Governor Morris to an Act, passed by General Assembly, for raising £50,000 for the defence of the Province during the consternation caused by

* Son of Samuel McCall, of Glasgow, formerly mentioned, and grandson of Robert Dundas, of Arniston.

the defeat of General Braddock,* a proposal, which, however, it will be remembered, was not accepted. And, when the differences between the Governor and Assembly had finally been accommodated through the liberality of the Penn family, and a bill enacted, towards the close of 1755, granting money for the purchase of arms and similar disbursements, Mr. McCall supplied the Government with fourteen 4 lb. cannon, six swivels, and some smaller ammunition, in the course of the following year.† Besides his residence in our city, Mr. McCall owned real estate in and about Germantown, which was sold on his decease, and became vested in Israel Pemberton. He was one of the seventy-five persons to whom the charter of the Library Company of Philadelphia was granted March 25, 1742. His interest in the social gayety of Philadelphia is indicated by his subscription to the First Dancing Assembly of 1748. He was one of the original Members of the St. Andrew's Society. Mr. McCall died in Philadelphia in April, 1761, and was buried the 28th in Christ Church Ground. Mrs. McCall survived her husband, and was buried in the same cemetery, December 15, 1785. They had eleven children, born in Philadelphia:

305. ANNE, bapt. May 3, 1740, aged 16 months. She m. (Register of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia), January 16, 1763, John Dow, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground, February 25, 1767. They left issue.
306. SAMUEL, b. April 22, 1740; bur. *ibid.* July 14, 1740.
307. JOHN, b. September 22, 1741; bur. *ibid.* July 25, 1756.
308. ISABEL, b. May 24, 1743.
309. MARY, b. Sept. 8, 1744; bur. *ibid.* August 15, 1745.
310. GEORGE, bur. *ibid.* December 17, 1745.
311. SAMUEL, bapt. July 23, 1747; bur. *ibid.* October 10, 1747.
312. CATHARINE, b. June 2, 1749; d. unm. in Philadelphia, January, 1842.
313. MARGARET. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground, October 9, 1812.
314. ELEANOR, b. January 14, 1753; d. unm. in Philadelphia, April 26, 1831; bur. *ibid.*
315. MARY, b. February 28, 1760; d. unm. in Philadelphia, November 21, 1840; bur. *ibid.*

* *Votes of Assembly*, August 16, 1755.

† *Penna. Archives*, vol. iii. p. 25.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 227.)

Nov. 1, 1755.	McDaniel,	John.
Aug. 3, 1758.	"	Mary.
Aug. 27, 1759.	"	——— son of Cornelius.
Nov. 2, 1756.	McDougal,	——— wife of Henry.
Oct. 17, 1738.	McDowell,	John, son of Robert.
Sept. 17, 1739.	"	Anne, wife of Robert.
Oct. 9, 1742.	McDuell,	Hester, dau. of Robert.
Sept. 16, 1754.	McDugal,	James, son of Henry Allen.
Dec. 20, 1753.	McEvers,	Catharine.
Feb. 17, 1758.	McFarland,	Hannah.
July 31, 1747.	McFarling,	Simiah, dau. of Neal.
Feb. 14, 1735-6.	McKenning,	Susannah, wife of Samuel.
Jan. 24, 1756.	McKinzy,	Kennet.
Oct. 24, 1739.	McKnight,	William, son of William.
Feb. 25, 1743-4.	"	George, son of William.
Mar. 30, 1758.	McMahon,	John.
Oct. 16, 1733.	McMekin,	Agnes, dau. of Robert.
Aug. 14, 1734.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
June 24, 1759.	McVaa,	Elizabeth, dau. of Matthew.
Dec. 4, 1759.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
Aug. 19, 1727.	McVeagh,	William, son of Neal.
July 13, 1746.	Maccoy,	Francis, son of Francis.
May 11, 1712.	Macharty,	Rebecca, wife of Timothy.
May 18, 1714.	Mackarty,	Charles, servant of Benj. Mor-
Oct. 20, 1741.	Mackenzie,	George. [gan.]
Feb. 12, 1711-2.	Mackmahon,	Elizabeth, wife of William.
July 13, 1745.	Mackrel,	John.
Aug. 9, 1735.	Mackrell,	Anne, dau. of John.
Nov. 19, 1726.	Maddox,	Ruth.
Mar. 27, 1730-1.	"	Mary, dau. of Joshua.
Jan. 1, 1738-9.	"	Joshua.
Oct. 26, 1751.	"	Thomasin.
April 18, 1759.	"	Joshua.
May 26, 1743.	Mader Mark,	John, son of Conrad. Swedes'
Nov. 25, 1729.	Magee,	Jane. [Ground.]

Aug. 8, 1743.	Magee,	Margaret, wife of Henry.
Sept. 18, 1744.	"	Henry.
Feb. 16, 1756.	"	William.
May 4, 1759.	"	James, son of Alexander.
Oct. 11, 1759.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
June 28, 1745.	Maggee,	George.
May 13, 1722.	Major,	Elinor.
Feb. 9, 1749-50.	Malcolm,	Margret, dau. of John.
Nov. 14, 1754.	"	Matthias, son of John.
June 18, 1755.	"	—— son of John.
Sept. 9, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 19, 1752.	Malcomb,	John, son of John.
Sept. 8, 1753.	Malice,	George.
Oct. 24, 1714.	Mallard,	William.
Nov. 3, 1732.	"	Francis.
Nov. 13, 1756.	Mallice,	William.
Oct. 25, 1758.	Mallows,	Philip.
Oct. 26, 1731.	Man,	John, son of John.
June 24, 1735.	Manerin,	Thomas. From Dublin.
Jan. 15, 1752.	Maney,	Margaret, dau. of Francis.
Sept. 26, 1744.	Manij,	Mary, wife of Francis.
July 10, 1756.	"	—— son of Francis.
July 13, 1746.	Manloe,	Obadiah.
Sept. 5, 1738.	Manny,	Anne, dau. of Francis.
Dec. 3, 1738.	"	Mary, dau. of Francis.
Dec. 24, 1759.	Manten,	—— dau. of William.
July 26, 1734.	Mantle,	Thomas.
Sept. 22, 1731.	Manuel,	William.
Sept. 17, 1749.	Mapp,	Samuel.
Jan. 5, 1709-10.	March,	Jane.
Nov. 20, 1736.	Marchall,	Philip, of Barbadoes.
Sept. 30, 1751.	Mare,	Anne, dau. of Daniel.
Dec. 22, 1735.	Marjoram,	Thomas.
Nov. 7, 1738.	Mark,	Mark.
Jan. 22, 1758.	Marks,	John.
May 23, 1749.	Marland,	Mary.
July 21, 1722.	Marr,	Joseph.
Aug. 12, 1751.	Marrat,	Mary, wife of Samuel.
Sept. 3, 1755.	Marshal,	James.
Jan. 24, 1741-2.	Marshel,	John, son of James.
Oct. 27, 1755.	Marster,	Edward.
Aug. 12, 1759.	Marsters,	Mary L.
Nov. 22, 1727.	Martin,	Joseph.
Mar. 20, 1720-1.	"	Mary. Widow.
Jan. 15, 1737-8.	"	Thomas.

July 29, 1741.	Martin,	Judith, wife of John.
Dec. 13, 1751.	"	David.
Aug. 26, 1754.	"	William, son of Joseph.
July 11, 1714.	Mason,	Mary, dau. of John and Mary.
Feb. 22, 1716-7.	"	Mary, wife of John.
Dec. 8, 1729.	"	Thomas.
Oct. 17, 1730.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Nov. 26, 1731.	"	Thomas.
Oct. 22, 1732.	"	Mary.
Oct. 11, 1741.	"	John.
Jan. 6, 1748-9.	"	Mary.
Sept. 19, 1756.	"	— son of Abraham.
Nov. 16, 1723.	Master,	Charles.
Nov. 3, 1736.	Masters,	Winifred, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 14, 1745.	"	Mary, wife of Edward.
June 27, 1758.	"	Thomas, son of William.
May 19, 1756.	Masterson,	Adam.
Sept. 27, 1722.	Mathews,	Thomas.
Oct. 24, 1726.	Matthews,	William, of London, mariner.
Sept. 16, 1731.	"	John, son of Christopher.
June 14, 1734.	"	Isaac.
July 24, 1748.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
July 12, 1735.	Matthias,	Henry, son of Henry.
Aug. 25, 1741.	Mattucks,	Sarah, dau. of Henry.
Aug. 13, 1740.	Maugridge,	George, son of William.
June 5, 1720.	Mauken,	Mr. Edward.
Mar. 26, 1740-1.	Maukin,	Margaret.
Oct. 10, 1728.	Maul,	John. Poor.
June 18, 1733.	Mawley,	Francis. Drowned.
Mar. 7, 1744-5.	Maxfield,	Dorothy, dau. of John.
Aug. 3, 1746.	Maxwell,	Thomas.
Nov. 23, 1712.	May,	Martha, wife of William.
Aug. 9, 1716.	"	Mary, dau. of William and Daniel. [Anne.
Aug. 17, 1739.	"	Daniel.
Nov. 25, 1745.	"	Margaret. Widow.
Mar. 27, 1730-1.	Maynard,	Capt. Samuel, of Barbadoes.
April 30, 1731.	"	Samuel, son of Samuel.
Sept. 12, 1734.	"	Capt. John.
Jan. 19, 1740-1.	Meakins,	John, son of Robert.
Mar. 12, 1746-7.	"	Sarah, wife of Robert.
May 17, 1747.	"	Robert.
Feb. 26, 1753.	Mear,	Elizabeth, wife of John.
Aug. 29, 1748.	Mee,	Anne.
Sept. 2, 1734.	Mekins,	Thomas.
Dec. 31, 1728.	Mell,	Joseph, of Carolina.

Feb. 26, 1712-3.	Meredith,	Reverdee, son of Owen and Susannah.
Feb. 11, 1717-8.	"	Susannah, wife of Owen.
May 20, 1722.	"	John, Junr.
Aug. 27, 1722.	"	Owen.
July 17, 1727.	"	Thomas, son of Owen and Hannah.
Mar. 4, 1732-3.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Aug. 26, 1734.	"	Owen.
Oct. 6, 1747.	"	Simon, son of Hugh.
Oct. 10, 1753.	"	Margaret.
April 30, 1754.	"	Hannah.
Mar. 1, 1739-40.	Mereweather,	Elizabeth, wife of James.
Aug. 23, 1713.	Merida,	Jane, dau. of Owen and Su- sannah.
Oct. 23, 1747.	Meridith,	John.
Aug. 21, 1748.	"	Benjamin, son of Hugh.
Sept. 30, 1747.	Merit,	James, son of Samuel.
Sept. 14, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of Samuel.
June 13, 1756.	Merrit,	—— dau. of John.
Dec. 12, 1756.	"	—— dau. of John.
April 20, 1742.	Merriweather,	James.
Jan. 13, 1758.	Merryfield,	Robert.
Dec. 4, 1753.	Mesnard,	Jacob, son of Elizabeth.
Dec. 12, 1741.	Middleton,	Ann, dau. of Edward.
July 18, 1744.	Milbourn,	Jane, wife of William. Stran- gers' Ground.
May 22, 1720.	Miles,	Thomas, son of Mary. Base born.
May 25, 1759.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel.
Sept. 23, 1717.	Miley,	Sarah, dau. of William and Margaret.
July 29, 1711.	Miller,	Benjamin, son of Stephen and Merriam.
Aug. 4, 1716.	"	Stephen, son of Stephen and Stephen. [Merriam.]
Feb. 19, 1726-7.	"	Joseph.
Nov. 26, 1730.	"	Henry. Poor.
Mar. 27, 1736-7.	"	Rachel, dau. of Nathaniel.
Jan. 24, 1742-3.	"	Mary, dau. of Nathaniel.
June 7, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Nathaniel.
June 10, 1745.	"	John.
Dec. 9, 1749.	"	Nicholas, son of John.
July 16, 1750.	"	Nathan Jonathan, son of Na- than.
May 26, 1754.	"	

Sept. 3, 1756.	Miller,	—— son of John.
Oct. 19, 1756.	“	John.
Nov. 2, 1756.	“	—— dau. of John.
Aug. 24, 1716.	Mills,	Alexander.
July 15, 1745.	“	William.
Oct. 29, 1718.	Millton,	John.
Aug. 5, 1759.	Minchin,	Eleanor.
Mar. 16, 1750-1.	Minore,	Robert.
June 5, 1740.	Miranda,	Mary, dau. of George.
Dec. 16, 1741.	Mirander,	George.
July 30, 1742.	“	Jeremiah, son of George.
Aug. 21, 1730.	Mirranda,	Mary.
Dec. 8, 1725.	Mitchel,	John, of Bermuda.
April 9, 1727.	“	Anne. Strangers' Ground.
Oct. 16, 1737.	“	Susannah.
May 5, 1729.	Mitchell,	Nehemiah.
Oct. 7, 1729.	Mockridge,	Mary, dau. of William.
June 5, 1732.	Mogridge,	William, son of William.
Oct. 26, 1758.	Mois,	—— dau. of John.
June 18, 1759.	“	John, son of John.
Nov. 3, 1748.	Molineaux,	Francis.
Aug. 4, 1749.	“	Francis, son of the widow.
Sept. 29, 1720.	Monckton,	Dr. Samuel.
Dec. 6, 1723.	Monkton,	Philip. [Margaret.
Jan. 27, 1718-9.	Monnrow,	Samuel, son of George and
Nov. 6, 1759.	Monro,	—— son of Rowland.
Nov. 9, 1759.	“	James, son of James.
June 13, 1746.	Monroe,	William.
July 30, 1747.	“	Rowland, son of Rowland.
Aug. 15, 1747.	“	Rebecca, wife of Rowland.
Aug. 11, 1751.	“	John, son of Rowland.
Dec. 26, 1751.	“	Grace, dau. of Sarah.
Jan. 20, 1754.	“	Sophia, dau. of Rowland.
Oct. 21, 1759.	Monrow,	Rowland. [Elizabeth.
Feb. 2, 1720-1.	Montague,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas and
Feb. 12, 1720-1.	“	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
Nov. 4, 1759.	Montaine,	Margaret, dau. of Peter.
Jan. 29, 1733-4.	Montgomery,	Anthony, son of Thomas.
Jan. 24, 1736-7.	“	Thomas, son of Thomas.
July 4, 1738.	“	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
Jan. 6, 1738-9.	“	—— child of Thomas.
Mar. 15, 1745-6.	Mooney,	—— Strangers' Ground.
Mar. 28, 1730-1.	Moor,	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
Dec. 7, 1732.	“	John, Esq.

July 29, 1740.	Moor,	James, son of Rachel.
Oct. 14, 1740.	"	John, son of Robert.
Mar. 11, 1753.	"	Hester. [Rebecca.
Oct. 4, 1712.	Moore,	Sommersett, son of John and
Feb. 8, 1726-7.	"	Mary, dau. of Robert.
Sept. 26, 1728.	"	John, son of Robert.
Jan. 24, 1731-2.	"	Sarah, dau. of Francis.
May 6, 1733.	"	Thomas, son of John. No minister.
July 26, 1733.	"	Isaac, son of William.
Mar. 1, 1733-4.	"	Thomas, son of Robert.
Nov. 7, 1735.	"	Charles, son of Robert.
Aug. 10, 1736.	"	Thomas.
Aug. 29, 1736.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Robert.
June 15, 1737.	"	Susannah, wife of Francis.
Mar. 14, 1742-3.	"	Francis.
April 16, 1743.	"	Justina.
Aug. 3, 1743.	"	John, son of Charles.
Sept. 30, 1745.	"	Margaret, dau. of Charles.
Nov. 13, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of Charles.
Dec. 19, 1752.	"	Jane, dau. of Charles.
Aug. 10, 1754.	"	Rusell.
Aug. 25, 1754.	"	Elizabeth.
Oct. 16, 1756.	"	John.
Nov. 21, 1722.	Morey,	Humphrey.
Aug. 17, 1712.	More,	Charles, son of John and Re-
Oct. 20, 1756.	Morefield,	Mary. [becca.
Feb. 16, 1745-6.	Moreton,	William, son of William.
July 11, 1746.	"	Hester, wife of William.
July 19, 1711.	Morgan,	Benjamin, son of Benjamin and Sarah.
April 13, 1712.	"	Elizabeth, wife of James.
July 16, 1712.	"	Joseph, son of Benjamin and Sarah.
Oct. 6, 1713.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of ye widow.
Aug. 4, 1714.	"	Daniel.
Nov. 22, 1722.	"	_____
July 23, 1725.	"	Jemima, dau. of Benjamin.
Dec. 10, 1725.	"	Katharine.
Oct. 23, 1726.	"	Samuel, son of Benjamin and Sarah.
Aug. 6, 1729.	"	Walter.
Sept. 1, 1735.	"	Roger.

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM DELAWARE COUNTY, IN 1725.—[John Hill Martin sends us a copy of the following old letter, written 156 years ago from this country to Ireland. The original letter was presented to Mr. Martin by the late Doctor William Kent Gilbert, of Philadelphia] :—

CHESTER TOWNSHIP the of the 10th Mo. 1725.

DEAR SISTER MARY VALENTINE,

This goes with a Salutation of Love to thee, Brother Thomas & the children & in a word to all friends, Relations & well Wishers in Generall as if named, hoping it may find you all in Good health, as I with all our family in Generall are in at this present writing & has been since our arival, for we have not had a days Sickness in the family Since we came in to the Country, Blessed be god for it, my father in Particular has not had his health better these ten years than Since he Came here, his ancient age considered, Our Irish Acquaintance in general are well Except Tho: Lightfoot who Departed this Life at Darby in a Good old age About 4 weeks Since thee writes in thy Letter that there was a talk went back to Ireland that we were not Satisfyed in coming here, which was Utterly false: now let this Suffice to Convince you. In the first place he that carried back this Story was an Idle fellow, & one of our Ship-Mates, but not thinking this country Suitable to his Idleness; went back with Cowman again, he is Sort of a Lawyer, or Rather a Lyar as I may term him, therefore I wod not have you give credit to Such false reports for the future, for there is not one of the family but what likes the country very well & wod If we were in Ireland again come here Directly it being the best country for working folk & tradesmen of any in the world, but for Drunkards and Idlers, they cannot live well any where, it is likewise an Extrardin healthy country. We were all much troubled when we found you did not come in with Cap^t. Cowman as we Expected nor none of our acquaintance Except Isaac Jackson & his family, tho at his coming in one thinks it Something odd but that is soon over, Land is of all Prices Even from ten Pounds, to one hundred pounds a hundred, according to the goodness or else the Situation thereof, & Grows dearer every year by Reason of Vast Quantities of People that come here yearly from Several Parts of the world, therefore thee & thy family or any that I wish well I wod desire to make what Speed you can to come here the Sooner the better we have traveled over a Pretty deal of this country to seek for Land, & (tho) we met with many fine Tracts of Land here & there in the country, yet my father being curious & somewhat hard Please Did not buy any Land until the Second day of 10th mo: Last and then he bought a Tract of Land consisting of five hundred Acres for which he gave 350 pounds, it is Excellent good land, but none cleared, Except about 20 Acres. with a small log house & Orchard Planted, we are going to clear some of it Directly, for our next Sumers fallow, we might have bought Land much Cheaper but not so much to our Satisfaction. We stayed in Chester 3 months & then we Rented a Place 1 mile from Chester, with a good brick house & 200 Acres of Land for 7 pound a year where we continue till next May, we have sowed about 200 Acres of wheat & 7 acres of rye, this season we sowed but a bushel on an acre, 3 pecks is Enough on new ground. I am grown an Experienced Plowman & my brother abell is Learning. Jonathan & thy Son John drives for us he is grown a Lusty fellow Since thou Saw him, we have the finest

plows here that Can be. we plowed up our Summers fallows in May & June, with a Yoak of Oxen & 2 horses & they goe with as much Ease as Double the number in Ireland. we sow our wheat with 2 horses, a boy of 12 or 14 years old Can hold Plow here, a man Comonly hold & Drives himself, they Plow an Acre, nay some Plows 2 Acres a day, they sow Wheat & Rye in August or September, we have had a crop oats, barley & very good flax & hemp, Indian Corn & buckwheat all of our own Sowing & Planting this Last summer, we also Planted a bushel of white Potatoes Which Cost us 5 Shills & we had 10 or 12 bushels Increase, this country yields Extraordinary Increase of all sorts of Grain—Likewise for nicholas hooper had of 3 Acres of Land & at most 3 bushels of Seed above 80 bushels Increase so that it is as Plentifull a Country as any Can be if people will be Industrious, wheat is 4 Shills a bushel Rye 2s. 9d. oats 2. 3 pence, barley 3 Shills, Indian Corn 2 Shills all Strike measure, Beef is 2½ pence a pound Sometimes more Sometimes less. mutton 2½. pork 2½ pr pound. Turnips 12 pence a bushell heap'd measure & so Plenty that an acre Produceth 200 bushells, all Sorts of provisions are Extraordinary Plenty in Philadelphia market, where Country people bring in their comodities their markets are on 4th day and 7th day [Wednesdays and Saturdays crossed out], this country abounds in fruit, Scarce an house but has an Apple, Peach & cherry orchard, as for chestnuts, Wallnuts, & hazel nuts, Strawberrys, Billberrys & Mulberrys they grow wild in the woods & fields in Vast Quantities. They also make great Preparations against harvest; both Roast & boyled, Cakes & Tarts & Rum, stand at the Lands End, so that they may Eat and Drink at Pleasure. a Reaper has 2 Shills & 3 pence a day, a mower has 2 Shills & 6 pence & a pint of Rum beside meat & Drink of the best; for no workman works without their Victuals in the bargain throughout the Country, a Laboring man has 18 or 20 pence a day in Winter, the winters are not so Cold as we Expected nor the Summers so Extreme hot as formerly, for both Summer & Winter are moderate than they ever were known, in Summer time they wear nothing but a Shirt & Linnen drawers Trowsers, which are breeches and stockings all in one made of Linnen, they are fine Cool wear in Summer, as to what thee writt about the Governours Opening Letters it is Utterly false & nothing but a Lye & any one Except bound Servants may go out of the Country when they will & Servants when they Serve their w^m may Come away If they please but it is Rare any are such fools to lea^ve the Country Except mens business require it, they pay 9 Pounds for their Passage (of this money) to go to Ireland—there is 2 fairs, yearly & 2 markets weekly in Philadelphia also 2 fairs yearly in Chester & Likewise in new castle, but they Sell no Cattle nor horses no Living Creatures, but altogether Merchants Goods, as hatts, Linnen & woolen Cloth, handkerchiefs, knives, Scizars, tapes & *treds* buckels, Ribonds & all Sorts of necessarys fit for our wooden Country & here all young men and women that wants wives or husbands may be Supplied. Lett this Suffice for our fairs. as to meetings they are so plenty one may ride to their choice. I desire thee to bring or Send me a bottle of good Oyle fit for guns, thee may buy it in Dublin. Martha Weanhouse Lives very well about 4 miles from James Lindseys; we live all together since we Came into the Country Except hugh Hoaker [or Stoaker] & his family who lives 6 or 7 miles from us, & follows his trade. Sister Rebecka was Delivered of a Daughter ye—day the 11 month Last past its name is mary. Abel's wife had a young Son 12 months Since his name is Thomas, Dear Sister I w^d not have thee Doubt the truth of what I write, for I know it to be true Tho I have not been Long here. I w^d have you Cloath yourselves well with Woolen & Linnen, Shoes & Stockings & hatts for Such things are dear hear, & yet a man will Sooner Earn a suit of Cloths here than in Ireland, by Reason workmans Labour is so Dear. A wool hat costs 7 Shills, a pair of

mens Shoes 7 Shills, wemens Shoes Cost 5 Shills and 6 pence, a pair of mens stockings yarn Costs 4 Shills, feather beds are very dear here and not to be had for money. Gunpowder is 2 Shills & 6 pence a pound. Shott & Lead 5 pence a pound. I wod have you bring for your own Use 2 or 3 good falling Axes, a pair of beetle rings & 3 Iron wedges, for they are of good Service here. your Plow Irons will not answer here, therefore you had better bring 1 or 2 hundred Iron, you may bring your Plow Chains as they are also a good ——— Iron. Letters going to you these gives you Accompt what to bring into the Country & also for your Sea Store or else I should not omitt it but beaure you come with Capt Cowman & you will be well Used for he is an honest man & has as Civell Saylor as any that Cross the Seas, which I know by Experience, the Ship has been weather bound Since before Christmas by reason of post & Ice that floats about in the River & the Saylor being at a Loose End Came down to Chester to See us & we have given them———

Dear Sister I desire thee may tell my old friend Samuel Thornton that he could give so much Credit to my words & find no Ifs nor ands in my Letter, that in Plain terms he could not do better than to Come here, for both his & his wife's trade are Very good here, the best way for him to do is to pay what money he Can Conveniently Spare at that Side & Engage himself to Pay the rest at this Side & when he Comes here if he Can get no friend to lay down the money for him, when it Comes to the worst, he may hire out 2 or 3 Children & I wod have him Cloath his family as well as his Small Ability will allow, thee may tell him what things are proper to bring with him both for his Sea Store & for his Use in this Country. I wod have him Procure 3 or 4 Lusty Servants & Agree to pay their passage at this Side he might sell 2 & pay the others passage with the money. I fear my good will to him will be of Little Effect by reason he is So hard of beleif, but thou mayest Assure him from me that if I had not a particular Respect for him & his family I Should not have writ so much for his Encouragment, his brother Joseph & Moses Coats Came to See us Since we came here, they live about 6 or 7 miles apart & above 20 miles from where we live, unkle James Lindly & family is well & Thrives Exceedingly, he has 11 children & Reaped last harvest about 800 bushels of wheat, he is a thriving man as any where he lives, he has a thousand acres of Land, A fine Estate. Unkle Nicholas hooper lives very well he rents a Plantation & teaches School & his man dos his Plantation work. murtha hobson. Dear Sister I think I have writ the most needful to thee, but considering that when I was in Ireland I never thought a Letter to Long that Came from this Country. I wod willingly give thee as full an Account as Possible, tho I could have given thee a fuller Account of what things are fit to bring here, but only I knew other Letters might Suffice in that point. I desire thee may Send or bring me 2 hundred Choice Quills for my own Use for they are very Scarce here, & Sister Raichell Desires thee wod bring hir Some bits of Silk for trash-bags thee may bring them in Johns Zane [or Lane.] also — yards of white Mode or Silk for 2 hoods & She will Pay thee when thee comes here. I wod have brother Thomas to bring a good new Saddle (& bridle) with Crooper & Housen to it by reason the horses sweat in hot weather. for they are very dear here, a Saddle that will cost 18 or 20 Shill^s. in Ireland will cost here 50 Shills or 3 pounds & not so good neither, he had better get Charles Howell to make it, Lett the tree be well Plated & Indifferent Narrow for the horses here are So Large as in Ireland, but the best racers & finest Pacers in the World. I have known Several that could Pace 14 or 15 miles in an hour. I write within Compass, as for women Saddles they will not Suit so well here. I wod not have thee think much at my Irregular way of writing by reason I write as it offer'd to me, for they that write to you should have more wits than I can Pretend to.

The letter ends abruptly and is not signed, but it is endorsed on the back, "Letter to Mary Valentine from Robert Parke 10 mo. 1725." It seems to be a rough copy kept by the writer. At end of the letter is written in a different hand, "And several Letters writt Long full of accompt of al things George Tooke or Rooke," and on the back of the letter the name of Rownd is scribbled several times, and the name of R. D. Rownd.

LETTER OF JOHN PENN TO THOMAS WILLING.

Dear Sir,—My time was so very much taken up in the disagreeable Ceremony of Visiting & in preparing for our little Voyage to Rhode Island, that I could only find time while I was at N. York to write to my dear friend the Governor—Our passage from N. York was dangerous & very unpleasant, especially to me as I have ever since been disabled from writing till this morning, have kept my room several days & for the first time since I have been in America ask'd the Advice of a D^r & been oblig'd to follow it. We met with very blowing, raw weather in the Sound & by being too frequently upon Deck in the night without my Cloaths, I caught a violent cold, which fell upon my bowells. I think I have suffered more these four days past than I ever did in my life & nothing but my being quite disabled, could have been a sufficient excuse (even to my self) for neglecting to write to you before—I have promis'd to drink tea with your *old flame* this afternoon (that is if I find I can behave decently without making wry faces) You may guess who I mean—Mrs. Apthorp—I wish I could call her Polly M'Evers for your sake, that is, if you do yourself, but perhaps matters are as well as they are, you might have alter'd your mind by this time. As you are the man in the world who seem to want a Portmanteau the most, one word of advice from an old friend before you tye it up behind you may not come mal à propos; this is supposing you can't live without baggage, & your great virtue won't suffer you to unburden your Conscience with the wicked ones of the world, well you are right there's nothing like a virtuous way of thinking in a young man never swallow the hook till you are convinc'd it's not poisoned, this requires some time, should you find any defect, you are just where you were before, & ready to try a fresh one, You'll think presently I grow grave & say I am a fool, but upon my honour, Tom, you have such a living Example eternally before you, that it would be impertinent in me to pretend to say anything more, if you do but keep that in your mind, & weigh your Polly's Betsy's &c against it, you won't be deceived, but then I believe it will be a long time before you are satisfy'd, & you will perhaps grow tyr'd of the tryal. I need not tell you where to find this example, tho' I must own I have known some brothers very blind to anything that was in favour of a Sister, but that I have too good an opinion of you to think you are. We are not likely to get an agreeable passage from hence, so have determin'd to proceed immediately to Halifax where we are sure of going in a man of war, 'tis said here the french fleet had got out of Louisbourg. We are to be entertain'd to morrow night with a Concert & a ball, the next night we shall be at sea. I beg you'll all sit cross leg'd for our good Voyage. Pray make my Comp^t to Mrs. Willing Nancy & Dolly not forgetting the Young Ones. You may drink my good voyage the first of November, which is the time the men of war sail from Halifax. tell Nancy if she does not eat & drink more that day than she has done these three years past I'll never forgive her. I wont put up with a Acorn full for a Bumper. As I cannot have the pleasure of hearing from you while I am in America I shall expect it in England the Gov^r will let you know my direction tho' perhaps we may never meet again yet there is some small satisfaction in writing; the Anecdotes of Phil will not be disagreeable especially as I know the principal actors

in anything that can happen, I suppose you'll laugh when I tell you, I could not leave Phil with dry Eyes, I don't remember I ever was so Childish in my life before. Adieu, if there is anybody, who thinks it worth while asking after me pray make my Comp^t to them, & believe me

Dear Sir

Your very Hum: Ser^t

& affect^o Friend

Boston Oct: 10th 1755

JOHN PENN.

Cap^t Suckling who was at Phil a year ago, has got the *Lys* a 74 gun ship.

LETTERS OF FRANKLIN TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE
ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

London, April 12, 1766.

Gentlemen,

I received your Letters of Jan. 13, and 20, and communicated them to Mr. Jackson. The Petition, praying a Repeal of the Act of Parliament prohibiting the Paper Money of the Colonies being a lawful Tender, was immediately presented according to your Directions, and referred to a Committee. We have for a long time been extreamly busy with our general American Affairs. I sometime since advis'd the Speaker of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. The Regulations of our Trade came next under Consideration. On Monday next the Committee are to report on the American Commerce. A Number of good Evidences have been thoroughly examined on that head before the House, and it is now seen in a Light much more favourable for us than ever heretofore. We have a Ministry extreamly well dispos'd towards us, from whom, if they continue, and become firmly established, we may hope everything we can reasonably expect. But there is a strong Opposition against them, which makes them cautious of going all the Lengths at once which they wish to go in our Favour. It is now intended to reduce the Duty on foreign Mellasses to 1^d per Gallon; to permit Duty, free the Importation into North America, as Articles of Commerce, to be stored in King's Warehouses, and afterwards exported to Europe, all foreign Sugars, Coffee, &c. and to Britain, Cotton, Indigo, &c.—and such Sugars as are consum'd in America, though clay'd and fine, to pay a Duty of 5^s per hund. only. The Reducing the Muscovado Duty to 2^s 6^d was talked of; but that is yet doubted. A free Port is also intended at Dominica, and if it succeeds, another or two more may be made next Year, at Jamaica and Pensacola. The direct Importation of Wine, Oil and Fruits from Portugal and Spain to America is also to be allow'd, if it can be carried in the House; but that meets with particular Opposition, and may possibly fail, tho' I rather think it will be carried, as Mr. Grenville's Party seems daily diminishing. As to the Paper Currency I last Week at the Request of one of the Members drew a Bill for Repealing the Act of 1763 relating to legal Tender, which he intends to bring in after considering it with Mr. Townsend. The principal Point was to satisfy the Merchants, who obtain'd that Restraining Act, they having suffer'd in Virginia by the Depreciation of the Currency there in which their Debts were paid:—I therefore inserted a Clause to make Sterling Debts due to British Merchants and payable here, recoverable according to the Rate of Exchange at the Time, which I think is no more than we have always practis'd in the Courts of our Province. What Alterations will be made in the Draft it is impossible to say; and I doubt whether if a Bill be brought in, it will be completed this Session; the Ministry being inclin'd to consider the Affair of Paper Money more extensively, and therefore to leave it to another Year; which, if they do, I hope will not be attended with any great Inconvenience, as we have still a considerable Sum extant that is legal Tender. I shall however use my best Endeavours to get it con-

pleated now.—There is a Bill also under Consideration relating to Admiralty Courts and other Admiralty Affairs in America, on which I have had several Conferences with the Ministry. It is among other Things propos'd that the Act made 19 Geo II. to prevent the Impressing of Seamen in the Sugar Colonies for the King's Ships, unless with Consent of Governor and Council, be extended to North America. And on a Suggestion that had been made to the Admiralty, that the Men were entic'd from the King's Ships by the Merchants, and that the Governors and Councils of some North American Colonies would probably refuse to give their Consent, whatever might be the Necessity, a Clause was drawn to direct an Application to be made to them for Men when wanted, and that in case of their Refusal or Neglect to provide a sufficient Number, *it should be lawful for the Officers of the King's Ships to impress, &c.*—I oppos'd this strongly, in a long Conversation with my Lord Egmont, who is at the Head of the Admiralty Board, and he was so obliging as to say he was satisfy'd with my Reasons, and the Power of Impressing should be omitted.—It appear'd to me a terrible Thing to establish such Violence by a Law, however necessary it may be in some Cases; and I conceiv'd it a Power not fit to be given the Officers of the Navy, who might use it greatly to the Oppression and Injury of particular Colonies.

The Merchants trading to America have been of great Service to us in all our late Affairs, and deserve the Thanks of the Colonies.—I hope the Behaviour of the Colonists on the Repeal, will be decent and grateful to Government here, which will greatly strengthen the Hands of their Friends the present Ministry, as very different Things are prognosticated. I send you the Lords Protests; and also the best Account we have of the Debates on the Repeal; but it is very short and imperfect, Mr. Pitt having spoke in the whole near three Hours.—Our particular Provincial Petitions remain ready to be proceeded on, as soon as these other Affairs are out of hand.

Please to present my Duty to the Assembly and believe me, with particular Esteem,

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN.

Committee of Correspondence.

LONDON, June 10. 1766.

Gentlemen,

I wrote to you pretty fully by the April Packet. The Parliament have since been continually agitating the Affairs of America, which has oblig'd us to constant Attendance. All the new Regulations I mention'd as like to take place, are now carried into Acts, except that relating to the Portugal Trade, which, together with the Paper Currency, is postponed, but I should have little doubt of their being obtain'd another Year if this Ministry continues, and no farther Imprudencies appear in America to exasperate Government here against us. The present have incurred a good deal of Abuse from the Opposition, for the Favour they have shown us; and great Advantages will be taken of them next Session if that Favour should not appear to have been properly received.

With this I send you Copies of two of the Acts relating to America, and I congratulate you on the Reduction of Duties by another, not yet printed, and on the Establishment of Free Ports, which I hope will prove so useful as that more may be obtained, some on the Continent.

Mr. Jackson, by his close Attendance in Parliament and with the Ministry, has been exceedingly serviceable to us; and is likely to be soon in a Station

that will give him still more Weight if it continues. But all ministerial Dispositions are extremely fluctuating. The Duke of Grafton has lately quitted the ministry; and Mr. Conway, who was Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which included America, is now gone into the Northern, and the Duke of Richmond is made Secretary for the Southern. America is now to be a separate Department, and Lord Dartmouth, first of the Board of Trade, is to have it: But all is yet unsettled, and all American Affairs, even the Granting of Lauds, are now at a Stand, and will probably be so for some time, till the Season of Business returns. The frequent Changes that have happened, and the general Opinion even among the Ministers themselves, that more will happen, disposes People generally to lie awhile upon their Oars; till the Ministry have so established themselves, as that they can afford Attention to Affairs, which not being of national Concern they think may well be postpon'd: And indeed 'tis a kind of Labour in vain to attempt making Impressions on such moveable Materials; 'tis like writing on the Sand in a windy Day.

As to myself, finding a Summer Journey, to which I have been so many Years accustom'd, and which I omitted last Year, necessary to my Health, of late sensibly impaired, I am about to make a little Tour for Six or Eight Weeks, which I hope will re-establish it. At my Return I shall apply myself diligently to what concerns the Interests of our Province;—and if the present Ministry should be confirmed, as I sincerely pray they may, I hope another Winter will bring our Affairs all to a Happy Conclusion. At least I think they may be put in such Train as that my Continuance here will be no longer necessary, and I now request that I may have leave to return in the Spring.

By all Accounts there is great Prospect that the Peace of Europe will not soon be disturbed. France is said to be perfectly well disposed to be quiet, and Spain too much disturbed with internal Commotions to prosecute its Views on Portugal. Commerce and Manufactures engross the Attention of other States; and the Empress of Russia is bent on increasing the Population of her Country, improving its Laws and farther refining its Manners. The King of Prussia too, tho' frequent in reviewing his Troops, seems rather intent on repairing the Damages of the last War, than projecting new ones. So that we may reasonably expect a Tranquility of some Duration.

Be pleased to present my best Respects and Duty to the Assembly, and believe me, with sincere Esteem,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Committee of Correspondence.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY REV. DAVID JONES, A. M., Pastor of the Southampton Baptist Church [Bucks Co.] and Great Valley Baptist Church [Chester Co. Pa.]. Copied from the book in which they were recorded, by said Rev. David Jones, by his grandson, Horatio Gates Jones, of Roxbo-

rough, in the 21st Ward of Philadelphia, who declares that he is acquainted with the handwriting of his grandfather, and that said entries were made by him.

ROXBOROUGH, February, 1879.

Attest:

HOBATIO GATES JONES.

1786. *August 24th.* Thomas White, of Philadelphia, to Amy Meghee, of Southampton.

November 9th. Strickland Foster to Lætitia Banes.

December 28th. Joshua Jones to Eleanor Thomas.

1787. *April 10th.* Joseph Hunter to Susanna Hall.

April 11th. John Williamson, of New Jersey, to Mary Bennett, of Bucks Co., Pa.

September 9th. John Hagerman to Phœbe Evans.

October 25th. John Hageman to Margaret Patterson.

November 7th. Richard Lowery to Sarah Pugh.

November 8th. John Coarson to Deborah Duffield.

November 22d. Garret Krosen to Charity Comings.

1788. *August 7th.* Isaac Vansant to Elizabeth Cornell.

August 14th. William Siters to Mary Taylor, both of Chester County [Mary Taylor being a member of Great Valley Baptist Church].

1789. *April 2d.* Garret Duncan to Tacy Hays.

April 8th. Abel Marpole to Eleanor Dungan.

April 9th. Nathan Marpole to Elizabeth Yerkes.

Mr. Jones here adds as follows: "When I was at Kentucky, in Jefferson County, in January, 1790, I married *Benjamin Errickson* to *Elizabeth Prince*, and *Thomas Smith*, from Cumberland, to *Abediah Floyd* and *Fielding Ashby* to *Rebecca Errickson*.

1790. *August 1st.* Michael Williamson to Elizabeth James.

1791. *January 20th.* Edward Dyer to Elizabeth Dungan, of Bucks Co.

August 3d. Daniel Larrew to Elizabeth Kelly, both of Bucks County.

August 18th. Richard Vansant to Elizabeth Lafferty, both of Bucks Co.

September 29th. Peter Orrison to Elizabeth Willcox, of Bristol Township.

1792. *January 12th.* James Banes to Sarah Bennet, both of Northampton, Bucks County.

1793. *December 17th.* James Bury to Eleanor Diamond, both of Chester County.

1794. *March 10th.* Casper Kitschman to Hannah Griffith, of Tredyffrin Township, Chester Co., Pa.

March 20th. Nathan Hooven to Sarah Patterson.

April 3d. Nathan Davis to Mary Free.

May 29th. James McLaughlin, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Hilltown in Bucks County, to Tacy Morgan.

1798. *March 27th.* David Cornog to Rebecca Friek, both of Chester County, Pa.

1801. *January 15th.* Randel Evans to Mary Davis, both of Great Valley, Chester County.

January 21st. Thomas Annis to Jane Black, both of Cecil County.

October . David McAfee to Margaret Brown, both of Montgomery County.

1802. *April 8th.* Henry Konkle to Margaret Moore, both of Chester County.

September 16th. Samuel Wilson to Anne Williamson.

September 23d. Jonathan Sturgis to Hannah Engles.

September 23d. James Porter to Elizabeth Brookes, both of Montgomery County.

1802. *November 4th.* Spicer Hall to Elizabeth Evans.
November 21st. Jonathan King to Mercy Willard, both of Montgomery County.
1803. *February 17th.* James Spear to Mary McCormick.
February 24th. Thomas Watkin to Ann Morris.
September 24th. James Jenkin to Mary Ramsey, both of Chester County.
1804. *March 4th.* Samuel King to Ann Phillips, of Chester County.
March 29th. John McFee and Sarah Horton.
1805. *January 7th.* Anselm Moore to Mary Hoopes, both of Chester County.
March 28th. William Morgan, of Montgomery County to Mary Evans, of Chester County.
April 2d. David Davis to Elizabeth Clark.
April 3d. Samuel Mears to Leah Sturgis, of Montgomery County.
1806. *March .* John Baker to Anne Logan.
1808. *March 27th.* Elijah Brooke to Sarah Davis, both of Radnor, Delaware County.
March 29th. Joshua Evans, of Easttown, to Lydia Davis, of Tredyffrin, Chester County.
In June or July. Joel Carpenter to Mary Pyatt.
August 11th. Joseph Davis to Amelia Evans, both of Chester County.
1809. *January 29th.* Thomas Calohen to Mary Heminger, both of Chester County.
March 23d. John Meredith to Mary Supplee, both of Chester County.
November 2d. Lewis Pennell to Sarah Fisher, both of Radnor Township, Delaware County.
December 25th. Eli Ottey to Mary Rittew, both of Delaware County, Pa.
1810. *February 22d.* Lemuel George to Sarah Abrahams.
September 10th. James Massey to Hannah Hibbert.
1811. *October 29th.* Feddy Worrel to Sarah Hunter, both of Radnor Township, Delaware County.
1812. *February 26th.* Valentine Hoskins to Sarah Bones.
December 24th. William Crozer to Mary Gwin, both of Chester County.
1813. *February 11th.* William Sheldrake to Mary Moore.
October 28th. Enoch Davis to Anne Sifers.
December 2d. John R. Bolton to Anne Smith.
1814. *March 24th.* Abram Biddle to Margaret Morris.
1815. *March 2d.* William Edgar, of Delaware County (Newtown Township), to Elizabeth Harn, of the same place.
December 14th. William Wynn to Jane Leitch.
1816. *January 26th.* Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, to Mary Esray, of Newtown, Delaware County.
February 24th. James Cooper to Arsenath Darby, of Newtown Township, Delaware County.
April . Joshua Jackson to Mary Anne Smith [people of color].

NOTE TO THE "EARLY HISTORY OF MERION," PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.—In a foot-note on pages 308-9, vol. 4. is printed, from the original, a paper containing an edict of Parliament to suppress seditious conventicles, bearing date May 20, 1675, and signed by Humphrey Hughes and John Wynne. With it is a schedule containing the names of twenty-seven persons (Friends) who had "unlawfully met together, under pretence of religion, not according to the litargie and practice of the Church of England," and upon whom "the constables, church wardens, and overseers of the poor are ordered to levie by way of distresse and sale of

goods and chattels the sum appearing at each person's name." So many of the persons herein named, subsequently came to Pennsylvania, where their descendants now live, that I have thought it might be well to print these names in full. They were omitted from the history of Merion in my desire to be brief. The schedule is as follows:—

THE NAMES OF THOSE THAT UNLAWFULLY MET TOGETHER ATT LLWYN Y BRANER, WITHIN YE PARISH OF LLANVAUR, UPON YE 16TH DAY OF MAY, BRING SUNDAY, 1675, OATHES BEING MADE THEY WERE PRESENT FORMERLY IN UNLAWFUL MEETINGS WITHIN THREE MONTHS.—First conviction on the oathes of Owen, Dd. and Thomas Jones. Second conviction, and warrant for the double fine, on oath of Robert Evans.

10s. John David, Jo^a. and his wife, of Cilltalgarth.

10s. Hugh Robert and his wife, of the same.

10s. Cad^r Thomas, of the same.

10s. Robert David, of the same.

10s. Robert Owen, of vron goch.

10s. Elin Owen.

10s. John Thomas ap Hugh, of llaythgywm.

10s. John ap Edward, of nanlleidiog.

10s. Evan ap Edward, of Cynlas.

10s. Peter Owen, of bettws y Coed.

10s. Robert John, of penmaen.

10s. Margaret John, of the same.

10s. Hugh John Thomas, of nanlleidiog.

Sonne and daughter.

10s. Litter Thomas, of llandervel.

10s. Jane Moris, of penmaen.

10s. Edward Griffith, of llaetgwm.

10s. Edward Reese, of llangervel.

10s. John James, of llanddervel.

10s. W^m Morgan, of llanecill.

10s. Owen David, Cilltalgarth.

10s. John William, of the same.

Annes. verch David, wid. of penmaen.

This, it will be remembered, was the original paper as sent to John ap Thomas in his official character as constable.

A foot-note made by him reads thus:—

Evan Owen, y^e son of a widdow, called Gainor, whose late husband was Owen ap Evan, of Vron Goch, was convicted by oath to be present at a meeting, though but 9 or 10 years old.

J. J. L.

LETTER OF EDWARD JONES TO JOHN AP THOMAS.—In volume iv. No. 3, p. 314 *et seq.*, of this Magazine is printed a letter addressed to John ap Thomas, by his friend Edward Jones, bearing date 26th of 6mo. 1682, in which some account is given of the arrival of himself and companions at Upland, and of "the town which is to be builded fifteen or twenty miles up the river."

In the original manuscript between the paragraph ending with "the rate for surveying 100 acres was twenty shillings," and that commencing with—"the people here are Swedes," occurs a long paragraph in the Welsh language, which I was unable to translate and which was therefore omitted from the printed letter. Why this Welsh writing should thus interject its English companions had long been a mystery to me. This mystery has recently kindly been cleared up by Messrs. David Jones, of Redwood Street, Philadelphia, and the Rev. M. J. Ellis, of Cincinnati, who together, have carefully studied and translated the old Welsh paragraph. It now appears that the letter was to be carried to Wales by the captain of the vessel

which brought E. J. and his friends here. As its subject-matter referred almost entirely to the captain himself it was evidently deemed prudent, by E. J., to put it in a language of which the Englishman was ignorant. It is as follows:—

Answers concerning the Captain.—We liked him well enough when eating our own victuals: but beware of his provision, because it was only bread, salt meat, with little beer, and foul (stinking) water, usually.

But he made a great ado over me and my wife and over most of those who could talk with him. There is another captain living in the same town, and passengers from Carmarthenshire came over with him on his provision; and they spoke well of him; but they paid him four pounds, ten shillings, each; children under twelve years of age fifty-two shillings; and getting plenty to eat and good drink. The name of this good man is Captain Crossman; and as to the others I have not seen them. It is cheaper to furnish our own provisions than to pay four pounds, ten shillings each; this would be more satisfactory to me.

I think most of the things will not be sold until you come over, because so many things had previously been brought over. And as to the articles to bring with you they had better be some white fustian, serges to make clothes, men's hats, such as the country affords, saddles, bridles, and what belongs to them, shoes for men and women; blue flannel is most called for here; but all colors are used. Dont bring much white flannel with you; stuff dyed blue we like best."

This ends the Welsh paragraph, and the letter is resumed in the English language. Near its close occurs a line which my Welsh friends are unable to understand, and which they think must be *in cipher*, the key to which is lost! At the end of the postscript are a few more lines in the Welsh language which they thus translate. "Compel the master of the ship to come to the town of Philadelphia with your goods. I had to pay to others thirty shillings for hauling the things up; and be sure to pay for carrying your luggage, and everything else that you had started with, to the Captain."

J. J. L

THE NATURE OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PENN FAMILY AND MR. EDMUND PHYSICK.—

MR. EDITOR,—Pray permit a grandson of Dr. Philip Syng Physick to correct an erroneous impression, in regard to the nature of the connection which existed between the Penn family and Mr. Edmund Physick, the father of Dr. Physick.

In 1787 the Hon. John Penn, Junior (the head of the Proprietary family), gave his portrait to Mr. Edmund Physick, and, in the letter which accompanied it, Mr. Penn remarks: "This picture of one of a family in your connection with whom your probity and attachment have been so conspicuous, is presented as a testimony of gratitude and regard." In Mr. Thompson Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" ("Sunday Dispatch," Aug. 28, 1881) it is stated that Mr. Edmund Physick was "connected with the Proprietary family." Now, both of these statements are perfectly true, that is, so far as the intercourse of business and the ties of friendship can form a connection between two otherwise distinct families; for there was no matrimonial or blood relationship between the Penns and the Physicks, as has been inferred by some from the above statements.

Edmund Physick was an Englishman by birth, the sole surviving child of Mr. Timothy Physick, by his wife Martha, as shown by certificates, from parish registers, in my possession. He was born in the year 1727. He early entered the Proprietary service as a clerk to the Hon. Thomas Penn (son of the Founder), who made him his agent in Pennsylvania, and also commis-

sioned him Receiver General and Keeper of the Great Seal of the Province. He was through life the devoted officer and firm friend of the Proprietary family, and its members repaid his faithful services with an ample generosity. He first came to America in 1742. His death occurred in 1804.

In regard to the origin of "Physick" as a surname, I will add that the supposition (and it is given but as a supposition, in Mr. M. A. Lower's "Patronymica Britannica") of it being derived from a place called Lefisick, in Cornwall, is proved by late investigation to be groundless. On the other hand, all of the documentary evidence relating to the family, both in this country and in England, goes to prove the truth of the family tradition, viz., that their name was formerly Phiswick, tending, moreover, to show that they branched off from the parent stem (the Fishwick *alias* Phiswick family of the east of England) in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Although the surname is found (in registers, wills, and other records) spelled, variously, Fishwick, Phiswick, or Physick, it is always pronounced, in local English, either "fishick" or "physick."

PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK CONNER.

Octorara, near Rowlandsville Post Office,
Cecil Co., Maryland.
Sept. 19, 1881.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAUCH CHUNK RAILWAY, WRITTEN FIFTY YEARS AGO.—The growing interest in the early railway history of this and other countries, has led to the publication of some statements in which slight inaccuracies occur, growing out of the difficulty of consulting contemporaneous records. The following sketch of the railway described below therefore derives peculiar value from the fact that it was written by Mr. Solomon W. Roberts, about fifty years ago, in a common-place book then and now in his possession:—

The Mauch Chunk Railway, 1829.—This railway, the second one of importance constructed in the United States, was commenced in the winter of 1826-7 by the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, and was finished in about five months, under the direction of Josiah White, the acting manager of that company. This railway extends from the great coal mine to the Lehigh River, at the village of Mauch Chunk, a distance of nine miles.

For seven miles of its length the rails were laid upon a graded turnpike, which had formerly been used for the transportation of coal; but little expense was therefore incurred in forming the foundations for this distance.

The coal quarry (as it should be termed), lies on the opposite side of a mountain from Mauch Chunk, a little below the summit. The coal is uncovered to an extent of about six acres at present, and railways run in various directions over it to facilitate its removal. As the location is somewhat on the side of a mountain, there is no difficulty in draining to any requisite depth, and the refuse coal is thrown into the valley beneath by means of cars descending by their own gravity. The stratification is very much confused, but the bed appears to be about forty feet thick, if measured at right angles to its surface. The coal is excavated by means of gunpowder and wedges, and immediately thrown into the cars, which each contains a ton and a half. These cars are then drawn up by horses to the summit of the mountain, a rise of 46 feet in a distance of two-thirds of a mile, and there they are joined together in trains of 14 each. On each of these trains rides a single man, who has charge of the brake or friction-apparatus, by which the motion is regulated.

The wagons being started, they are allowed to run, by their own gravity, at the rate of six miles an hour, to Mauch Chunk, a distance of eight miles, in which the descent is 767 feet—varying from 69 feet to 111 feet in a mile.

A more rapid motion was attempted, but found not to answer. The wagons, if left to themselves, would probably go at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour.

At the end of the road the cars are let down an inclined plane or chute, to the Lehigh River, where the coal is loaded into boats. This plane is 750 feet long and has a descent of 215 feet. The wagons are let down singly by means of a rope, one end of which is hooked to them, the other being wound round a drum. As the wagon descends it turns the drum, and thus winds up the empty wagon which had gone down before it. The motion is regulated and may be entirely stopped by a man at the head of the plane, who, by means of a compound lever, causes friction on the circumference of the drum. The transit occupies about $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.

The Mauch Chunk Railway is formed by placing pieces of oak, about 5×7 inches and 7 feet long, across the road, four feet apart; two notches, 3 inches deep, are cut in each of these; into these notches the wooden rails of pine, 5×7 inches, are placed, and secured by wedges driven on their outer sides. The road is finished by placing, on the inner side of each of the wooden rails, an iron bar $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick, secured by four-inch spikes, the heads of which are countersunk. Where two bars come together their ends are cut off diagonally, and a small piece of sheet iron put under them to prevent their being pressed into the wood. The distance between the rails is 3 feet 7 inches.

This railroad consists of a single track, except at its two ends, and in the middle, where there are two tracks, so that the wagons may pass each other, the trains running at regular hours.

The empty wagons are drawn up the road by mules, walking in paths on each side of it; and as horse-power is not needed on the return, the animals ride down in cars prepared for the purpose, eating their fodder as they go.

The bodies of some of the coal wagons are made of sheet iron and others of oak boards; they all have cast-iron wheels, two feet in diameter, the flange or ledge to keep them on the road being an inch and a half high. The axles are of wrought iron, and, being wedged fast to the wheels, turn with them.

This railway cost about \$3000 per mile.

Grade of the Mauch Chunk Railway.

	Distance.	Rise in feet.
From the Lehigh River to head of chute	750 feet.	215
From head of chute	2 miles.	143
“ “ “	3d mile.	111
“ “ “	4th mile.	69
“ “ “	5th mile.	95
“ “ “	6th mile.	102
“ “ “	7th mile.	109
“ “ “	8th mile.	99
To summit of mountain from eight-mile tree	$\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile.	39
Total rise from Lehigh River to summit of mountain		982
Fall in $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from summit to coal mine		46
Height of coal mine above Lehigh River at Mauch Chunk		936
Distance nine miles from head of chute.		

—*Railway World*, March 22, 1879.

MR. E. A. BARBER, OF WEST CHESTER, PA., is preparing a memoir for publication on the Indians of Chester County, and will be obliged to any person who can give him information regarding personal reminiscences, traditions,

and facts concerning them, or the location of any Indian graves, mounds, rock-pictures, artificial shell-heaps, or cave-remains in the county. He will also be glad to hear from collectors of Indian relics, and receive descriptions and sketches of fine and rare stone implements (especially *tobacco-pipes*), ornaments, beads, pottery, and other aboriginal remains.

MINNESOTA EXPLORERS AND PIONEERS FROM A. D. 1659 TO A. D. 1858. By the Rev. Edward Duffield Neill. 4to., 128 pp. and Index. North Star Publishing Company, Minneapolis, 1881.

President Neill, of Macalester College, has furnished, under the above title, the results of his extensive researches regarding the explorers and pioneers of the upper Mississippi Valley. "As early as 1635," says President Neill, "one of Champlain's interpreters, Jean Nicolet (Nicolay), who came to Canada in 1618, reached the western shores of Lake Michigan. In the summer of 1634 he ascended the St. Lawrence, with a party of Hurons, and probably during the next winter was trading at Green Bay, in Wisconsin. . . . Of him it is said, in a letter written in 1640, that he had penetrated farthest into these distant countries, and that if he had proceeded 'three days more on a great river which flows from that lake [Green Bay] he would have found the sea.'"

"The first white men in Minnesota, of whom we have any record," continues the author, "were, according to Garneau, two persons of Huguenot affinities, Medard Chouart, known as Sieur Groselliers, and Pierre d'Espirit, called Sieur Radisson." The former came to Canada in 1641, and settled on the eastern shore of Lake Huron, the latter in 1656, and, like Groselliers, engaged in the peltry trade. In following this calling, about 1760, they penetrated into what is now the State of Minnesota. Mr. Neill has carefully examined the narratives of all who have visited there from that time down to 1858, and has extracted from their accounts such parts as describe the territory now occupied by Minnesota. As these are given in chronological order, and are accompanied with accounts of the writers, the whole forms an interesting and connected story, portraying graphically the discovery and settlement of what has long been known as the Northwest, but which American enterprise will soon make the North centre of the United States.

THOMAS MAKIN, SCHOOLMASTER AND POET.—In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for November 22 to November 29, 1733, is an account of the death of one of these Colonial schoolmasters, which seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. J. F. Fisher (see *Memoirs of the His. Soc. of Penna.*, vol. ii., pt. ii., page 78). Where is the "Rock on Schuylkill's eastern Side"?

Philadelphia, Nov. 29. On Monday evening last, Mr. Thomas Meakins [sic] fell of [sic] a Wharff into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again, was drowned. He was an ancient Man, and formerly liv'd very well in this city, teaching a considerable school; but of late Years was reduc'd to extream Poverty. The following Lines were made by himself some time since.

Some purchase Land, some stately Buildings raise,
To memorize their Names to future Days,
But I've a lasting Monument will stand,
When Building's fall, and Sales are made of Land:
A certain Rock on Schuylkill's eastern Side,
Which bears my Name, for Ages will abide;
This rock, well known, which Anglers do frequent,
When I am gone, will be my Monument.

Queries.

THE EMBARGO UNDER PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.—The following is a copy of a letter chiefly on this topic, dated May 3, 1808, from the Hon. Philip B. Key, of Georgetown, D. C., to Col. William Campbell, an eminent citizen of Fredericktown, Md. The original, never before printed, is in the possession of Mrs. Rev. Dr. Syle, of Philadelphia, a granddaughter of Col. Campbell.

Was this Mr. Key, or Francis S. Key, Esq., U. S. Attorney for the District of Columbia—probably his son—the author of "The Star Spangled Banner"?

W. H.

Elizabeth, N. J., July, 1881.

"Dear Sir,—I hope you have got abroad again and in as good spirits as the embargo will permit. Pray tell me what do Mr. Jefferson's friends think of it so far as you learn. What is the general opinion in your neighborhood, and do they approve of my opposition to it? From the last English accounts, the Ministry are supported by a great majority as to their Decrees in Council. But Erskine told me yesterday that France was easing off, particularly Holland, and if so, he says the British will instantly rescind, as they hold it on, he says, only to counteract the French interdiction of British trade. In Montgomery, where I have been for a day or two, they *detest* the Embargo.

"Your letter contained a strange idea of my paying court to Jefferson. I have seen him but twice in four months, and had but *one* Congressional (dinner?) Such an idea must have got abroad for some strange purpose. With Madison I am better acquainted—so with Duvall. With Dearborn I have had a paper quarrel, all on my side, and the public shall have it to show my sovereign contempt for official insolence. He had the impudence to tell a member of Congress that he hardly knows me by sight, that I have 'monarchical tendencies.' I have scored him for the calumny and falsehood. In due time it shall get abroad as I mean to allow him some leisure to apologize.

"All I can wish you is good health, a full crop, and a fine price. My best compliments to your family. Yrs dr Sir, PHILIP B. KEY."

BARTHOLOMEW.—Mr. J. A. Bartholomew, of Vanessa, Ontario, will be glad to learn anything regarding his family, who removed from Pennsylvania in 1800. His grandfather came from Switzerland during the Revolutionary War. He was twice married. By his first wife he had three children, Philip, Henry, and Ludwick; and seven children by the second marriage. The Henry by the first marriage removed to Hamilton in 1800, and died in 1815.

F. E. B.,

407 Walnut St., Phila.

PHILEMON DICKINSON.—Can any of the readers or correspondents of the *MAGAZINE* state with certainty whether General Philemon Dickinson of the Revolutionary Army was or was not born in Maryland?

Walter Dickinson, the emigrant, and founder of the family in Maryland, was the son of Charles Dickinson, of London, came first to Virginia, and then to Maryland, settling upon Choptank River, in Talbot County. From Walter came William, born in Virginia, in 1658, and died in Maryland in 1717. From William came Samuel Dickinson, who first married Judith

Troth, and then Mary Cadwalader, of Philadelphia. From Samuel and Mary his wife, came John, the author of the *Farmer's Letters*, born at the seat of his father, Crosiadore, on Choptank River, in Talbot County, Md. (still in the family), Nov. 8, 1732.

John had a brother named Philemon, born April 5, 1739, but the record from which this memorandum is taken does not state where. The biographies of John say that his parents moved from Maryland soon after his birth. If this be true, Philemon Dickinson was not born in Maryland, and may have been a native of Delaware, Pennsylvania, or New Jersey. S. A. H.
Easton, Md.

PROCLAMATION MONEY.—In the letter of Robert Morris, of 1782, as to a proposed system of coinage, he speaks of *Proclamation* money as the same as Pennsylvania money; that is, seven shillings and six pence to the dollar. What proclamation established this rule? I have supposed proclamation money was lawful money, or five shillings to the dollar, according to the proclamation of Queen Anne. A.

Replies.

GEORGE KNOX (vol. iv. p. 235).—In the last No. of the *MAGAZINE* I see a "Query" by Mr. Linn as to the later movements of Lieut. George Knox, of the 9th Penna. I am interested in the same question. In Stafford's Phila. Directory for 1800, I see that a certain "*George Knox*" was at that time (1800) American Consul at "Kingston upon Hull," England; who knows whether it was the Geo. Knox of Stony Point? D. McN. S.
Boston, Mass.

FUNERAL OF MISS FANNY DURDIN (Vol. V., p. 195).—The note on this page speaks of the funeral of this young lady, and gives the year of her death as 1813. In the volume entitled *Inscriptions, St. Peter's Ch. Yard*, it is given as 1812. In 1809 her brother died and was buried at St. Peter's. The family, though not of the blood, were connected by marriage with the Penns. Their residence is yet at Huntington Castle, Ireland. William Penn, a grandson of William Penn by his first wife, married first Christina Forbes—from whom came the Penn-Gaskells of Shannagary Castle. He married secondly Anne Vaux, and died soon afterward. His widow married, in 1767, Alexander Durdin, of a family originally from the county of Norfolk. She was his third wife. She died soon after her marriage, making her husband her sole heir and legatee to all her estate in Ireland and America. Alexander Durdin, on the marriage of his eldest son (issue of his second wife) Richard with Miss Esmonde, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Esmonde, Baronet, of Huntington Castle, near Ferns, in Ireland, settled on him the Pennsylvania estate. It has been stated, but perhaps incorrectly, that on part of his estate he founded the city of Huntingdon. Mr. Day in his *Historical Collections*, and Lytle who follows him in his *History of Huntingdon County*, say the name was given by Provost Smith after the Countess of Huntingdon, the celebrated Methodist, often mentioned in Horace Walpole's letters. These are all in error. In the life of Dr. Smith there is a petition from the inhabitants of the "Townships of Huntingdon and Tyrone," dated "October ye 3d day, 1748." This is twenty years earlier than the date of the town as given by the authors named, and also of the marriage of Alex. Durdin.

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VOL. V.

1881.

No. 4.

THE GERMANTOWN ROAD AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from page 258.)

PART FOURTH.

It may be remembered that long before the war of the Revolution Joshua Fisher had established a line of packet ships sailing regularly between Philadelphia and London. With his broad views he was also eminently practical, so he did much more than this. In order to improve navigation he himself in 1756 made a chart of the Delaware Bay and River, which was continued in use by pilots until the Coast Survey produced one. His children were spoken of in the Walks in Second Street, printed in the fourth volume, as exiled to Virginia, and of some of them a more particular account was given. One of them, Thomas, naturally comes in here, for Fisher's Lane takes its name from him. He was born at Lewes, in Delaware, and, like his brothers, travelled when a youth through England and on the continent. He was then but twenty-one, and in the beginning of his tour was captured at sea in the war, in 1762-3, and carried a prisoner into Spain. On his return home he became

engaged in the shipping business with his father and brother, and resided in Second Street below Walnut. In 1771 he married Sarah, a daughter of William Logan. Driven from the city by the yellow fever, they put up a small building of stone, on the northernmost part of Stenton which, as their portion, had fallen to them. They found this retreat agreeable, and so, in the year 1795, or immediately afterwards, built the house called Wakefield, named after the place of residence of his maternal ancestor, Joshua Maud, in Yorkshire, England. The curse of unrest has not fallen on all Americans, for here is an instance of seven generations living in the same place; James Logan; his son William; William's daughter Sarah; her son William Logan Fisher; his son Thomas R.; his daughter Mary; and her daughter Miss Letitia Carpenter, who was married this year to Mr. William Redwood Wright, a great-grandson of Miers Fisher of Ury. On the wedding day the digging of the cellar of their house, Waldheim, was begun by the bride, who was followed by Mr. Wright's great-uncle, the venerable Mr. Eli K. Price, who threw out the second shovelful of earth.

The children of Thomas Fisher were, Joshua who married Elizabeth Powel Francis, whose only child was the late J. Francis Fisher, of Alverthorpe, a mile to the east of Jenkintown; Hannah Logan who married James Smith and had three daughters; William Logan of whom more hereafter, as his descendants remain on Fisher's Lane; James Logan who married Ann Eliza George; and Esther who died unmarried. James Logan Fisher was the father of Sidney George who married Elizabeth Ingersoll, of James Logan who died at an early age in Paris, and of Charles Henry who married Sarah Ann Atherton and lived at Brookwood, two miles to the northeast of Wakefield.

William Logan Fisher was married first to Mary Rodman of New Bedford, by whom he had three children, Thomas Rodman married to Letitia Ellicott, of Ellicott's Mills, Md.; Sarah Logan married to William Wister of Belfield; and Elizabeth Rodman who died unmarried. His second wife was Sarah Lindley of Chester County, and their children



St. Michaels, Maryland

were, Lindley, Charles William, and Mary Rodman who married Samuel M. Fox, of Foxburg in Clarion County in this State. The children of Thomas Rodman Fisher and Letitia Ellicott were Mary Rodman married to Mr. George W. Carpenter, Ellicott, and Harvey. The two former live at Little Wakefield, west of the old property, where their father built his place of residence in 1829.

In 1795 Eleazer Oswald printed "The Constitution of the Germantown Society for Promoting Domestic Manufactures." It was "expected that every member, at the annual meeting of the Society, shall be clothed in the manufactures of his country, if not inconvenient to himself." By Article XI. it was provided that, "The Society shall engage a store-keeper to receive and sell, on a low commission, any thread, woolen, linen, or any other domestic manufacture brought to him." William Logan Fisher, besides being an author of some note, took a deep interest in manufactures, and no doubt was one of the members of this Society, for at an early day he established mills on his property. This place would seem to be the purchase which William Logan made, May 6, 1755, of John Roberts, consisting of about fifteen acres and "two water corn mills, formerly called Potts' Mills." Whether the same as "Busby's, late Morris's," mentioned on p. 257, I know not, but suppose they are. The buildings, yet about the same as in Mr. Fisher's time, are moderate in size compared with those now constructed for such purposes, and, scattered over the grounds along the Wingohocking as it crosses Fisher's Lane, present so picturesque an appearance as to recall some beautiful English scenes. The productions were various;—the solid stone walls of the old powder mill are now the outer walls of four houses. In an English newspaper of about the year 1830 I find the following: "A number of framework knitters have emigrated to the United States during the last week or two, and others are about to follow them. Their place of destination is Germantown, near Philadelphia, where there is a large manufactory for hose, gloves, etc., carried on by a Quaker." Besides these there were woollen mills for broadcloth. The work of Mr. Fisher was

but one of the phases in the process of development. The earliest settlers made excellent linens. They were also noted for their fabric of stockings, a fact which induced the Bank of Germantown to use as its seal a representation of one of their looms. These primitive manufacturers used to stand with their goods for sale on the edge of the pavement on the north side of Market street near Second. In 1759 the Rev. Mr. Burnaby, that most interesting English traveler, relates that the women of Germantown annually sold sixty thousand pairs of stockings of their own make. This number, however important then, was small when contrasted with the product of Wakefield. In its turn its production has sunk into an insignificant fraction compared with the number now produced in Germantown, one mill alone turning out eighteen thousand pairs a day. Besides his works at home Mr. Fisher in 1832 erected a blast furnace, a rolling mill, and nail factory at Duncannon, on the Susquehanna, above Harrisburg. All of the works remain in possession of the family and their relatives.

Some ten years ago, a number of gentlemen devoted to equestrian exercise established what is known as "The Hare and Hound Club of Germantown." The first "Meet" was at Kennelworth, the place of Mr. Samuel Welsh, Jr., but soon afterward they met on the meadow at Wakefield. In this sport the "hares," armed with a tin horn, and large bags of torn paper on their backs, start across the country a few minutes in advance of the "hounds," dropping paper, technically called "scent," as they pass along to mark their course. They are soon lost to sight, but the sound of the horn can be heard in the distance, indicating the direction they have taken. Then, at a given signal forty riders, or more, dash off at a fearful speed, some taking fences and ditches in their course, others finding a place in the barrier through which they can break. All are in hot haste, each one eager for the glory of capturing the horn, which the "hare" has, by this time, borne more than a mile away. Along the route large numbers of spectators are gathered to witness the brilliant feats of horsemanship, and these by their enthusiastic applause,

betray an interest in the amusement equal to that felt by the gay participants themselves. The gaiety of the scene is now enlivened by the new costume, a scarlet coat and light-coloured breeches.

Adjoining Wakefield on the north, is Belfield, formerly a place of more than an hundred acres. Some sixty years ago or more, it was the residence of Charles Wilson Peale who founded the Museum that so long delighted the people of Philadelphia, and who has left an enduring monument in the great number of portraits which he executed of persons of importance in the era of the Revolution. Many of his specimens of Natural History were prepared here, and it is still remembered that he had an elk which roamed about the grounds. Peale, however, had to leave the place, and in 1820, or perhaps before, sold it to William Logan Fisher. This gentleman's daughter, Sarah Logan, married William Wister who died on the 19th of November of this year. On these delightful grounds he had lived with his wife since the year 1826. His descent will appear on page 387. In Mr. Wister there was added to a most genial temper, an infinite humour; the essence of these is not however easily expressed by words. His *mots*, incessant, and always to the point, depended on manner and upon a peculiar intuitive ability to convey by a word a pregnant thought. When Miss Harriet Martineau was in this country she was received with much courtesy in many a parlour, and often said she "came here to see how Americans lived." Mr. Wister, on being told of this, said, "She should be taken into our kitchens." At one of the dinners of the Historical Society in the La Pierre House, it so happened that while many flowers and much confectionery were displayed on the table, the amount of meat placed on a plate was in inverse proportion to the ornaments. I saw served to Mr. Wister a piece not larger than one's little finger, and observed that some remarks made thereon attracted the attention of the host, who after a few words said, "Certainly Mr. Wister, you shall have anything you like." "Well then," was the response "Send me a slice of a squab elephant." Humour, however

was not the sole characteristic of Mr. Wister, for he also possessed the nicest sense of honour. When his partnership with Thomas R. Fisher had expired, he established print works at the mills north of Wakefield. There was a large business there, and once when the mills were entirely filled with goods belonging to others, sent there to be printed, a fire occurred which destroyed them all. The insurance, which would have covered the loss, had expired but a few days previously, and had not been renewed. The disaster caused great loss, but was met with fortitude, and the loss was in time paid. This, however, required very many long years of an economy more rigid than we of our day can easily imagine, but at last he had the satisfaction of having repaired the damage which a malignant incendiary had imposed upon him.

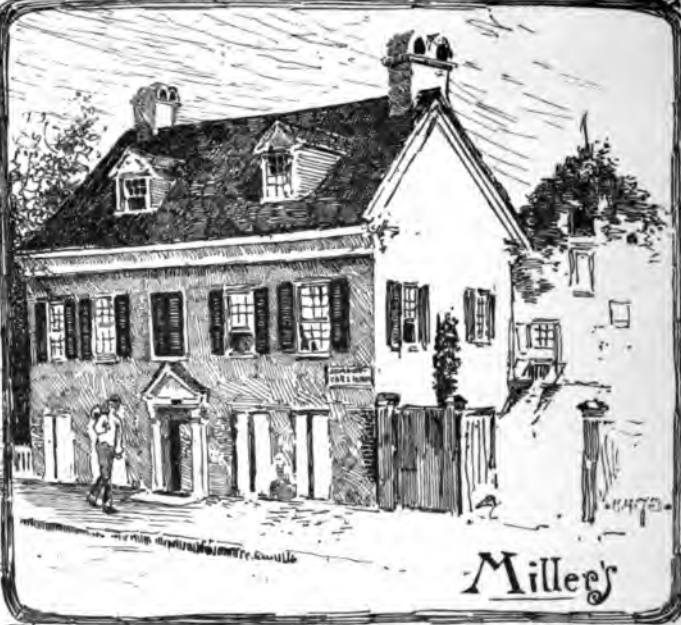
Danenhower's mill, before the Revolution, and Armstrong's, early in this century, were on the Wingohocking which passes through Belfield. The names were applied, it is probable, to the same mill, which was situated a little to the north of Duy's Lane. The lane that ran from the mill about due west, over to Shoemaker's Lane, is laid down on an old chart as the "Road to Shellebarger's Mill," and it appears to have been about where Armstrong Street now is. To the north of Belfield is Thorp's Mill, where formerly there were print works. James, John, and Issachar, brothers of this name, Thorp, were Englishmen, who came here early in this century, and gave their name to the mill and to the lane near by.

We now return to the avenue, but not by Wister Street, which name has replaced both of the earlier ones, Danenhower's Lane and Duy's. Returning by the way of Fisher's Lane, attention may be called to a picture of the "Castle of Rosenheim," mentioned on p. 258. It is on the lower corner of the plate which faces p. 372. I can also correct an error, not a very serious one, but to do so grieves me, for I must occasionally give the aged Misses Toland a much longer walk. They had a pew not only in St. Luke's Church, but, also, one in the Market Square Presbyterian Church. Some

Royal's House
• 4515 •



Hunter's Lane Wakefield



Milley's

100 M

11

of these ladies were inclined to St. Luke's, while the others were not, and it so happened that the last one who died, attended, in her latter years, the Market Square Church, whose pastor officiated at her funeral. She, however, was the one of the sisters who was most strongly attached to the Episcopal Church.

Before leaving the old burial-ground it may be stated that the remains of Gen. Agnew and Col. Bird, no longer repose there. A descendant of the General, through the female line, Mr. H. A. Martin, of Roxbury, Mass., visited the late Charles J. Wister, and gave him copies of several of Agnew's letters, and also of that written by his Orderly, Alexander Andrew. The General fell on the 4th of Oct. 1777, and the letter of his Orderly was written from Philadelphia on the 8th of March, 1778. It has the following postscript. "A most painful task I have had to go through but determined to do it the Box comes in the Waggon to-morrow a melancholy sight I wish it over." This would seem to refer to an exhumation of Gen. Agnew's remains, but of a transportation of them to Scotland Mr. Martin had no knowledge; and from the following letter it would appear that such a construction should not be put on the Orderly's language:—

OAK LANE & YORK ROAD, 10th Nov. 1881.

TO MR. TOWNSEND WARD,

MILESTOWN.

Dear Sir: Your letter reached me by this morning's mail, and I hasten to reply as to how I got the information relative to the removal of the remains of Gen. Agnew and Col. Bird to our family burial-ground at the corner of Green Lane and York Road, Branchtown.

My grandfather, the late Dr. Geo. de Benneville, was the youngest son of Dr. Geo. de Benneville, whose autobiography you have in your library, and was seventeen years old at the time of the battle of Germantown. He has related many interesting events of that period, and among them, the removal of the remains of the officers above referred to, as he was present when the request was made by their friends, and also at the interment—the first made there, although the spot had been selected for the purpose of a burial-ground

by his father, as early as 1755, when he purchased the property and removed there.

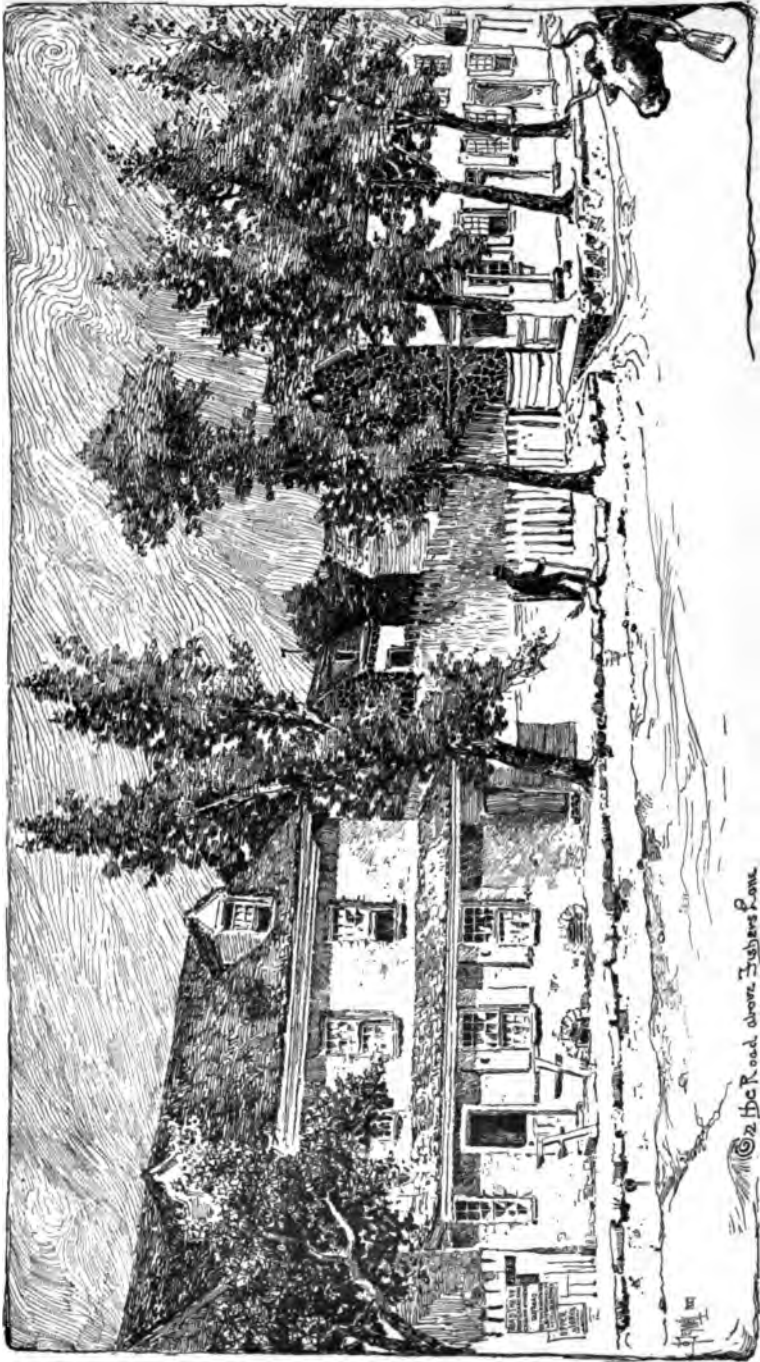
My great-grandfather was extensively known in England, France, and Germany, where he had devoted his early life to writing and preaching the Reformed doctrine with many other of the nobility and gentry refugees. Thus, it was from their knowledge of him, that the British officers requested the use of this ground for the burial. If any one should wish to visit the graves, I shall be pleased to show them that courtesy.

Yours with respect,

ANNE DE BENNEVILLE MEARS.

In the past fifteen years many of the ancient buildings along the avenue have been replaced by modern structures. It is most fortunate for old Germantown that during this time Mr. John Richard, a native of Berne, Switzerland, has with good taste and a truthful pencil perpetuated their appearance. He has, also, been so generous as to permit their use to illustrate these "Walks." The plate, entitled "On the Road above Fisher's Lane," is a view of the east side of the avenue next north of the burial-ground. Houses of a most modern appearance have now replaced the picturesque old structures. A little to the north stands No. 4473, a contemporary of those of the past; and as by the new grade the avenue has been raised to the level of its windows, steps are to be descended in order to enter the front door. This was Miller's, and is represented on the plate spoken of above. On the south side of the same lot, but somewhat in the rear, is a quaint looking stone house, topped with creeping vines, evidently an early one. Mehl Street, a modern creation after an old name, now appears, and on its northeast corner is the church of St. John the Baptist. It was the good fortune of a congregation possessed of taste, to select an architect who, by copying an old English model, has most happily expressed their taste in his work.

"The solemn arches breathe in stone,
Window and wall have lips to tell
The mighty faith of days unknown."



© 1912 The Road above Fishers Cove

Vertical line of text or a scanning artifact on the left side of the page.

No. 4511 is the house of George Royal, now occupied by his grandchildren. It is to be spoken of later, as there is another Royal house opposite. Near by is a double house of stone, No. 4515, belonging to the same family. It is to be looked upon with reverence, for its front door is one of the memorable half-doors of Germantown's old houses. Only a little further and we reach the southern boundary line of ancient Germantown, a line that crossed 14 perches 4 feet south of Danenhower's or Duy's Lane, now Wister Street. The northern boundary of the old town was the road to Abington, now Washington Street, and the distance between these lines by scale is 1.27 miles, say one and a quarter miles. This intervening tract was Germantown, and it was divided into fifty-two parcels of land, of about equal size, which were drawn for by lottery, as the following declaration may show.

"We whose names are to these presents subscribed, do hereby certify unto all whom it may concern, that soon after our arrival in this Province of Pennsylvania, in October, 1683, to our certain knowledge Herman op den Graff, Dirk op den Graff, and Abraham op den Graff, as well as we ourselves, in the cave of Francis Daniel Pastorius, at Philadelphia, did cast lots for the respective lots which they and we then began to settle in Germantown; and the said Graffs (three brothers) have sold their several lots, each by himself, no less than if a division in writing had been made by them. Witness our hands this 29th Nov. A. D. 1709.

Lenart Arets	Thones Kunder	Abraham Tunes
Jan Lensen	William Streypers	Jan Lucken
	Reyner Tysen."	

One half of the lots lay on each side of the Indian Trail or road, but the purchase which resulted in Germantown comprised much more land than these lots contained. Any one who desires to understand the intricacies of the other purchases connected with this one, is referred to Mr. Pennypacker's article on the Settlement of Germantown, vol. iv. pp. 3-5, where they are clearly set forth. In such a sketch as this, it is only necessary to say that the remainder of the

Germantown purchase was thus divided. The land on the south, from Naglee's Hill to the southern line, and that to the north of Washington Street, the northern line, was divided into what were called "Side Lots." Each of these bore a number, and fell to the holder of the corresponding number of the Germantown lot. Thus "Side Lot No. 2," which may be remembered as Thones Kunder's, now Mrs. Logan's place, Loudoun, was his because he had drawn the Germantown Lot No. 2, soon to be spoken of. From the foot of Naglee's Hill to the southern boundary line, we have been passing over five of the "Side Lots," a distance of half a mile. These Side Lots, of considerable extent, were not, strictly speaking, in the town. There came to be a number of houses built upon them, and a name was therefore to be found for the place, and the Germantowners of early days called it Schmiersburg.

The band of early immigrants, each with his passport elegantly written with golden ink on parchment, as they passed along the Indian Trail and crossed this boundary, ought to have been charmed with the appearance of the country, and their hearts should have swelled with gratitude to God and to William Penn, when at last they reached the spot where they were to dwell, and to found a town soon to be spoken of with respect; a town, the first in the land, that was to be built of stone. It is said that this was not the case with all of them, for some "growled" because there was no navigable stream, as they said had been promised. But this, aside;—Oldmixon, the historian, about the year 1700, writes: "The whole street, about one mile in length, was lined with blooming peach trees." Mrs. William Wister remembers purchasing Oldmixon peaches in the market. Did the name come from the historian, or from Sir John Oldmixon, Baronet? It is known that this gentleman in our time lived in Ninth Street below Market, and also for many years in Chester County, and, too, for a time on Duy's Lane. Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, came here in 1748, and thus speaks of the place: "After a ride of six English miles, we came to Germantown; this town has only one street, but is

near two English miles long. It is for the greatest part inhabited by Germans, who from time to time come from their country to North America, and settle here, because they enjoy such privileges as they are not possessed of anywhere else. Most of the inhabitants are tradesmen, and make almost everything in such quantity and perfection, that in a short time this province will want very little from England, its mother country. Most of the houses were built of the stone which is mixed with glimmer, and found everywhere towards Philadelphia, but is more scarce further on. Several houses, however, were made of brick. They were commonly two stories high, and sometimes higher. The roofs consisted of shingles of the white cedar wood. Their shape resembles that of the roofs in Sweden, but the angles they formed at the top were either obtuse, right angled, or acute, according as the slopes were steep or easy. They sometimes formed either the half of an octagon, or the half of a dodecagon.

“Many of the roofs were made in such a manner, that they could be walked upon, having a balustrade round them. Many of the upper stories had balconies before them, from whence the people had a prospect into the street. The windows, even those in the third story, had shutters. Each house had a fine garden. The town had three churches, one for the Lutherans, another for the Reformed Protestants, and the third for the Quakers. The inhabitants were so numerous, that the street was always full. The Baptists have likewise a meeting-house.” Kalm also speaks and with due respect, of the picturesque and useful spring houses, which are so common in Pennsylvania.

Silas Deane, in 1775, writes, “Germantown consists of one street, built entirely of rough stone, two miles nearly in length, and the houses correspond to the appearance of the inhabitants, rough children of nature, and German nature too.” In 1797 the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt says, “Germantown is a long village near two miles and a half in extent. The houses, to the number of about three hundred, are all built on the side of the highway.” In the autumn of 1804, there passed along the road Alexander Wil-

son, a Scottish man, the celebrated ornithologist, and he, too, has something to say. In his long walk to Niagara, described in his poem, "the Foresters," he writes:—

"Till through old Germantown we lightly trod,
That skirts for three long miles the narrow road:
And rising Chestnut Hill around surveyed,
Wide woods below in vast extent displayed."

Later than Wilson, is a gentleman of New York, an architect of note. In recently speaking of Germantown, he told a friend of mine that the masonry there is the best in the United States.

The building No. 4537, one door north of Danenhower's Lane, or Wister Street, is at this time occupied by Christopher Kinzel, who resides in it, and has his barber shop there. It is on the site of Thones Kunder's house, and consequently is on lot No. 2. When the original house was partly taken down, this building was erected in its place, and was long known as Leshner's Tavern. A portion of the wall of the old house, one story high and very old looking, was left standing, and may now be seen in the northwest wall of the present house. It was in Thones Kunder's house, in 1683, that the Friends held their first meeting for worship. Holding meetings in the houses of various Friends was the custom until a building for the purpose was erected by the Society. Proud, in his history, speaks of this first meeting; but it is spoken of long before his time, for Thomas Chalkley records in his Journal, in 1729, that he was at Thones Kunder's, or Dennis Conrad's funeral, and he verifies the statement that the first meeting was held there.

It is not far to Jefferson Street, and from it to Ashmead, are the grounds attached to the house of Major Philip R. Freas, his printing office being on the north side. Logan's Run has its rise in a spring which forms the fish pond in his ample garden. The stream crosses the avenue at Seymour Street, opposite Mehl, now by a culvert, and then passes through what once was Royal's meadow, the Henry grounds, and Huber's. From Huber's, passing under the Germantown Railway, it finds its way through Roberts's ground, soon to pass under

the old bridge of the turnpike, an etching of which is given opposite to page 18 of this volume. It thus crossed the lower end of Stenton, and joined the main stream, the Wingohocking, on what was formerly a part of Stenton, but later was Mr. Whetham's property, near Broad Street, the water finally falling into Frankford Creek. About one hundred feet north of Ashmead Street is the Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Stephen's, of old English architecture, and strangely unlike the primitive chapels of that sect. Next in interest is the house at the southeast corner of Bringhurst Street and the avenue. It was the home of the family of Bringhurst, well known in old Germantown, but it is now entirely changed in appearance by its present owner, Mr. Jabez Gates. Mr. John Keen Gamble, of Germantown, writes that his great-great-grandfather George Bringhurst, who died February 18, 1752, his great-grandfather John Bringhurst, who died March 18, 1795, his grandfather Jesse Bringhurst, who married Mildred Keen, whose biography is in this *MAGAZINE*, vol. iv., p. 349, and his uncle, a mother's brother, who died June 8, 1868, are all buried in the lower burying-ground. About the time of the Revolution and afterwards these Bringhursts went largely into the business of carriage building.

It is not far to the site of a printing and publishing office, noted as among the most remarkable in the colonies;—that of Christopher Saur. Before speaking of it, however, I ought to say that any merit that may be detected in the following account is owing to the deep researches of the learned Professor Oswald Seidensticker and Mr. Abraham H. Cassell, the latter a descendant of Saur. Their labours have been long-continued, earnest, and most useful, for they have quarried among the rich deposits of the past. Christopher Saur was born in 1693, in Laasphe, Wittgenstein, Westphalia, and was fortunate in so far that his youth was passed under a tolerant ruler. This was not often the case in that day in Germany, for many of its sovereigns and princes greatly oppressed their people, who were at that time under the experience of an excessive fermentation of religious thought. The letters and tracts of the era are full of the

“Born Again,” of the “Circles of the Awakened,” of “The Inspired,” and of the “Philadelphia Bund.” Of this latter was Johanna Eleanora von Merlau, who made so deep an impression on William Penn, and who was one of the Frankfort Land Company which had much to do with the settlement of Germantown. Among some of the sects of that time there were wandering preachers, ascetic and mystical men, often learned, but sometimes of ill-balanced mind. They spoke in secret conventicles, and experienced nervous tremblings and head throwings, and frequently gave solemn warnings. In that era arose the Dunkards; and then it was that Zinzendorf became one of “The Inspired.” From such a land Saur, in 1724, came to Germantown, with his wife and son, the latter having been born Sept. 26, 1721. They were Dunkards, and Saur was a preacher among them. With him came Charles Mackinet, John Adam Gruber, and John Charles Gleim, besides several others. The Mennonites and German Quakers, who were the earliest comers to Germantown, had not all passed away, and he therefore knew many of them. In the spring of 1726 he went to Chester County, to that part near where Ephrata, Lancaster County, now is, but in April, 1731, he returned to Germantown. In 1730 his wife Christina was deluded into leaving him, in order to join Conrad Beisel’s mystical community. She soon became vice-prioress of the convent, under the name of Marcella, and remained there until the 17th of Nov. 1744, when failing health and the entreaties of her only son prevailed with her to leave. As her delusion was not yet fully dispelled, she would not go to her husband, but remained with her son until the 20th of June, 1745, when at last she rejoined him. She had been absent from him fifteen years, and he was now ill, and needed her soothing care.

Saur was a man of unusual and remarkable ability. Bred a tailor in Germany, here he acquired proficiency in, it is said, some thirty other pursuits. He became a farmer, an apothecary, a surgeon, a botanist, a clock and watch maker, book-binder, an optician, a manufacturer of paper, he drew wire and lead, and made all the materials for the books he

printed. In deeds, he is called "a clock and mathematical instrument maker." He also imported German Bibles in considerable numbers. He was soon a successful man, for in 1732 he built the large old house of stone that formerly occupied the site where No. 4653 now is. It had in it a room in which the Dunkards met for worship. This was in the second story, and the partitions of the adjoining rooms were hung by hinges to the joists above. When necessity required it they could be swung open, and any amount of room be made in an instant. His varied pursuits made him well acquainted with great numbers of the people of the province, and so with his quick apprehension, perceiving the need of a vehicle of thought, he became a printer, and in 1739 issued his first almanac. This was from a press he imported from Berleburg, where "The Inspired" had used it. The first book he printed was *Zionitischer Weyranchs Hügel oder Myrrhenberg*, or, as we might say, the "Hill of Incense." In 1743 the Bible in German was printed by him forty years prior to its appearance here in English. In his prospectus the price was put at fourteen shillings, unbound, but, "by the aid of a few well-inclined friends," he says, "he was enabled to sell the worth of fourteen shillings for the price of twelve; \$1.60, and he did so." But bound copies, his lowest price was eighteen shillings, or \$2.40." His newspaper was commenced on the 20th of August, 1739, under the following title: *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten, aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reiche*; or "High German Pennsylvania Historian, or collection of important news from the Kingdom of Nature and of the Church." It was at first a quarterly issue, but made monthly, and enlarged in 1741. In 1745 its name was changed to *Berichte oder Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reiche*; or "Reports or a Collection of Important News from the Kingdom of Nature and the Church." In 1748 it was issued twice a month, the intermediate issues not numbered, and the price three shillings, or forty cents the year, with the right on the part of a subscriber to an advertisement without charge. In the years

paper was continued until 1790, by Billmeyer, under the title of *Die Germantauer Zeitung*.

The second Christopher Sower prospered in worldly goods, and in time became possessed of nine different properties in Germantown, besides several valuable ones outside of it. He was of so delicate a conscience as to prefix, in 1762, to information in his paper, the words "probably true," and no doubt his life throughout was entirely in accordance with the truthful though quaint simplicity of this announcement. The troubles of the Revolution were, however, yet to come upon him to thoroughly test the steadfastness of his faith. In 1778 he was arrested by some of McLane's men, who shaved and stripped him stark naked, and then painted, this man, so venerable by his pure, unselfish, and laborious life. Gen. Muhlenberg had him seek an interview with Gen. Washington, who liberated him. His property was now seized and sold, and not in accordance with the provisions of the statute just passed. He, however, with his religious belief, was powerless, for his conscience forbade appeal to any human tribunal. And so, after living for a time at Mathetchy, pronounced Ma-set-shee, now Metutchen, in Montgomery Co., about four miles N.W. from Norristown, in Brother Conrad Stamm's Weaving Shop, he died in poverty on the 26th of Aug. 1784.

Some of the children of Christopher Sower the second, were printers. During the occupation of the city by the British, Christopher and Peter plied their trade in it, and printed the poems of Pastor Kunze, who afterwards became a professor in Columbia College, New York. They also issued a weekly paper in the interest of the Loyalists. After the evacuation of Philadelphia, Christopher the third went to St. Johns, New Brunswick, and there issued the "*Royal Gazette*." Afterwards he went to Baltimore, where he died in 1799. Samuel Saur remained for a time in Germantown, but about 1790 went to Chestnut Hill, and there printed a paper in continuation of Billmeyer's, spoken of above, under the title of *Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift*. From there he moved to Philadelphia, and issued it from No. 71 Race

Street, between Second and Third, under the title of *Das Philadelphia Wochenblatt*, until 1795. He printed a number of books and pamphlets at Chestnut Hill and in this city. In 1795 he went to Baltimore, and established there a house for publishing German books. David, another son, was born in 1764. He printed some little things in Philadelphia, and then went to Norristown, where he continued long as a publisher of books and of a newspaper. His son, also named David, born Feb. 11th, 1794, was for a long time the publisher of the *Norristown Herald*. He married Cecilia Chollet, daughter of a French emigrant of the era of the Reign of Terror. Their son, Charles G. Sower, was born in 1821, and is at this time a member of "The Philadelphia German Pioneer-verein," and is largely in the publishing business in Philadelphia. In this family, therefore, the trade of printing has been continued in an unbroken line from 1738 to 1881. One, at least, of the family lives in Germantown, Mr. William H. Sowers, who resides on Harvey Street. Another son of Christopher the second, as I am led to believe, went to Lancaster County after the Revolution. He had a son Michael and a grandson Jonathan, who was the father of this Mr. William H. Sowers.

When the Sowers left their old house it came to be occupied by others, for a time by Charles J. Wister, who entirely remodelled it, but did not take down the walls, as they were stronger and better than modern ones. He pointed out to Mr. Cassell the spot where the first Christopher and his wife were buried, in the back corner of the garden, but the improvements he had made levelled the ground, so that no vestige of a mound remained. Squire Baynton, as he was called, of a colonial family now extinct in the male line, lived in it afterwards, for a time. Some twenty years ago the buildings were removed by Dr. Owen J. Wister, who erected on their site the fine structure numbered 4653, occupied by him for a time, and afterwards by Mr. Moses Brown, who bought it. Mr. Robert Pearsall Smith now lives in it.

Adjoining Sower's on the north, is what was formerly known as "Wister's Big House," of which something should

be said. Hans Caspar and Anna Katerina Wister (Wüster) of Hillspach near Heidelberg, Germany, were the progenitors of the Wisters and Wistars, so well known in Germantown and Philadelphia. Hans Caspar had come from some other part of Germany,—long ago the family name became extinct in Hillspach. Recently a friend of mine, visiting Bremen, met with persons there bearing the name, who, she tells me, were of excellent position. In the "Church Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Parish of Neckar-Gemund and associated villages, the very first entry of a baptism is that of one of the children of Hans Caspar and his wife. The date of this baptism is 1702. That of Johannes Wister's birth is Nov. 7th, 1708. The name of the eldest son, Caspar, does not appear, for he was born on the 3d of Feb. 1696, which is three years prior to the date of the first entry in the volume. Tradition says, and certain circumstances go to verify it, that the father of these children held the position of Jäger, or Huntsman, to the Prince Palatine in whose dominions he lived. Caspar, the eldest son, as above, resolved, to the grief of his father, to seek his fortune in the new world, and in pursuance of his resolution arrived in Philadelphia on the 16th of Sept. 1717. He brought with him a relic still preserved, his Jäger's rifle, with which he had assisted his father in his charge of the forests of the Palatine. He established factories here, for buttons and glass, said to be the first in America. It is, however, known that the manufacture of the latter product was undertaken at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608, but as it was most probably soon a failure, his may have been the first as to success. It is certain that he laboured manfully and successfully, for before many years had passed he had accumulated a considerable property, particularly in real estate. In Caspar's oath of allegiance to King George, under the date of 1721, his name was incorrectly written by the clerk as "Wistar," and from him are descended those of the family who thus spell their name. From him came the Dr. Caspar Wistar in commemoration of whom and of his charming evening entertainments, were established the famous "Wistar Parties" which made the Saturday nights of Phila-

delphia so well and favourably known among visitors of the polite and cultivated classes of all civilized nations. Until of recent years no one who thus spelled the name lived in Germantown.

In the month of May, 1727, shortly after the death of Hans Caspar Wister, his second son, John, embarked for America, and after a long and stormy passage of four months, arrived in Philadelphia. With little to depend upon but the labour of his own hands he at once went to work, and so effectively, that in 1731 he purchased an extensive lot of ground in Market Street west of Third. This lot was covered with a thick growth of blackberry bushes, which most persons would have cut down and burned. He, however, allowed the fruit to ripen, and then converted it into wine, which he sold to a considerable advantage. This success led to his importing wines from Germany, a business that in time became extended. Among his importations were scythes and sickles, and these proved to be so good as to greatly extend his fame as an honest dealer. A traditional knowledge of their excellence is still preserved, among families in the interior of the State.

On the 9th of Feb. 1731, John Wister married Salome Zimmerman, then of Lancaster County, though born in Germany. She was the mother of four of his children, one of whom only, Salome, reached maturity, and was married to Dr. William Chancellor. From them are descended the present families of Chancellor and Twells. On the 10th of Nov. 1737 John Wister was married to his second wife Anna Catherina Rubenkam, of Wanfried, Germany, daughter of a clergyman of that city. She bore him five children, three of whom lived to maturity: Daniel, born Feb. 4th, 1738-9, soon to be spoken of; Catherine, born Jan. 2d, 1742-3, who married Col. Samuel Miles, of Milesburg, Centre County, from whom are descended those of the McKeans who live in Washington, and the Bayards who live in Germantown; and William, born March 29th, 1746. John Wister's third wife was from Ephrata, Lancaster Co. He was at one time much inclined to the Moravian church, and became the intimate friend of

its apostle in America, Count Zinzendorf. In Wister's day men belived in "signs," and in all that was involved therein, and so, with characteristic precision, he would note in the huge old folio Bible, with its heavy metallic clasps, the exact time of a birth. For instance, "Daniel Wister was born on Sunday afternoon, precisely at half-past three o'clock, and when the planets, the sun and Jupiter, were in the sign of steer." John Wister died on the 31st of January, 1789, leaving to his children a large estate. His remains were buried in the Friend's Ground, at Fourth and Arch Streets. He had a strong predilection for real estate, and his aversion to parting with it, when once acquired, was not less marked. Besides the stores and dwelling houses in Market Street, in one of which he lived during the winter season, he was the proprietor of a large tract of land in Germantown and Bristol Townships. This included Wister's Wood, and extended along Duy's Lane, now known as Wister Street, through its entire length, from the crossing of the Wingohocking, its northeastern terminus, to the main street of Germantown, and even upon the latter, in a southeasterly direction nigh four hundred feet, almost to the present site of the church called St. John the Baptist. He also owned a considerable tract on Shoemaker's Lane and on the main street. On this street, in 1744, he built for a summer residence, the old mansion, called "Wister's Big House, opposite Indian Queen Lane." No. 4661 now designates it.

In the time of the Revolution the family was somewhat scattered, a grandchild, Sarah, being for a time at North Wales, where she wrote a charming journal. During the occupation of the city by the British the house was left in charge of a German servant woman, Justina. Gen. Agnew made it his headquarters, and on the day of the battle, seeing her at work with a hoe in the garden, the kindly hearted soldier expostulated with her, and recommended her to retire to the cellar. But like the English gentlemen who continued their fox hunt while the battle at Marston Moor, if I remember aright, was going on, she would permit no such unimportant affair as a mere battle to interfere with her serious

concerns. Poor Agnew soon fell, and was carried to a house, "bleeding at every vein," and his life soon ebbed away. He was at once taken to his quarters, and laid on the floor of the northwest parlor. The boards in the centre of the room were deeply stained with his blood, and some time afterwards were replaced by new ones. Even to this day the stains are visible on portions of the floor, notwithstanding a century of scrubbing.

In 1779 Major Lenox, for a time, occupied the house. While there he was married to Miss Lukens, the ceremony being performed under the ring in the centre of the west parlor, just where Agnew was laid when his eyes had closed upon the world. Under this ring also William Wister, of Belfield, and his wife were married. On the 4th of October, 1779, Major Lenox was advised of the attack on Fort Wilson, at Third and Walnut streets, Mr. Stone's full and excellent account of which appeared in vol. ii. p. 392. The promptitude and courage of the Major relieved the fort, but his success enraged the turbulent soldiery. Thus it was that a few nights afterwards, they, to the number of about two hundred, roused him from his slumbers, by their proceedings to assault the house. The fearless man secured it as well as he could, and then stepping out upon the front balcony, harangued his assailants in a manner that stimulated rather than appeased their wrath. While Lenox was thus employed, his cousin, a young lady, appreciating the peril of his situation, set out alone, on foot, on her midnight journey to the city, to tell the tale of trouble to the authorities. She told it so well that for once they acted promptly, and by quickly dispatching the First City Troop to Wister's house, they rescued Major Lenox from his peril.

Daniel, the eldest son of John Wister, was educated in Lancaster County. Finishing there, he returned, and became a most prosperous merchant, occupying the store No. 141, now No. 325, Market Street. On the 5th of May 1760 he married Lowry a daughter of Owen Jones of Wynnewood and St. Mary's, Lower Merion. Their children were Sarah, Elizabeth, John, Hannah, Susan, John, William, Charles

Jones, and William Wynne, several of whom died in infancy, and all of whom were born in the house in Market Street. Their marriages were: Susan m. John Morgan Price, whose daughter m. Robert Toland; John m. Elizabeth Harvey of New Jersey, of him more hereafter; and Charles Jones m. Dec. 15th, 1803, Rebecca Bullock. Their children who lived to maturity were, Wm. Wynne, Mary Baynton, and Emily; Charles Jones m. secondly Dec. 4th, 1817, Sarah Whitesides, and their children were Dr. Caspar, Susan d. um., Charles Jones, Dr. Owen Jones, and Sarah E. d. um. It was at the house in Market Street that Franklin erected his first lightning rod. This was not round, but hexagonal, and is preserved by Mr. Wister. Daniel Wister was a member of the Jockey Club, and had a great fondness for animals, fancying in an especial manner horses and dogs. He imported from Germany the progenitors of the well-known breed of Spitz dogs, whose descendants still snap and snarl about the grounds of some members of the family. The name of the ancestral dog, "Keys," is preserved among his descendants. Daniel Wister died on the 27th of Oct. 1805.

William, the brother of Daniel, and son of John Wister, also succeeded his father in the business in Market Street, and became one of the wealthiest and most eminent merchants of his day. He, together with Owen Jones, Jr., and Col. Samuel Miles, all three of them uncles of Charles Jones Wister, signed much of the paper money of the province. He died in 1800 in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was a humorist, and one of his peculiarities was exhibited in protecting to the utmost the curious characters who sought shelter under him. Thus, notwithstanding his remarkable business ability, he was quartered upon by some who had no claims whatever upon him. Among them was a French officer, Col. Louis Geranger, or "Currant Jelly," as the people called him. This worthy considered the States to be indebted to him for the valuable services he had rendered them during their struggle for independence, and he fixed upon William Wister to liquidate the large account. It may then be well imagined that many amusing incidents occur-

red in the process of settlement. He came there once to pass the day, and remained, it is said, some twenty years or more. One of his peculiarities at the table was to draw the soup tureen towards himself, after the others had been once helped, saying, "No-well bred person took soup twice," when he would finish it. Another fixture in the establishment was Valentine Batiger, faniliary known as "Old Veltly." On this imbecile devolved the care of the cows. Oddly enough an Indian completed the agreeable quartette at this household. He was, as Indians, when semi-civilized, are apt to be, utterly worthless. At one time when idly lounging about the place, he was requested by his protector to pile some wood that lay scattered around. "D' you think there's work enough for two, Billy? for if there aint, you'd better do it yourself." With the consideration for inferiors that was so marked a characteristic of his nature, Mr. Wister turned upon his heel and employed another to do the work. It is unnecessary to say that William Wister was an unmarried man.

Charles Jones Wister, a son of Daniel, and nephew of William, entered in his seventeenth year upon his business career as an apprentice to his uncle. One of his duties was to make tours of six to eight weeks duration through Pennsylvania and Virginia, as far as Pittsburgh, and to the borders of Carolina. This was for the purpose of collecting debts, which were usually paid in coin. His pathway was often through many miles of unbroken wilderness, but never in any one instance was he molested, or threatened with violence. Few in number were the bridges in the country he traversed, and often, as he would encounter heavy falls of rain, would the admonition of George Ashton, their Quaker clerk, rise before him.—"Charlie, beware of creeks! Thee'd look very foolish if thee was to come home drowned."

On one of these collecting tours Mr. Wister was at Bush's Inn, at Winchester, Va. He had had previous experience of the delicacy of the fried chickens served there, a dish so excellent as to be inseparably associated with the other glories of the Old Dominion, and was, therefore, quite contented with the prospect before him. He was, however, not a little

amused at an incident that, for a time, threatened to interfere with his enjoyment of it. The Duke de Rochefaucault-Liancourt was then on his travels through the States, whither he came to escape that sort of equality of man which Robespierre's guillotine was hard at work at establishing in France. The Duke had at first attempted to engage for himself and his suite all the rooms in the house. Failing in this, when dinner was prepared he entered the room and locked the door after him, in order to dine alone. Mr. Bush in his indignation seized an axe, saying he would break in the door, and further threatening that he would roast his "Grace" in the fireplace. This resulted in a triumph, which would have necessitated the Duke's leaving the house dinnerless; but Mr. Wister here interceded, and by a compromise succeeded in having all the guests dine together. The landlord's equanimity was not, however, fully restored, until, with the axe with which he had armed himself, he had levelled his sign-post with the earth, declaring that thenceforth his house should not be a public one, and that he would admit those only whom he pleased within his walls.

It is but fair to the Duke de Rochefaucauld to say that his interesting volumes of travels do the amplest and most discriminating justice to American innkeepers of that day. When near the Susquehanna, he visited Asylum or "French Town," as it was called, and found the tavern there kept by Baron Beaulieu. His experience led him at last to understand that some innkeepers were gentlemen of social position and consideration, just as it was, and is, with ladies who are under the necessity of establishing boarding houses. In Virginia and Pennsylvania I have been at such inns as Mr. Wister spoke of. One that I stopped at some thirty years ago, or more, was in the small village of Moundville, on the Ohio, twelve miles below Wheeling. I had reached it afoot, with a knapsack on my back, and was somewhat travel-stained. On emerging from my room, in a clean light dress, I was invited to the tea-table, where I found neat simplicity, to be sure, but a simplicity accompanied with as much of elegance and refinement of manner as I have ever met elsewhere. A

tea-set of old-fashioned silver shone upon the guests, but not more brightly than the courteous landlady, whose pride it was. The judge of the circuit happened to be stopping there, and with his agreeable conversation did not a little to keep us some two hours at the table. They got a notion in their heads that I was the celebrated Charles Dickens, about that time on his travels here, and I could not disabuse them of it. In the evening, stranger as I was, an invitation to a party at a neighboring house came to me; and on the following morning I was taken on a fox hunt by the landlord, who had several fine horses and a pack of good hounds. I remember, too, as many others must, the delightful house on Duncan's Island, near Sunbury. Agreeable as are my recollections of these places, the description of one that was visited before my time, by a friend, has, however, left the best impression. It was at Sunbury near the forks of the Susquehanna. A letter of introduction was required, and the fortunate guest found every comfort and not a little of elegance in a house kept with such pride. There presided at the head of the table a venerable gentleman in red morocco shoes and with a black velvet skullcap covering his thin white hair. He was a lawyer of considerable celebrity, a brother of lawyers here of no less note, Moses and Sampson Levy. As he took his position at the head of the table he would reverentially bow his head and invoke a blessing with the customary Latin *Benedicite*. And when the meal was over, he would again bow his venerable head, uttering the while *Agimus tibi gratias*.

Charles J. Wister was strongly inclined to the study of medicine, and attended some lectures. Besides this he formed an intimacy with Adam Seybert, a pupil of Werner and Blumenbach, who had come here from Germany with the first cabinet of minerals known in this country, and he also in time formed for himself an extensive one. In 1805 he entered his twenty-third year, and his uncle William being dead, he became a partner in the firm under the title of John and Charles J. Wister, afterwards, by the introduction of John M. Price, of Wister, Price and Wister. By bequest, there fell to him the property in Germantown; the wood and

farm, and the old mansion on the avenue. This house he used as a summer residence until 1812, after which he remained there permanently. He continued in active business until 1819, and daily went into town. Peters's Stage made but tri-weekly trips, and these at a snail's pace, for quicksand and overflowed ground often made the road wellnigh impassable. In order, therefore, to have some advantage of the day he frequently started on his drive by starlight. After business hours, together with some of his acquaintances, he was in the habit of going to the store of James P. Park, towards the close of the day, for conversation. In time it came about that the coterie called themselves the Twilight Club, some of whose members participated in instituting the world-renowned Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Charles Jones Wister led a retired life, and was known to comparatively few. His tastes were thoroughly scientific, and his attainments were numerous, accurate, and varied; but not greater than his modesty regarding them. In botany he was a proficient, at one time being pronounced by the late John Jay Smith to be the greatest local botanist living. He was a close student of mineralogy, as well as of botany, and in 1821-2 delivered courses of lectures on these subjects in the Germantown Academy, for its benefit. He was Secretary for nearly thirty years of the board of trustees of the Academy. Almost as conversant with astronomy as with those other sciences, in 1835, he erected an observatory, placing therein a transit instrument, and an astronomical clock made by his friend Isaiah Lukens. With these he made daily observations, giving the correct time to the villagers. An incessant reader, he was as familiar with the literature of the past as with that of his own day. His memory was excellent, and Shakspeare, Byron, Milton, Burns, Pope, Moore, Scott, Hudibras, etc. etc., were so at his command that he could quote from them by the hour. He added to these accomplishments that of being a finished mechanic, capable of executing the most beautiful work; and many an admirable piece of his handicraft remains to attest his skill. He died on the 23d of July, 1865, in the 84th year of his age. His son, Mr. Charles J. Wister, now occupies the house.

**JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN MONTRÉSOR,
JULY 1, 1777, TO JULY 1, 1778,**

CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

**INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF LORD AND SIR WM. HOWE
UP THE CHESAPEAKE, THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE, AND FROM THE
OCCUPATION TO THE EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE
REDUCTION OF MUD FORT OR FORT MIFFLIN.**

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY G. D. SCULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

[This Journal gives the most exact account which we have met with of the movements of the British Army from the time it left New York in July, 1777, until it entered Philadelphia on Sept 26. It was written by Captain John Montrésor, Chief of Engineers of Howe's Army. He had been an ensign in the 48th Regiment when it came to America, and was wounded in the memorable engagement of July 9th, 1755, when Braddock was defeated and killed. His promotion to a lieutenancy dated from July 4th of that year, and in 1764 he received a grant of land in Wellsboro', Essex Co., New York. In 1766 he seems to have quitted the army, as his name is not found on the army list.

While in America prior to the revolution Montrésor's services were such as to have made him familiar with the American coast, indeed Galloway says that at that time he surveyed Mud Island and took the bearings and distances of the shores on each side of the river. He doubtless then acquired a clear knowledge of the eastern part of Pennsylvania, for his Journal bears evidence of having been written by a person who had enjoyed such an advantage.

By 1772 he had rejoined the army, as we find that on the 25th of May he was commissioned Captain of Engineers. He was with Howe at Boston at the time of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and was one of his aids at New York in 1776. In 1777 he was made Chief of Engineers, but returned to England previous to 1780, as in 1779 he gave evidence before a committee of Parliament.

He was one of the officers who took an active part in the celebrated Meschianza. His first wife was a daughter of General DeBrahame, his second of Dr. Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York.

While there is a sameness in the first part of his Journal, and the entries from their character are disjointed, they will be found to leave on the mind of the reader a very vivid picture of the discomforts and dangers to be experienced in a large transport fleet while moving along an enemy's coast. The collision of vessels as they unknowingly drew near to each other in the fog; the

violence of the summer storm attended with thunder and lightning; the sufferings of the men and horses for water; the stifling closeness of the vessels, and the fire and other signals on the shore giving notice to the interior of the approach of the fleet, are incidents from which the pen of Cooper could have drawn a chapter of thrilling interest.

Steam navigation has so changed all naval affairs that such scenes as described by Montrésor will never occur again, and as the records of them are few, particularly in connection with American affairs, we are glad to do what we can for their preservation.—EDITOR OF MAGAZINE.]

July 1st, 1777. Tuesday—This evening Returned a party of our Provincial Troops that had been detached from King's Bridge and brought in a Captain, one Subaltern, and 23 more Rebels. The Commander in Chief and his suite arrived this afternoon at 2 o'clock at New York from Staaten Island.

2nd. The 17th Dragoons embarked at Staaten Island and arrived at New York, where they are to be stationed between it and King's Bridge. The Commander in Chief viewed the works at King's Bridge. I set off this afternoon for Staaten Island and reached it in the night. Orders to put that post near the watering place in a state of defence. Six 6-pounders (Iron) to be mounted in these works.

3rd. Working party 150 men began to make fascines for making good the rear of the Redoubts at Staaten Island and to add 2 small ones for 30 men each to terminate the Flanks. I returned to New York this Evening. All the Artillery and Stores excepting the Battery Guns of the 2nd Battalion and 2 of Light Infantry were embarked on board the Artillery Transports by nine o'clock this morning for Staaten Island.

4th. All our field Artillery have each 300 Rounds & 5 or 6000 spare rounds.

5th. Intense heat. Arrived 6 Sail of Merchantmen under Convoy of the Liverpool in whom came Sir Henry Clinton and his suite.

6th. Arrived 11 Sail-victuallers from Cork, all armed.

8th. The Infantry of the Army embarked from Staaten Island on board their transports for the Expedition excepting the Guards.

9th. The British and Hessian Grenadiers embarked, as also the 16th Light Dragoons, leaving for the defence of Staaten Island the 52nd and 2 of Hessians encamped in the rear of the Redoubt, round the watering place and the Provincials on the West side of the Island under the Command of Major-General Skinner. In the redoubts 6 Iron 6 pounders and a detachment of Artillery, each field piece taken with us on the Expedition has with it 800 rounds.

14th. I accompanied General Clinton to the Narrows and the works on Staaten Island. Signals made from the *Eagle* for the whole fleet to prepare to sail.

15th. Arrived 12 Sail-victuallers from Cork—all armed. Came in an Express from Lt.-Gen'l Burgoyne with dispatches to Sir Wm. Howe, dated 2d July from below Ticonderoga. This day sailed from hence up the river the *Vigilant* armed Ship carrying 18 twenty-four pounders and 10 of Nine pounders.

16th. Arrived the *Brilliant* ordnance Store Ship with 200 artillery men & their officers.

17th. Embarked from New York for the Chesapeake. $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven this afternoon the Commander in Chief left New York and embarked on board His Majesty's Ship the *Eagle* — Lord Howe — lying off the watering place at Staaten Island. Sailed to Rhode Island Major-General Pigot.

18th. The *Vigilant* returned from up the River and joined the Fleet. Sailed the packet for England, convoyed by the *Niger* Ship of War in which went General de Heister and the Hessian Command devolved on Lt.-Gen'l Kniphuysen. This morning Sir Wm. Howe's letters to Lt.-General Burgoyne, to Deputy Quarter Master-General to be immediately forwarded. Deserters came in, says Rebel Army are only 6000.

19th. Wind S. S. W. what little there is and no possibility of sailing. In the afternoon the wind sprung up at the same point and brought in the *Tarter* and *Apollo* Frigates from Quebec. The *Salsbury* Frigate from Jamaica and the *Milford* Frigate with her convoy of 15 foreign vessels from the Bay of Fundy. Came in one of the 16th Dragoons who

was taken by the Rebels at Princetown, says he left Washington with the gros of his Army at Smith's Clove the South Entrance of the Highlands on west side of the North River.

20th. Sunday—Wind at S. W. at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11 A. M. Our division sailed with the Ebb tide but the wind foul. Came into the fleet the "Sphynx" Ship of War from Dominica. Our fleet said to be 260 sail. Passage of the Narrows difficult in Turning it down, most of the fleet arrived at anchor at Sandy Hook. My vessel carried away her mainyard and Bowsprit, &c., running foul of the Ships.

21st. The "Eagle" Lord Howe, did not sail this day and came to anchor South of the Narrows for want of wind. Rain all this night and southerly winds.¹

22nd. Rainy morning and S. E. winds. Sphynx returned down to the Fleet here. Weather close and sultry. The heavy ships still remained off the Narrows for want of wind, what little being foul. A few more of the transports fell down with the tide to the Fleet.

At Sea. July 23rd. At 7 o'clock this morning the Eagle sailed and passed Sandy Hook and the rest of the Fleet followed in two Divisions. Wind a fresh breeze at N. N. West by 10 o'clock. The whole of the Fleet got to sea, in the Afternoon the wind headed. Light wind most part of this night. As soon as the fleet made a good offing they shaped their course South Westerly. Parted with the coast nearly but before we were out of sight of the land.

24th. We gained about 12 leagues in a straight course during the night and at daylight discovered the Jersey ashore abreast of us about 6 leagues. Latitude at this day 40 degrees. Sounded when we could just discover the land Fathoms 15. Light winds all night, waste in our course 7 leagues. Remark—I have observed for many years both in Coming on this part of the American Coast & in sailing

¹ Forces on this Expedition—August, 1777.

Transports and Ships of War . . .	266 Sail.
Troops—16,000 artillery 1000 . . .	17,000 men.
Rounds of Ammunition to the guns . . .	300
Provisions in each Transport for . . .	3 months

along it, that whenever the Soundings were in 15 Fathoms the land in general was to be seen.

25th. Latitude at 12 this day 39.48. Light Easterly winds, saw the Jersey Shore this afternoon, a point of Land bore West, north west of us and observed some higher lands and Kind of hummacks, bore about W. S. W. supposed to be Great Egg Harbour.

26th. Light southerly winds all this morning. At 3 o'clock P. M. Came on a Gale of wind at South with a high sea, close reefed topsails, a tumbling sea all night. Overcast this day, Could take no latitude. Engineers' schooner Alert carried away her Topmast. Our people on Board remarkably well and healthy.

27th. Sunday—Wind N. West but extremely light. A swell of the Sea all this morning, the fleet very much scattered. Latitude $39^{\circ} 17''$ as observed by 3 quadrants of Hadley—Sounded at 2 o'clock P. M. in 29 Fathoms water. Calm all the middle of the day. Found in sounding a strong current setting to the west—*Remark*—That the soundings continue regular off this coast to 90 Fathoms.

28th. A very wet and thick fog from 2 o'clock this morning. The whole day wind Easterly and very squally with several continued showers of heavy rain. Sounded this morning in 19 Fathoms. Weather too thick for an observation. In the course of last night until daylight this morning sailed 11 leagues. At 3 o'clock P. M. the fleet went about to get off the land. A horse Ship ran foul of us & damaged our Ship.

29th. A fresh breeze at North West directly ahead, as the whole Fleet went about at 2 this morning and made in for the land. Latitude this day at 12 o'clock $38^{\circ} 50''$, the weather cool and pleasant. Eight miles to the South of Cape May—this day. Sounded at 12 o'clock in 19 Fathoms. *Remark*—I have throughout, in the observations of the daily latitude diminished 3 minutes, being equal to the difference between this and Greenwich in England, where the declinations were calculated.

30th. Latitude at 12 o'clock $38^{\circ} 39''$ Soundings at the

same time in $9\frac{1}{2}$ Fathoms, at which time the light-house bore N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ north about $5\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. At 3 this morning wind fresh at N. N. West and a swell, a ship run foul of us and carried away our bowsprit and head and struck 7 or 8 times against our bows. Discovered the Pennsylvania Shore at 7 to the Southward Cape Henlopen, and this morning found we had made too much southing and the wind hauling to the N. W. made it a head wind, so we tacked to and fro this whole day. At 5 P. M. the wind came about more favorable at E. S. East. Soundings then on $8\frac{1}{2}$ Fathoms in a hard sandy bottom. Sea pretty smooth. Could discover Cape May only from the masthead. The Fleet Continued this night off the mouth of the River Delaware.¹

¹ The movements of the fleet were at first watched with great vigilance by the Americans and promptly reported to Congress. On the 20th of July General David Forman, of the New Jersey Militia, wrote to Philadelphia, from Middletown, that 160 sail were in the Narrows on their way to Sandy Hook, and that he would watch them closely. On the 22d Washington informed Congress of the embarrassment he was under for reliable intelligence regarding the destination of Howe, and asked that persons in whom confidence could be placed should be stationed near the Capes of Delaware to give early notice if the fleet should appear in that quarter. In compliance with this request, on the 24th inst. the Council of Pennsylvania dispatched Capt. Hunn and two others to the Capes to gain what information they could. On the 23d of July Forman sent a dispatch to Congress from Shrewsbury that the fleet had sailed at half past six that morning, that he had followed them until sundown, and that their course had not varied from southeast. The fleet was reported by Captain Hunn on the evening of the 24th when Montrésor says they discovered land, but it does not appear to have been seen from the shore on the 25th when he says they got a sight of the Jersey shore at Great Egg Harbour. Captain Hunn was there on that day, but was unable to gain intelligence. On the morning of the 30th, when our journalist says they came in sight of Cape May, both Hunn, who was at that place, and Henry Fisher of Lewis Town, Delaware, sent expresses to Philadelphia saying that the fleet was at the Capes within four leagues of the Light House, and to all appearance was bound up the bay. Other expresses were also sent, and the fleet was estimated at from one hundred and ninety to two hundred and twenty-eight sail. It was not until late on the 31st that they were lost sight of. The effect that this news had upon Washington's army is carefully stated in Mr. Buck's paper, *Washington's Encampment on the Neshaminy*, in the 1st Volume of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, p. 275. Howe in his Narrative says, "that, find-

31st. At 4 this morning wind S. W. to S.—light breezes. The Light house on Cape Henlopen bore W. N. Westerly 7 leagues, at which time Sounded in 9 Fathoms water. At 2 o'clock this morning the whole fleet tacked about and steered out to sea about a S. E. course after 12 o'clock wind headed, the Fleet then kept away E. S. East, Latitude at noon in $38^{\circ} 44''$. At 10 this morning we lost sight of the land from the deck of our Ship. The weather fine and the sea smooth, the season cool which is very fortunate for the Troops. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock P. M. the fleet tacked and steered a W. S. West course. At Sunset the fleet tacked again and steered E. S. East. Continued about this course the whole night with a tumbling sea and blowing fresh with close reefed top-sails. The Roebuck 40 Guns Ship stationed so long in the Delaware joined our fleet. But one of the vessels out of the 5 in the Engineers Department have hitherto escaped being damaged. Conjectured by the course we steered to be for Chesapeak Bay.

August 1st, 1777. The weather fine, but the sea continued agitated. About 10 this morning it began to moderate. Latitude at 12 o'clock $38^{\circ} 24''$. The sea much abated. I gave orders to allowance our fresh water on board on account of the visible waste. At sunset tacked, wind S. Course W. S. West. The Breeze continued till 12 o'clock at night and then fell calm. Observed 2 strange vessels in the Fleet, one a tobacco vessel taken bound to France, the other a Privateer which took one of our horse sloops astern of our fleet off the Delaware, but both retaken by the boats of one of our Ships of War.

2nd. Calm till 8 A. M. Sounded at 6 A. M. in 36 Fathoms. The Breeze springing up at S. W. tacked about at 8 A. M. and steered S. S. East. Weather fine. Latitude at noon in $38^{\circ} 18''$. Remarks—that the winds from the Southern to the Western Quarter blow $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the Season from first

ing it hazardous to sail up the Delaware, he agreed with the Admiral to go to Chesapeake Bay, a plan which had been preconcerted in the event of a landing in the Delaware proving upon our arrival there ineligible."—EDITOR OF MAGAZINE.

June to the last of August. At noon sailed through a strong current. The day rather damp though the sun shone. The Contracted Company of Carpenters were near mutinying but for a vigorous Exertion on my part and stopping their Rum. Lightning most of the night round the Horizon. Amongst the rest of our Misfortunes in Ships running foul of us, one of them carried away the Flukes of one of our Anchors.

3rd. Sunday.—At 5 A. M. wind sprung up at N. by W. and the Fleet steered W. by N., at 9 A. M. Sounded in 22 Fathoms—Latitude at noon (as yesterday) in $38^{\circ} 18''$ and a current. At 11 A. M. the wind hauled, steered S. E. by East. At 20 minutes after 12 the Fleet tacked and steered in for the coast a western course. Fine weather but sultry. By the dead reckoning at noon 14 leagues from land, at 6 could Smell the land tho' not in Sight. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 P. M. smart lightning and appearing very stormy to the west. The Admiral made a signal for tacking and the Fleet went about. New Moon. At 7 this evening came on a violent storm at S. S. East scarcely giving the Fleet time to take in their sails. A darkness in the west and S. W. gave some Kind of notice accompanied with sharp lightning. One ship laid for some time on her beam ends without righting. We Slipped our mizzen top sail without any other damage of any consequence—the lightning and thunder surpassed discription and the heaviness of the rain. This tempest Continued violent for one Hour and $\frac{1}{4}$. Could not discover any of the Fleet this night but by means of the almost incessant lightning. The wind blew the Broad Pennant to pieces. A sloop likewise laid on her beam ends—7 men and a woman took to their boat, but kept her towed, but the painter breaking got adrift and was lost. The Sloop with four men on board, righted an hour after. At 12 o'clock this night hove too for one hour, at which time Sounded in 25 Fathoms of water. Incessant lightning this whole night.

4th. At one this morning tacked about from off the coast—the Wind at S. S. W. At Break of day discovered the Fleet to Leeward 4 leagues and bore down to them before the Wind. The breeze very light with a Small swell from

the Southward. The Fleet somewhat scattered. Weather fine and the air cooler since the Storm. At 4 A. M. Sounded in 23 Fathoms—very sultry—Latitude (at noon) $38^{\circ} 15' 30''$. Sounded in 23 Fathoms. Early this morning could smell the fragrance off the land. Several musquitoes blown on board by the storm. At noon it fell calm. Set our mizzen top sail. At 3 P. M. the fleet put about. At 12 o'clock this night a heavy gust of wind came on with rain Lightning and Thunder at which time the whole fleet tacked and stood to the Ocean. The wind during the squall continued at South West—close reefed topsails but no courses.

5th. Weather fine and much cooler since the gust of wind, rain and lightning and thunder of last night. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 A. M. passed over a popling current. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past one the fleet went about and steered to the Coast. At 4 this morning the fleet tacked steering S. S. E. wind at S. West, and a tumbling sea. Latitude (at noon) $38^{\circ} 5' 30''$. Variation here is West 3 degrees (Evan's map) at 1 o'clock P. M. the fleet tacked to the Coast—at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 P. M. Fleet tacked from the Coast. About 7 P. M. heavy clouds and lightning in the N. W. quarter. Just before 9 P. M. the gust came on with great violence of wind and rain, lightning and thunder, which continued this whole night. Laid too most part of the night without any sail. Some crickets that were blown off made a noise in the maintop. A flight of birds of passage passed over us during the gale. Some of our people falling sick.

6th. Light winds at S. & S. W. water smooth and but little of the Southern swell remaining. Observed a school of fish. Excessively sultry. Latitude (at Noon) $38^{\circ} 1'$ Wind S. W. and almost calm. At 3 P. M. Sounded in $26\frac{1}{2}$ Fathoms—during the time the lead was on the ground (it being a calm) we found our drift from the perpendicular to be at the rate of a Knot by the current which set due North. The fleet made no progress this day. All this day cloudy excepting a trifling Interval of observation. Supposed to be at noon 15 leagues from C. Dead calm all this night. A written

concession from Company and carpenters and this day I ordered their usual allowance of Rum.

7th. Calm till 11 o'clock A. M. Master of the horse Sloop came on board to signify the distress for want of forage. Gave him a note to the Commissary General. Latitude (at noon) $38^{\circ} 8' 30''$ Very sultry and close, sea rather smooth. Remark—the losing $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles is safely accounted for, by the observation of the current of yesterday. Every night lately a threatening horizon at the S. W. At 5 P. M. the fleet went about, we laid what we conjectured to be our course. The wind E. by S. our course now S. by East about 4 Knots. Continued this course all night. At $5\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. the fleet discovered the land.¹

8th. Weather fine. Still steering the Same course, the wind this day about S. W. course about S. S. E. A Strong current setting to the Southwest at 6 & 7 A. M. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 a surprising strong current setting in Southerly. Latitude (at noon) $37^{\circ} 49'$ and sounded in 34 Fathoms. The breeze steady and our course South at noon. The fleet sailed this course all this night two Knots and a half. This night excessive heat.

9th. Wind W. by S.—Course S. by W., a fresh Breeze all the morning. At 7 A. M. observed a South current with a small swell from the windward. Latitude (at Noon) $37^{\circ} 7'$ Course South, somewhat westerly, sailing about 3 Knots. The fleet very well together. At 7 P. M. the Fleet tacked and steered all night from W. by N. to W. N. West. Weather very pleasant all this day, it being much cooler. Heavy swell most of this night. At 12 at night blew hard.

10th. Sunday. Wind W. S. W. weather fine. About 6 A. M. the Fleet tacked and stood S., at 4 this morning before we tacked until 6 the fleet stood about N. West. Latitude (at Noon) $36^{\circ} 52'$ being 8 miles to the Southward of Cape Henry. Still steering South and supposed to be about 25 leagues from the land. The Horse Vessels in general lying

¹ They were seen from the land, and were off the Sinapuxent. *Vide Official Letters of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 143.

too for Food from the forage vessel they being much distressed. At 6½ P. M. the fleet tacked and steered W. N. W. the Same S. Wester prevailing—The Fleet continued this course all night at 1 Knot per hour.

11th. Wind still at S. W. Course W. N. W. Weather fine but very hot, sailing about 2½ Knots—observed a current setting Southerly. Latitude (at Noon) 37° being the latitude of Cape Henry. No soundings at 4 P. M. Sailed all night about a W. N. W. course going about 3½ knots. The officers put to great shifts for want of fresh provisions, rowing about from ship to ship for relief. Our ship sprung a leak, making four inches of water every four hours' watch. Our fresh water on board became very offensive.

12th. Wind as usual S. W. Course W. N. W.—weather fine but a hazy horizon. Small Swell; observed a gentle current. Could smell the land, the fragrance of the pines in particular at 6½ this morning. The Ships of war hoisted their Colours, supposed for seeing the land. The water Changed very visibly. A small flock of sand larks passed. Fleet scattered. Sounded at 11 o'clock A. M. in 18 Fathoms, supposed to be 12 leagues from land. Latitude (at Noon) 37° 31'. Gained 50 miles westing this last 24 hours to 12 o'clock this day. Weather somewhat cooler but very hot yet. The heat of the Sun here feels more like an artificial than a genial heat, and the heat of this night Insupportable. The wind this night from S. W. to W. S. West. Sailing one time with another about 2 Knots & ½. At 3½ P. M. discovered the land from the Mast head and at 7 the fleet tacked and stood off. At five P. M. could observe the land from the deck.

13th. Wind W. S. West. Course S. observed at 7 A. M. a current running southerly. A disagreeable swell from the Southward. Weather fine air somewhat cooler. The fleet at sea three weeks this morning. Latitude (at Noon) 37° 5' 30". Sailing this last 12 hours at about 1½ Knots. Signals at 12 o'clock this day and the Fleet tacked and Continued their course towards the land this night, sailing at about 3½

Knots at W. & W. by S. The intense heat and closeness horrid, obliged now to lay on deck.

14th. At 4½ A. M., the fleet stood off from the Land. Wind W. S. W. and Staid South. Water smooth. At 5½ A. M. the land was again discovered, but from the mast head appearing in 2 points, one bearing N. W. by N. and the other W. by S., the interval not to be observed. The heat of this day (if possible) more insupportable than yesterday, the pitch melting off the seams of the vessel. Observed a gentle current supposed to be southerly. Latitude (at noon) 37° 2' 45" wind lessened. Weather somewhat pleasanter, the air being more refreshing after the dreadful heat of last night. The mornings by far more agreeable than the evenings and nights. At 9½ A. M. a heavy gun was heard to windward supposed by the sound to be from Norfolk in Virginia, as a signal gun, as the fleet must have been discovered from the land, at 5 P. M. the 12 Inst.¹ At 11 A. M. the Fleet tacked and stood in for the land—Course W. by N. ¼ North. Wind S. W. by S. ¼ South. At 1 P. M. it fell calm and sounded in 14 Fathoms. No existing this afternoon between decks, nor scarce any above. Several cannon were fired from the distant shore during the afternoon and at 6 P. M. a large Smoak made on the Shore, supposed to be signals. Wind sprung up and we steered S. W. by W. with our starboard tacks on board. Began to breeze fresh at 6½ P. M. water continuing smooth. At 7 P. M. Could barely discover Cape Charles from the deck, bearing W. by N.—7 leagues, both the Capes to be seen from the mast head. Instantly sounded and found to be exactly in 13 Fathoms of water. Wind continued pretty fair and we proceeded towards the entrance of the bay until 11. This night when the Fleet anchored in 8½ Fathoms sandy bottom and tide of ebb, running about 4 Knots. Another strange vessel in the Fleet which proved

¹ The appearance of the fleet was not noticed on either the 12th or the 14th, or if so the fact was not communicated to Congress. Indeed, that body do not seem to have heard of the fleet after the 4th, until they learned on the 22d that it was advanced high up the bay of Chesapeake.

to be a sloop with some Gentlemen from North Carolina who had made their escape to prevent persecution.

15th. At half past Five this morning, the Fleet weighed, wind ahead. Both Capes to be seen from the decks. Wind at W. by S.—weather fine, but very hot, water smooth. The Capes rather low land. The sea here is coloured of a sap green, but not lively. Our course to sea S. Easterly stretching out to get to windward up a shoal on the North Side the Entrance of the Bay. At 8½ A. M. Fleet tacked again to get into Chesapeak Bay. Latitude (at noon) 37° 3'. Ebb made full calm and the Fleet came to an anchor in 8½ Fathoms. At ½ past one P. M. the wind sprung up at South and the Fleet weighed and sailed. The heat of this day (although on Board) very horrid. At 12 this night came to an anchor in 4 Fathoms of water on the Bank, the wind heading and the Ebb running about 4 Knots. The bearings from our anchorage as follows—Cape Charles North ¼ East. Cape Henry S. West by South.

16th. At 6 o'clock this morning the Fleet weighed. Wind still unfavorable W. N. W. and 9½ A. M. the Admiral came to an anchor, the tide of Ebb, running strong. Weather very fine but very hot. At 10 A. M. wind at N. W. The Flood runs longest under Cape Henry. The Fleet though very extensive may be said now to be all within the Cape. Anchorage 9 Fathoms and very strong. Tide running between 3 or 4 Knots. This Evening the packet from England in 10 weeks and last from New York, in 14 days joined our Fleet. This day we spared a Horse Sloop in Quarter Master Gen'l's Department, one But of Water or they must have thrown their horses overboard. Delivered from the Schooner. Latitude (at Noon) 36° 59' Cape Henry bore N. W. by W. Distance 2 leagues. Sounded then in 9 Fathoms water, on hard sand. At 1½ P. M. weighed N. N. E. and sailed up the Bay of Chesapeak and anchored at half past 6 in 6 Fathoms water on a muddy bottom. Wind N. N. East a hard gale of wind came on as the night did and blew until ½ past 11, when a tempest came on, the whole continued with incessant sharp lightning and loud thunder and continued till 2 next morn-

ing with constant showers of rain. The timely getting into Port and to an anchor was a most *providential* matter for the Army and Fleet. Intrenched the Narrows in Chesapeak Bay nearly abreast of Winter Harbour on the west side and Nassawating on the East, being about thirty miles to the Northward of Cape Henry.

Sunday 17th. Wind South, the first instance during our voyage of a wind aft. Fleet weighed at 6 A. M. with the tide of Flood, water very smooth wind rather light—Sounded at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 10 A. M. in $6\frac{1}{2}$ Fathoms water on a blue, greasy, gritty mud. Weather rather hazy and foggy and intensely sultry. The fleet well together. Tide runs here about 4 Knots. No wearing coats or waistcoats with any satisfaction. This if possible the hottest day. Latitude (at noon) $37^{\circ} 34'$, this observation, horizon very hazy. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 fell calm and the tide expended, the Fleet came to an anchor after gaining about 5 leagues, in 6 Fathoms water and the same kind of ground, as the last anchorage. This situation opposite the Southernmost Entrance of Piawkatank River. At night came on as usual a very hard gale of wind with smart lightning and Thunder, continued the whole night. The Ship rolling heavily.

18th. Wind at N. W. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 A. M. The tide of Flood, the Fleet weighed and sailed. Weather very fine, but hot. Kept the western shore principally on board. At 8 A. M. our galley fired a shot on shore, the enemy having fired three cannon shot at her from Whicommico. Several Small vessels seen there. Remark. The climate here at this season is from early in the morning until about 8 little air, then light winds, at noon generally falls calm, about one or 2 P. M. Breezes up and continues pretty fresh but falls again at Sunset almost calm and about dusk gathers in the Horizon with flashes of heat lightning and then comes on squally with sharper lightning and thunder and then blows violently the greatest part of the night and so on. Passed the mouth of the Piawkatank at 6 and the Rappahannock at 8 A. M. At 12 at Noon Sounded in 5 Fathoms hard sandy bottom, and the Fleet put about towards the west shore, the wind

heading. Advices from New York that the Fox Frigate had been taken by the rebel Commodore Manly with 2 Rebel Frigates each superior in force but retaken by his Majesty's Ship Roebuck and another Frigate with the Commodore in his ship but the other one called the Boston escaped. This prize was carried into New York. The small craft in this fleet in general are now much in want of provisions. The Admiral made a signal for all masters of transports returning them his thanks for their attention during the voyage. Latitude (at noon) $37^{\circ} 56'$. The Fleet came to an anchor off the embouchere of the River Potowmack at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 P. M. in 10 Fathoms very muddy bottom, the tide of Ebb having made. A very unsettled climate.

19th. Wind E. N. E. at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 7 A. M. The Fleet weighed anchor the tide of Flood making. The fleet and army much distressed for the want of fresh water, having been for some time put to an allowance, but not so much so as the horse vessels, having been obliged to throw numbers of their horses overboard. The weather good and much cooler, or rather less hot. Very considerable signal smokes made and continued most of this day by the Rebels on the Southernmost end of Hooper's Island. Sea very smooth. Very heavy rain most of this day with thunder and lightning and blowing excessive hard and the Fleet carried sail to it and came to an anchor in ten Fathoms water between the South end of Barren Island and the River Patuxen—very muddy bottom. Water far from being rough, notwithstanding the head wind. Land on the west side of this Bay high and less on the East. Those that form the Cliffs from Patuxen River to West river are curious, the land all about very rough & hilly.

20th. Wind at West at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 this morning, The fleet weighed, blowing very fresh, the tide of Ebb, about 9 A. M. the flood made, the tides here lessened considerably in their strength. The fleet 28 days from Sandy Hook. Weather cool and pleasant this morning, but by noon sultry and light breezes. Abreast of the North End of James's Island, three miles in 11 Fathoms and muddy bottom. Very unsteady weather in this climate. The fleet well together after the

Gale of yesterday evening. Several horses thrown overboard from the different Transports. The Admiral fires morning and evening guns. Weather squally, rained very hard most of the afternoon and lightning and thunder. At 6 P. M. the Fleet came to an anchor off of Poplar Island, the tide being spent, anchor in 8 Fathoms & a half very muddy. It's remarkable in this Bay the multitude of crabs that swim nearly to the surface of the water. The Fleet caught thousands.

21st. Fair wind, all the morning and a fine tide. At 5 o'clock the Fleet weighed, weather very clear and water smooth. At 7 A. M. Came abreast of Annapolis, the Capital of Maryland and on the River Severn. The rebels had 2 flags flying on 2 forts, one on Horn's Point and one on Greenberry Point to command the entrance of the Harbour, besides the works at the Point of the Town. Several of our fleet damaged during our voyage by Lightning, some men Killed and several Horses.

22nd. Weighed anchor at 4 this morning, Course Northerly. Anchored at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 A. M. Weighed anchor again at 2 P. M. with a pretty Breeze Southerly, course northerly, tho' against a strong tide, but the wind freshened and Continued until 7 this evening when we came to an anchor. Tides run here about 3 Knots and rise near 5 feet. None came off to the Fleet except 2 Pilots and a few blacks. Water sufficiently fresh for all uses. Anchored at Sassafras River between the mouth of and the Elk in 3 Fathoms, bottom very holding, being a mixture of mud and clay and 4 miles South of the mouth of the River Elk. Hard Rain this evening with lightning and thunder. The Inhabitants mostly about their Plantations and in general unarmed. Several of our people in the Fleet on shore, some at Newtown on Chester River.

23rd. At 7 this morning I attended Sir Wm. Howe and Lord Howe with my armed Schooner, an armed Sloop and a Galley to the mouths of the Rivers Rappahannock and the Elk and Turkey Point, the different vessels and Boats attending, sounding the Channel. The whole returned in the

afternoon to the fleet. George Ford, principal tenant of Pasoosy Island came off to offer his Services to supply the Troops and Fleet with Stock &c.—after which the militia. A hard squall with very heavy rain and sharp lightning and thunder which continued from 8 till 12 this night and the whole night distressingly hot and close.

Sunday 25th. This day August 25th 1777 landed at head of Elk. This morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 the Van of the Fleet, came to an anchor opposite Cecil Court house and Elk Ferry and in half an hour after the Flat Bottomed Boats made good their landing at the Ferry House called Elk Ferry in the Province of Maryland, the rebels consisting only of 4 Companies militia under a Colonel Rumsey¹ fled without firing a shot. The troops huted with Rails and Indian Corn Stocks, no Baggage or Camp Equipage admitted. Came on about 10 this night a heavy storm of Rain, Lightning and Thunder. The wind being Southerly brought up the Fleet a short time after the landing. The Army Surprisingly healthy after so long a voyage and in such a climate—the return of the sick are about Four to each Battalion, very little fresh stock collected, and imperfect accounts of the situation of the Enemy. Inhabitants in numbers and well dressed at Cecil Court House Point. Troops landed with sixty Rounds per man.

26th. No motion — no inhabitants having deserted their houses and drove off their stock. Orders this evening for the Troops to march to-morrow morning at 3 o'clock. A very heavy storm all this night of Thunder lightning and Rain at North East. The Shoalness of the Elk convinced the Rebels that our fleet would never navigate it, but through the great abilities of our Naval officers it was happily effected as the bottom was muddy and the ships on it were cutting channels through it for each other.

27th. The storm continuing most of the morning the order for marching was countermanded. The roads heavy and the horses mere Carrion the soldiery not sufficiently refreshed

¹ Nathaniel Ramsay, of Maryland. A biographical sketch of this officer, by Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker, will be found in Johnson's History of Cecil Co., Maryland, p. 537.

and great part of their ammunition damaged, made it upon the whole no delay. Our Galley up the Elk fired at a boat that had taken one of ours. No Inhabitants as yet came in. A man of wars boat and midshipmen taken by the rebels, the men being on East shore for milk &c. The Galley fired but could not recover them. This night cold. The Guards only had Sixteen thousand Cartridges damaged by the storm.

28th. The Army moved between 3 and 4 this morning. The weather extremely fine which dried the roads, which would have been otherwise impassible, the medium 12 Pounders proved to be most difficult to pass through the Sloughs. Two houses got on Fire after quitting the Quarters but appeared to me to have been done on purpose. About 9 o'clock this morning our Army arrived at the Town of Elk consisting of about 40 well built brick and stone houses, our march hither about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Very few shot exchanged this day with the Enemy. One thousand men under a Colonel Paterson and the Philadelphia Light Horse fled from this Town on our approach, part to Gray's hill $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond the Town, which the rebels likewise quitted, as we reached the summit we could observe them but not within Cannon shot. Several of our men very irregular in pursuit of fresh provisions, so as to fall in the Enemy's hands. The rebels broke up the bridge at the End of the Town which we soon repaired, in the mean time great part of the Army forded the Creek in about 3 feet water on a gravelly bottom. We took three or four prisoners. Part of the small craft with provisions, camp equipage, baggage and Stores reached the head of Elk this evening from the Fleet at Elk Ferry. Very heavy dews fell after sunset. The Roads upon the whole this day may be said to be good. 23 of our Troops, 3 of which Hessians missing, supposed to be taken by the Enemy plundering. The rebels were so precipitate this day as to leave some of their Store houses full, consisting of molasses, Indian Corn, Tobacco, Pitch, Tar and some Cordage and Flour. The Cattle was drove off excepting a few. Found fifteen of the rebel sloops and Schooners at Elk.

29th. Weather delightful and cool especially the mornings

and evenings which are now rather cold. The Chasseurs pushed a body of the rebel Infantry at daylight this morning. Several of the Small craft arrived at the Lower landing with provisions &c. This country abounding in Forage, Pasture and vegetables, but the Inhabitants flown. Large quantities of apples green and Indian Corn which are in moderation great refreshments to the Soldiery. This night Lt.-Gen. Kniphuysen with the Troops left at Elk Ferry, crossed the Elk and encamped at Cecil Court house. 13 of our men deserted from us, or taken by the Enemy when marauding. A man came in from Philadelphia, that passed through the Rebel country who assured us that they are posted at Brandywine with a considerable body at White Clay Creek. About four hundred men advanced to Iron hill about five and a half miles from hence.

30th. Weather very pleasant—the wind as usual from W. to South. Welch fusileers fired a few Platoons into a body of rebels cavalry of about 200. The Jagers who are forward fired two Cannon shot at some officers with their escort, reconnoitering. The Army remarkably healthy but the navy sickly. This morning early Major-General Gray with 2 Brigades marched from hence to join General Kniphuysen by the way of Elk Ferry. The Inhabitants say that this has been as hot a summer as they have known.

Sunday 31st. Lt.-Gen'l Kniphuysen marched easterly on the neck into the Country, together with Generals Gray, Agnew, and Sir William Erskine in order to secure Cattle, waggons and Horses, &c., the army lying in great want of horses, owing to so long and unexpected a voyage hither both as to their flesh and their numbers. Weather very fine but intensely hot in the middle of the day, mornings and evenings rather cool. A Skirmish this morning—a body of rebels having appeared which the 23d Regt. attacked and pushed, taking 3 prisoners—they having one Killed and 5 wounded. Two deserters came in from the Rebel Army. The Command with Genl. Kniphuysen taken 261 head horned Cattle and 568 sheep and 100 horses. Picket of 5th

Regt. took 36 head Horned Cattle. A light horse deserter Came in. Lost 5 more Royal Artillery's.

September 1st. At daybreak this morning an outpost of the rebels was attacked by 200 Rangers of Wemys's Corps, they took the Commanding officer a Saxon Baron, one Ionitz and his Lieutenant and 3 prisoners—Killed 2 and wounded 1—the rest consisting of 100 fled—this was effected without any accident on our side. The middle of this day intensely hot, more so than usual. Rain all this night but gentle. Two Rebel Light Horse deserted to us but being too precipitate—two of our Rangers fired and both shot the same horse.

2nd. Morning wet and overcast and chilly. Two days fresh provisions issued to the Army for the first time. Came in, 1 rebel Light Horse and 2 deserters. All this Country abounds with Forage. The Inhabitants either fled or drove off and scarce any Cattle to be seen. To this evening from the time of our arrival at this Town the return of Sick from this Army is no less than Five hundred men.

3rd. Weather fine but cool early. At daybreak the whole under march except 2 Brigades with Major-Genl. Grant took the lower road to Christeen by the way of Rikin's Tavern, in order to avoid Iron Hill. At this Tavern we were to be joined by the Troops under General Kniphuysen but did not perceive them. About a mile beyond the Country is close—the woods within shot of the road, frequently in front and flank and in projecting points towards the Road, here the Rebels began to attack us, about 9 o'clock with a Continued smart irregular fire for near two miles. The body of the Rebels consisted of 120 men from 6 brigades making 720 men of what they call their regulars, together with 1000 militia and Philadelphia Light Horse, but the 720 men when what were principally engaged they were opposed by the Chasseurs and 1 Battalion of Light Infantry only the other Battalion of Light Infantry which was sent to surround the rebels through some mistake was led so far on our Right as to find an impassable swamp between them and the Army, which prevented this little spirited affair becoming so decisive. The rebels left about 20 dead among which was a

Captain of Lord Sterling's Reg't. We had 3 men killed and 20 wounded, amongst which was Lieut. Haldane Engineer and three more officers. The rebel Deserters since Come in, say they lost 5 Captains. This body of the enemy was commanded by General Maxwell. From the Iron Hill the waters of the Chesapeak and Delaware are seen. At 2 the whole encamped. Head Quarters Aikin's Tavern. Lord Cornwallis's to Cooche's Mill on the little Christeen where the rebels had a post this morning which we drove them from. The Guards on Iron Hill, Dunop, the Hessian Grenadiers, together with the British and all the Light Troops on the opposite side of the creek about 1 mile. The middle of this day excessive hot. Accounts just after this skirmishing was over that Lieut.-Genl. Kniphuysen's body was arrived at Aikin's Tavern. This spot is the Welsh tract we called Penn-Cadder.¹ Lieut.-Genl. Kniphuysen's encampment forms a kind of 2nd line to us. Two or 3 shots exchanged in the night. Total of Cattle taken and now brought in by Lt.-Genl. Kniphuysen amounts to 500 Head of Horned Cattle—1000 Sheep and 100 horses but not above forty of these Horses fit for Draught.

4th. The mornings now may be said to be cold in so much that fires are both agreeable and necessary—the weather charming. The Engineer's wound was such as to be obliged this morning to be sent on board the Hospital ship in the Fleet with the rest of the wounded by an escort of the rangers to Elk Town. Two deserters Came in. Pioneers employed in burying the Rebels, more being found in the woods. Two of them Captains Dallas and Cumming lay just beyond the Bridge at Cooch's Mill. The rebels in general retreated yesterday to Christian and White Clay Creek. The great want of Horses prevents our moving this day. People that Come in say the Rebels lost yesterday 12 officers. Waggons went this evening to head of Elk for Provisions and to carry back the men's tents and officers and Spare baggage for want of Carriages. Inhabitants drove in by the oppression of the rebels. People from our Camp daily on

¹ Pencader, Delaware. See PENNA. MAG., vol. ii. p. 343.

the *deconvert*. Soil here not Extraordinary. A few hopping shot in the night. Our pickets wounded one of our dragoons and killed a horse supplying these rebels. Evenings & nights dew very heavy.

5th. Weather charming, mornings cold. Sir Wm. Erskine and 1st Battalion Light Infantry gone forward to reconnoitre. A man came in who slept in the rebel Camp at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine last night, where he left Major-Genl. Sullivan and 2000 men and 3 field pieces. Three fugitives came in from Bohemia,¹ say that Genl. Mifflin and Cadwallader with what militia they have and can collect at Chester with an intention to harrass our Rear. Three Rebels Light Horse deserted to us—all Irishmen—some with the clothing of our 8th Regt. on—taken from us by their Privateers and each covered with a rifle shirt. This country subject to small intermittent fevers. Dispatches by the Phoenix Ship of war arrived in this Camp this night. Upon the Poll being taken of the Inhabitants that remain in Philadelphia and within its Isthmus as follows:—

In the City	23,000	Suburbs	2000	Liberties	10,000
together 35,000 Souls.					

6th. Overcast with a gentle rain—weather close. A rifle man deserted to us. This evening excessive hot. Arrived that body of the Army left at Elkton under the Command of Major-General Grant. We learn that General Sullivan with One thousand men, but no Cannon, were at Newark.

Sunday 7th. Weather very sultry, came in two deserters on Lt. Horse & 1 Highlander.

8th. The whole moved 2 hours before daylight—a remarkable borealis. An amazing strong ground—marched this day about 12 miles to Head Quarters—a very strong country—but 3 or 4 Shots fired during the march. A great deal of rebel cattle collected. At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9 three alarm guns were fired from the rebel camp, conjectured to be at Newport, one minute between each gun. A rebel Colonel, Baggage and Servant taken in Waggon and 4 horses. At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7 this

¹ Bohemia, Maryland. See PENNA. MAG., vol. iv. p. 102; also, Johnson's Cecil Co., p. 38.

morning marching through Newark the weather was very cold indeed. Encamped this day at 1 o'clock at Nibblas's house which is from Aikin's Tavern to Cooch's Mill round Iron Hill by way of Newark and so into the road from Newport to Lancaster in the way to New Garden. Heard the rebel morning gun. Took a waggon & 4 horses with 12 barrels of Flour going to the enemy. 16 Inhabitants Came in. Three Cannon shot by us at rebel officers reconnoitering after we had Come to our Ground. Some firing this evening at the rebels.

9th. At 2 o'clock P. M. Lt.-General Kniphuysen with the 3rd division and 2 more British Brigades marched for Kennett's square via New Garden and arrived at his ground at 11. At sunset this evening the 2 other divisions of this Army under Lord Cornwallis and Major-General Grant marched from Head Quarters at Nichols's House Mill Creek Hundred by a bye road to Hokesson Meeting house—Quaker meeting 4 miles distance and encamped. The roads bad for both Routs of the Army & under many halts. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 this afternoon the Commander in Chief received accounts of the rebel army having evacuated Newport and Wilmington and taken post at Chad's ford on the Brandywine Creek.




10th. At 6 this morning the Army moved and arrived at noon at Kennet's Square in Chester County in Pennsylvania—the middle very hot—our march this day about 6 miles through an amazingly strong country, being a succession of large hills, rather sudden with narrow vales, in short an entire defile. This days march and not a shot fired. Encamped on very strong ground where we joined Lt.-General Kniphuysen's division. Cattle and horses collected. Accounts that the Rebels had moved heavy Artillery to the Turks Head by intelligence at 5 this evening. Rebel Light Horse about but fled. Almost all the Inhabitants found at their houses.

11th. At daybreak this morning the Commander in Chief with their body of the Army marched, consisting in this column, about 7000 men, composed of the Chasseurs mounted and dismounted, 1st and 2nd Battalions Light Infantry—1st

and 2nd Battalions Grenadiers—the Guards—2 Squadrons Queen's Light Dragoons—dismounted ditto and 4th Brigades of Infantry. A thick fog contributed greatly to favour our march. Passed the forks of the Brandywine Creek at Trumbull's Ford and at Jeffries' Ford and arrived upon an open clear height at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 and halted and refreshed ourselves for an hour, during which time observed the Gros of the rebel army forming upon an opposite height, one mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ from us and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Chad's Ford on the Brandywine. This position of the Enemy was remarkably strong, having a large body advanced, small bodies still further advanced and their Rear covered by a wood wherein their main body was posted with a natural glacis for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. However advantageous the rebels were situated and notwithstanding our army had marched — miles, both sultry and dusty and rather fatigued, many remaining along the road on that account, nevertheless at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 the whole moved towards the Enemy in 3 columns viz:—



and the 3rd Brigade as a reserve—

4th Brigade  Hessian Grenadiers  Light Dragoons 

Some skirmishing begun in the valley in which the enemy was drove, upon gaining something further of the ascent the enemy began to amuse us with 2 guns, the ground on the left being the most difficult the rebels disputed it with the Light Infantry with great spirit, particularly their officers, this spot was a ploughed hill and they covered by its summit and flanked by a wood; however unfavourable the circumstances their ardour was such that they pushed in upon them under a very heavy fire. The British Grenadiers and Guards at the same time labouring under a smart and incessant fire from the Rebels out of a wood and above them, most nobly charged them without firing a shot and drove them before them, they covering their retreat with their Light

Troops from one patch of woodland to another firing upon us, as we advanced into the cleared intervals until our¹ Cannon surmounted the summits from one to another which effectually drove them beyond its Posts. We then pursued them through Dilworth Town and drove them for one mile & a $\frac{1}{2}$ beyond it, to the skirt of a wood, where they had collected and from whence they poured on us particularly on the Guards and 4th Brigade, the heaviest fire (for the time) during the action. As soon as Lt.-General Kniphuysen, who had the Gros of our army with him, heard the action begun, he instantly began his attack and drove the enemy over the Brandywine, across Chad's Ford and pushed them over it until he met with the left wing of the rebel army which likewise fled after an obstinate resistance and then encamped on the field of battle being about 3 miles from Head Quarters—the 2 columns making a junction. Our army marched this day no less than 17 miles after which they gained a Complete victory over the rebels in this general action. Rebel orderly Books found to the 7th Instant inclusive, wherein Washington expected our attacking him at Wilmington and his Order respecting it particularly, this now was their time for their utmost exertions as their liberties and the fate of America depended upon one general action. Rebel returns found that their regular, Continental or standing army, consisted yesterday of 12,900 men, exclusive of their militia and 2 Regiments Light Horse then present and fit for duty. This return by some supposed to be false. Ordnance taken viz., ten pieces of Cannon and one Howitzer. Killed of Rebel Army of Officers, non-commissioned and privates 450 and prisoners of the same 400.

¹ "At the Battle of Brandywine, 11th Sept. 1777, I directed the position and attack of most of the field train, and late in the evening when the action was near concluded a very heavy fire was received by our Grenadiers from 6000 rebels, Washington's rear Guard, when Col. Monckton requested me to ride through it to Brigadier-General Agnew's Brigade, and his 4 twelve Pounders, which I did time enough to support them and by my fixing the 4 twelve Pounders, Routed the Enemy."—From Montrésor's MS. notes.

(To be continued.)

MATTHEW IRVINE, M.D.

BY JOHN BLAIR LINN.

Dr. Matthew Irvine, the younger brother of Genl. Wm. Irvine, was born in Ireland, and came out to Philadelphia when a boy in a vessel commanded by Capt. George, father of James George, mentioned by Dr. Johnson as a ship carpenter, afterwards residing in Charleston, S. C. James and Matthew, according to Dr. Johnson, had their boyish battles, and parting in Philadelphia did not meet until after the Revolution,¹ when Dr. Irvine became a citizen of Charleston, when they shook hands as old acquaintances and continued good friends ever after.

Dr. Matthew studied medicine with his brother at Carlisle; then a frontier town of Pennsylvania, alive with the bustle and confusion of troop trains, emigrants to the West, and noisy wagoners; its strange scenes and queer characters affording a scope for his irrepressible love of fun. Mrs. Irvine, the General's widow, with whom he was a great favorite, in her old age, never tired talking of his escapades. "He was the life of the house while he was with us," she said. That on one occasion Old Tom, the negro slave, made a formal complaint, that he could not stand Master Matt. any longer, that when coming through the office he pulled his coat off and threatened to bone him and scrape him (*bonum securum*), and he believed he would if he had a chance.

He had not completed his studies in July, 1775, when Capt. James Chambers came down the road from Falling Spring, now Chambersburg, with rattling drum and screaming fife, with a company on the way to Boston. Books were dropped and the half-fledged doctor sped for the camp at Cambridge; where his insatiable love of adventure soon enrolled him with the bold spirits Arnold selected for the expedition to Canada.

¹ Traditions of the American Revolution, by Joseph Johnson, M.D.

The following extract from the journal of Dr. Isaac Seuter, "surgeon and physician to an elect number of troops detached from General Washington's Army on a Secret expedition to Canada, Sept. 13, 1775, under Colonel Arnold,"¹ relates our young surgeon's mishaps.

October, "Monday, 16. We now found it necessary to erect a building for the reception of our sick, who had now increased to a very formidable number. A block-house was erected and christened by the name of Arnold's Hospital, and no sooner finished than filled. Not far from this was a small bush-hut, previously constructed by Morgan's division of riflemen, who were gone forward. In this they left a young gentleman named Irvin, a native of Pennsylvania, brought up a physician in that city [Province?], and serving as an ensign in the company of Capt. Morgan. The case of this young gentleman was truly deplorable. In the first of our march from Cambridge he was tormented with dysentery, for which he never paid any medical attention. When he came to wading in the water every day, then lodging on the ground at night, it kept him in a most violent rheumatism I ever saw. Not able to help himself any more than a new born infant; every joint in his extremities inflexible and swelled to an enormous size. Much in the same condition was Mr. Jackson of the same company, and Mr. Greene, my mate, last of whom we left at Fort Western. . . .

"Tuesday, 17. By this time the remainder of the army had now come up, in consequence of which I quit my hospital business and proceeded with them, where I left poor Dr. Irvin with all the necessaries of life I could impart to him. He was allowed 4 men of his company to wait upon him, but as they'd nothing to do with, they could be of little service except keeping him a good fire; turning him when weary, &c. His situation was most wretched, overrun with vermin, unable to help [himself] in the least thing, and attended constantly with the most violent pain. And in fine labored under every inconvenience possible."

¹ This journal is printed in the Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1848.

In after years Dr. Irvine told his nephew, Genl. Callender Irvine, that he owed his life to a soldier to whom he had rendered some medical service previously. He was then, he said, young and slender, the soldier stout and rugged; that being unable to move or walk the latter carried him on his back through many swamps. Being out of provisions it was death to leave any one behind. The Doctor was confined with acute rheumatism all the rest of the winter, and never perfectly recovered from this illness; he was always rheumatic.

I have not found anything to throw light upon his employments for several years after his return from the expedition. It is probable his complaint prevented service in the field, and that he resumed his studies with his brother the Colonel, who was a paroled prisoner until May 6, 1778, or he may have gone on his staff when the latter became Brigadier-General, May 12, 1779; at all events we hear of him next upon the occasion of Lee's successful attack on Paulus Hook (now Jersey City) August 19, 1779. Lee complimented the Doctor in his report, and family tradition says it was here he persuaded him to join the Light Dragoons, whose services were so memorable.

It appears by our Colonial Records, vol. 12, page 235, that on the 26th of January, 1780, Major Lee of the Light Dragoons, attended in Council and laid before the Board a certificate that Dr. Irvine, Lt. Armstrong, and Adjutant Gordon are returned into the War Office as belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, agreeable to a resolve of Congress of the 15th of March, and requested that the State clothier be directed to furnish them with clothing, which request was promptly complied with.

Garden's anecdotes and Lee's memoirs have many pleasant references to this trio from Pennsylvania, and even our general histories have celebrated the reckless dash of Armstrong's platoon across Quimby Creek Bridge. The late Dr. Joseph Johnson's *Traditions of the Revolution*, Charleston, S. C., 1851, is an exceedingly interesting book to those who desire to follow up the career of our Pennsylvania officers in the South.

From the last named book I quote the following anecdote of the subject of our sketch. The legion once halted at a spacious establishment in Virginia, where nobody appeared to welcome them; the owner was a royalist. Hungry soldiers are never ceremonious; Irvine went into the house, entered a parlor with a warm fire, and everything indicating ease and luxury. A middle-aged gentleman sat alone near the chimney but did not speak. Irvine bowed to him, but only received a slight nod in return. Irvine took a chair at the other side of the fireplace, and tried to be sociable, without effect. To all his questions he received the same answer, "Ask my steward." Irvine sat in imitation of the other, with his feet against the chimney jam, and a brother officer soon entered and spoke to him, "Ah, doctor, I see you are in good quarters there." "Yes," said the doctor, "come and take a seat." The silent gentleman looked astonished, not only at the doctor's intrusion, but at his impudence in inviting company also. After a while, the silent gentleman took another look and said: "I suppose you are a doctor;" but Irvine bowed coldly, and made no answer. The Virginian then began a long detail of his ailments, indigestion, flying pains, sleepless nights, etc., incident to a life of indolence and luxury, asking the doctor what he should do for them. Dr. Irvine looked at him, pointed over his shoulder, and said, "Ask my assistant," and to several other questions gave no answer other than ask my assistant. At last the Virginian burst into a laugh at the doctor's retaliation, and with the cordiality of a gentleman entered into a social conversation. The doctor advised his host to join Lee's legion, in their Southern campaign, as the surest means of curing his indigestion.

From Lee's Memoirs it appears that Dr. Skinner was the senior surgeon of the field hospital. When any fighting was going on, Irvine would become so excited he could not remain quiet in the hospital. At Eutaw he volunteered as aid to General Greene, and at Quimby Bridge, eighteen miles from Monk's Corners, he pushed forward where he should not have been, and while at the side of the Adjutant, Major Lovell, received a ball in his arm above the elbow. Lee adds, "Such

was Dr. Skinner's unvarying objection to Irvine's custom of risking his life, whenever he was with the corps going into action, that, kind and amiable as he was, he saw with pleasure that his prediction, often communicated to Irvine to stop his practice (which, contrasted with his own, Skinner felt as a bitter reproach), was at length realized when Irvine was brought in wounded; and he would not dress his wound, although from his station he had the preference, until he had finished all the privates, reprehending with asperity Irvine's custom, and sarcastically complimenting him every now and then with the honorable scar he might hereafter show."

After the war Dr. Irvine remained in the South. He first settled at Georgetown, S. C., where he remained about ten years, and then removed to Charleston, where his reputation and talents became more generally known. He married a Miss Keith, a descendant of the Anne Boleyn family, their only child dying in infancy. With a large income from his profession, and fond of social life, he kept open house. Genl. Callender Irvine, his nephew, often described his uncle's dinner parties, and the pleasure it gave the doctor, when surrounded by the stately old planters, to bring forth the laughable peculiarities of each one, by covert wit and humor on his part, without wounding their feelings, just as heat-lightning of a summer night makes more perceptible the landscape.

Shortly after the doctor's marriage, he dined out, and not returning in due time, Mrs. Irvine became uneasy and sent a servant to see what was the matter. The man not returning, she became very nervous about her dear doctor, and (to make a long story short) sent all the household domestics one after the other, with the same result, no return. Then she had resort to the plantation for recruits. After a long delay the doctor came marching in, with the cortege in single file, he at the head of the line holding his cane in sword fashion. Merely saying how grateful he was for her solicitude on his account, he dismissed his escort, which amounted to some seventeen in all. After that Dr. Irvine came home from such entertainments without any unnecessary military parade.

Many anecdotes of the doctor and his sayings still linger

among the old inhabitants of Charleston. He was very neat in his person, and they used to say there that he was so particular that, with those who were not so, he used a small stick he carried to feel their pulses with.

Later in life he was troubled with cataract, and in 1812 came to Philadelphia to be couched by Dr. Physick. He never regained his sight, but still retained his convivial spirit to the last, and bore his affliction with resignation. In person he was of middle stature, well-formed, and very quick and prompt in his movements. Dr. Irvine was in the front rank in his day and with his generation as a physician. Dr. Chapman refers to his opinions in his *Materia Medica*, and in his lectures often spoke of his ability and high authority as a physician. In 1820 Dr. Irvine published a pamphlet treatise on the Yellow Fever. An appreciative review of this pamphlet will be found in the *Eclectic Repertory* (Phila. 1820), vol. 10, page 511. It contains his views of the origin and nature of that fearful scourge of the South, and recommends a treatment different from any before proposed. He was the first to introduce the use of sugar of lead (*sac. saturni*) in the declining stage of the fever. Later still than Dr. Chapman, Dr. Wood quotes Irvine as authority.

For all I can add to this imperfect sketch of the celebrated surgeon of "Light-horse Harry" troop, I am indebted to the courtesy of Genl. Wilmot G. De Saussure, of Charleston, S. C.; only remarking how little benefit my profession would derive from contests over wills were all so brief and expressive as Dr. Irvine's; and that neither "war, time, flood, nor fire" can baffle such an antiquary as the genial Genl. de Saussure. In a letter to a friend dated Charleston, May 9, 1881, he informs us, "Dr. Irvine is said to have been buried in the graveyard of the Congregational, or Circular Church, and that a monument was put up to him in the church. The church edifice was burned in December, 1861, and its records lost, as I was told some years ago when prosecuting some inquiries; but from an old undertaker's book of coffin plates, to which I was able to get access, I make the following extract:—

Extracted from Book of Coffin plates, lettered by Edward G. Sess.

'August 31, 1827, Matthew Irvine, M.D. (aged) 70.'

Extracted from records of Probate Court, Charleston County.

'I will and bequeath all that I may die possessed of, wholly to my wife Mary, hereby revoking all former wills which may have been executed, this day November 20, 1816.

M. IRVINE. [SEAL] .

Witness :

WM. WARLEY,

W. H. SIMONS,

BENJ. HUGER.

Proved before Jas. D. Mitchell, C. C. T. D., October 6, 1827.'

The above is the entire will and record. W. G. De S."

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN IN THE FLEET.

BY REV. EDWARD D. NEILL.

A recent examination of the calendars of British State papers during the reign of Charles the First, furnishes some facts relative to the career of Sir Edmund Plowden, just before he left England for Virginia, which will not be inappropriate as an appendix to the notice of this knight errant which has appeared on p. 206 of this vol. of the *MAGAZINE*.

In the calendar for A. D. 1635, is a "Brief in a cause in the High Commission Court between Mabel Plowden, daughter and heir of Peter Mariner of Wansted Hants, against Sir Edmund Plowden, her husband. On her marriage, she brought Sir Edmund Plowden an estate of £300 per annum in land. Of late, upon her refusal to sell the same, he had used her with excessive cruelty, so that she could no longer cohabit with him. Preparing a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he decided that her complaints should be heard before the High Commissioners, who condemned her husband in expenses of suit and alimony. She subsequently returned to her house, Sir Edmund giving bond not to use any cruelty

toward her, whereupon Sir Henry Marten signed a dismissal of the cause, being weary of the trouble, and Sir Edmund counterfeiting conformity in religion. Sir Edmund has since treated her with the same cruelty as before, wherefore it is desired that the cause may proceed."

On the 23d of March, 1638-39, Dame Mabel writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury that "the Court of High Commission at final hearing of the cause between petitioner and her husband, ordered that Sir Edmund should give bond for the performance of the order and sentence before he should be enlarged out of the messenger's custody.

Notwithstanding the said order given your messenger has suffered him to have his liberty." She further prays that Wragg, the messenger, may give account of his prisoner.

On the 11th of November, 1639, "The Court being informed that Sir Edmund Plowden still persisted in his contempt against the orders of this Court for his wife's alimony, decreed an intimation of £50 to issue out against him, to be certified into the exchequer, in case he submits not, by the next day. Whereupon the counsel for Lady Plowden moved the Court that the bond in 500 Marks forfeited by Sir Edmund to the King might be assigned to her maintenance, she being destitute of all alimony through her husband's obstinate lying in prison."

On the 23d of January, 1639-40, Sir Edmund Plowden's petition was read to the High Commission Court, "desiring that on deposit of £100 towards his wife's cost of suits and alimony, and giving bond for performance of the rest of the sentence, that he might be enlarged, but the Court considering his many contempts of their orders, ordered him fully to obey the sentence of the Court before he be enlarged." As late as the 7th of May, 1640, he was lying a prisoner in the Fleet.

About the close of the year 1641 he came to America, and after remaining seven years he returned to England. Why he stayed just seven years cannot as yet be shown.

THOMAS WHARTON, JUNR.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF '76.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

It seems strange that the history of Thomas Wharton, Junr., a man, whose life was so closely linked with that of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, whose affairs he administered during the darkest period of the great struggle in which she and her sister Colonies were engaged, is not more widely and intimately known. One most obvious reason for this is to be found in the circumstance of his early death, which abruptly terminated a useful and honorable career; for considerable as were the services which he had already rendered his country, the potentialities of the future were even greater, and without doubt he, who had acquitted himself so creditably, would, had he lived to see the new government permanently established, have continued to hold positions of honor and trust in his native State. Furthermore, it has been said: "Full justice has never been done to the magnanimity and ability of Pennsylvania statesmen and warriors during the Revolutionary contest. The quiet and unpretending character of her population has caused the historian, in a measure, to overlook their merit in the council and in the field."¹ This is doubtless true; and true it certainly is, that, at this period, as in all such national epochs, some characters stood forth in strong relief, their very presence moved assemblies, their words resounded like clarion notes through the length and breadth of the land; while others, not less important, filled in and balanced the picture, among the latter was Thomas Wharton, whose public record has never been separately transcribed. It is only by reading the history of Pennsylvania, during those momentous years from 1774 to 1778, that

¹ Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania*.

we trace that of Governor Wharton. From the pages of her records and archives, full of important orders emanating from him at trying crises; or in glancing over the journals of the day, which abound in proclamations that even now stir us by their tone of deep and earnest patriotism, their ringing calls to arms and their eloquent appeals to the nobler impulses of mankind, we gain some insight into the character of the man, of which few written expressions are left us.

John Wharton, the father of Thomas, was a resident of Chester County, certainly, from the time of his marriage in 1727 until 1740, as his name appears in the assessment lists of the county during those years. In the marriage records of Chester meeting he is set down as "John Wharton, saddler, son of Thomas of Philadelphia," from which we learn that he, in common with others of his family, and many fellow-members of the Society of Friends, carried out the views of William Penn in this matter of the learning of trades; the Proprietary having left directions in his family memoirs that his children should be brought up in the practical knowledge of trades; "so that they should not only respect the useful occupations of persons who were dependent upon them, but have them to resort to in the vicissitudes of life." The exact location of the dwelling of John Wharton has not been determined, as many early deeds were unrecorded; those still extant tell us that he, in 1733, purchased a lot on Front Street and Chester Creek, in the old town of Chester (now in Delaware County), next his other property; and that, in 1736, he bought eight and a quarter acres of marsh and upland in Chester from James Sandelands.

Brief and scant is the chronicle left us of the early life of Thomas Wharton, Junr., so called to distinguish him from a cousin some five years his senior. Born about 1735, it is reasonable to conclude that his home for some years was his father's house in Chester; and, from the position occupied by him in after years, that he subsequently enjoyed better educational advantages than that borough then afforded. He certainly removed to Philadelphia previous to 1755, as he was then an apprentice to Reese Meredith, in confirmation of which

we have a receipt bearing that date signed "Thomas Wharton, Junior, for my Ma^r Reese Meredith." During the years that followed he was actively engaged in mercantile pursuits in this city, having at one time a business connection with Anthony Stocker, of whom he speaks in a letter written from Lancaster, December, 1777, as "my late partner, Mr. Stocker," lamenting the death of this gentleman "in its consequences to the firm of Stocker & Wharton." In 1762 Mr. Wharton's business had increased to such an extent that he was known as one of the principal importers of the city, as is shown by Custom House Bonds of that date. That he, during the years in which he was free from public responsibilities, entered into the social life of the capital there can be little doubt, as he numbered among his friends men of influence and culture; in 1760 his name appears among the members of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, of which exclusive little Colony his brother James was then "sheriff."

Although his grandfather was a member of the Society of Friends, at the time of his marriage in 1688, and some years anterior to that event, Thomas Wharton, Junr., was descended from a family originally belonging to the Church of England; whether or not he ever *formally* gave back his allegiance to the faith of his fathers is not known. His marriage with Miss Lloyd was solemnized in Christ Church, Nov. 4, 1762; and through the whole of his public career he was known, if not as a member of that congregation, as in sympathy with its order of worship. The Lloyd family, with which Thomas Wharton allied himself, was descended from the ancient Welsh stock of Lloyds of Dolobran in Montgomeryshire. Susannah Lloyd was the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, and consequently the great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd, who, as President of the Council, acted as Deputy-Governor of the Province during the absence of William Penn.

On the passage of the Stamp Act, Thomas Wharton espoused the cause of the Colonies, taking a resolute stand on the side of the opposition with which the attempt to enforce it was met. His name was one of the first to be affixed to the Non-Importation Resolutions and Agreements of 1765, where it

appeared in company with that of Thomas Wharton, Senr., and other members of his family. During the years of comparative tranquillity succeeding this important step, he carried on his business in Philadelphia, daily increasing his reputation as a man of practical ability, and winning the confidence of a community that later placed its highest interests in his keeping. Finally, when moderate measures seemed no longer expedient or justifiable, when, in the spring of 1774, the news of the blocking up of the Boston harbor sounded through the land a sad requiem for the liberties of the Colonies, Wharton, with many leading spirits of the day, recognizing that the hour had arrived for vigorous and sustained opposition to British aggression, and acting consistently with former professions, openly ranked himself with the Revolutionary party, from which position no side issues or private interests ever caused him to swerve.

Great was the sympathy felt for the Bostonians, when news of this fresh act of tyranny reached Philadelphia, in consequence of which a meeting of some of her influential citizens was called hastily together, in the long room of the City Tavern, to confer upon measures for their relief. This meeting of the 20th of May has occupied so prominent a place in the history of the time, that it needs no more than passing mention, and justly does it hold its high rank, being of immense importance, as a first step, a primal act in the grand drama of the Revolution. On this occasion, letters from the Boston Committee were read, after which it was "Agreed, That a Committee be appointed to correspond with our sister Colonies." Among those chosen to form this Committee of Correspondence was Thomas Wharton, Junr., who was present when the letter to Boston was prepared ;¹ a letter, says Mr. Bancroft, which "for the coming year was to control the councils of America." One of the duties of the Committee was to call on the Governor to convene the As-

¹ In Force's *American Archives*, vol. i. iv. Series, p. 340, it is stated that Thomas Wharton, Junr., was absent from this meeting ; we, however, learn from the MS. of Rev. William Smith, D.D., that he was present at the drawing up of the Boston letter.

sembly of Pennsylvania. This, as was anticipated, the Governor refused to do, saying that he did not consider that the exigencies of the case warranted such a measure. Meetings of the citizens in large numbers, however, continued to be held. On the 22d of June, Thomas Wharton, Junr., was again placed on a committee with Joseph Reed and John Nixon, whose duty it was to call upon the Speaker of the Assembly, and request him to summon its members to meet on the 1st of August to consult on public affairs.¹ The refusal of Governor Penn to convoke the Assembly gave the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia an opportunity for independent action, which they signalized by calling together a convention of representatives from the different counties of the Province, for the 15th of July, 1774. At this Provincial Convention of deputies Thomas Wharton, Junr., and Thomas Wharton, Senr., were present as representatives from the city and county of Philadelphia.² At some of the important meetings ensuing, the name of Thomas Wharton, Junr., is noticeable from its absence; the only explanation of this fact that suggests itself is the quaint Scriptural excuse given to a Judean host, in the parable spoken more than 1800 years ago: "I have married a wife: and therefore I cannot come;" his second marriage, with Miss Fishbourne, being entered into in December, 1774.

Like the first wife of Thomas Wharton, Elizabeth Fishbourne belonged to a family which numbered among its members men distinguished in the early history of the Colony; her grandfather was William Fishbourne, a member of the Provincial Council, while her great-grandfather was the well-known and much-honored Samuel Carpenter.

On the 30th of June, 1775, when the news of the battle of Bunker Hill was a fresh story to the community, the Assembly of Pennsylvania resolved that a Committee of Public Safety should be appointed. Thomas Wharton, Junr., was one of the twenty-five citizens who formed this Committee, whose duties were arduous and important. From the number

¹ Gordon's *Hist. Penna.* p. 490.

² Force's *Am. Archives*, vol. i. iv. Series, p. 555.

and variety of the sub-committees on which he was placed, we learn that he early became one of its most active and efficient members. The Committee of Safety, appointed by the Resolves of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, was re-appointed October, 1775, with the addition of several new members; and continued in active administration of the military affairs of the Province until the momentous summer of 1776, when the Convention of the Commonwealth, called together to frame a new Constitution for the Province of Pennsylvania, (in accordance with the Resolve of Congress of May 10th),¹ assumed entire political power. On the 24th of July, a Council of Safety was established, in which the Convention vested the executive authority of the government until the new Constitution should be put into operation. Thomas Wharton, Junr., who had given abundant proof of his zeal and ability when a member of the late Committee of Safety, was now chosen President of this newly formed Council. He was duly inaugurated the following month, with David Rittenhouse as Vice-President.

Although it is not our purpose to attempt a thorough discussion of what have been fitly named, "the tangled politics of those days;" or to fully consider the merits of the Constitution of '76 and the vigorous opposition which it encountered, it seems to fall within the province of the biographer of Thomas Wharton to touch briefly upon such public events as are intimately connected with his history, and finally led to his election to the office of Chief Executive of the Commonwealth under the Constitution.

The political record of Pennsylvania at this period presents so curious a page, that it is difficult now to unravel its intricacies sufficiently to discover what were the vital points at issue. A new order of things was about to be in-

¹ "That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."—*Journals of Congress, 1776*, vol. ii. p. 158.

augurated; old party lines had been obliterated, the Declaration of Independence having compelled many Tories to take refuge with the enemy, or, for present security, to seek shelter in silence. There also remained the Quakers, a large and opulent class, who, as the original settlers of the soil, had in the early days of the Province held high trusts in the community; men who loved liberty, who had left their native land to secure it, yet who disapproved of fighting for it. Unwilling to take oaths, or take up arms, they yet owned themselves content to render passive obedience to the authorities in power—a difficult element to deal with, as we shall see. Naturally, those Friends who conformed strictly to the tenets of the Society entirely withdrew from public life.

The citizens, therefore, who took an active part in the affairs of the day, entertained but one idea with regard to the prosecution of the war, although in State politics they were sadly divided. No sooner was the Constitution promulgated than it met with the most violent opposition; some of those who had been instrumental in calling together the Convention that framed it now taking a stand against it, because they disapproved of the manner in which the work had been performed. Others, and among them many leading public men, clung with affection to the old Provincial Charter, and could not think that the Resolution of Congress applied to Pennsylvania. Deeply impressed with the greatness of the issues pending and of the importance of doing nothing hastily or rashly, they paused, amid the rush and jar of rapidly succeeding events, to consider how much the new regime must of necessity encroach upon the old, and were only tolerant of such changes in the legislation of the Commonwealth as seemed absolutely essential to its existence and growth. These statesmen contended that, with some slight alterations, the old government could be made to answer the requirements of the hour, and with them sided the residue of the Tory element, and such members of the Society of Friends as took any part in politics.

Many and various were the arguments brought to bear against the Constitution, for instance, that in it, the "Christian

religion was not treated with proper respect;" that it unnecessarily deviated from all former government of the State, etc. Probably the most forcible plea of the opposition, was, that the Provincial Conference which called the Convention had *usurped* the power to use legislative authority, and that the Constitution itself had been put in force without being submitted to the consideration of the people. These facts could undoubtedly be substantiated, and it must be confessed that the only rights possessed by the Convention were those of revolution. The unpopularity of the Constitution was augmented by the resolution, that no plan for its amendment should be formally considered, until after the expiration of seven years, and then only on the agreement of a two-thirds majority, to be convened within two years after that date. Hence, there being no means of speedy redress, its indignant opponents gathered together in large numbers to rehearse their wrongs; while the newspapers of the day, with prophetic vision, and in language suited to the occasion, declared that they saw, in the near future, the oppression and tyranny of the Middle Ages rising, phœnix-like, from the ashes of their desecrated liberties, in brief, that the yoke of Great Britain was preferable to that of the legislators of Pennsylvania.

On the other hand, the Constitution was not without its warm advocates, and to these the authority under which it was formed appeared ample. They saw in it the means of giving the cause of the Colonies all the aid Pennsylvania could yield. It strengthened the hands of a class to whom participation in public affairs was new, and the honors of office sweet, and, as it increased the number of electors, it is not surprising that it called to its support all who were indebted to it for the right of suffrage.

The new frame of government vested the Legislative power in a House of Assembly, and the Executive power in a Council to be composed of twelve members, one from each county of the State and one from the city of Philadelphia. At a town meeting, held in the latter place, October 21st, it was urged that no Councillors should be chosen, and that the Assemblymen should be absolved from taking the oaths re-

quired of them ; also, that the Constitution should be at once amended, and then submitted to the people. This course was so far successful that it prevented the new government from being put into effect until five months after it had been declared the law of the land. Councillors were not chosen in Philadelphia, city or county, and, of those elected elsewhere, the number sufficient to form a quorum do not appear to have been willing to serve. While this political conflict was running highest in and around Philadelphia, the invasion of New Jersey by the British, and rumored advance toward that city, caused great confusion in Pennsylvania. The Assembly, which had met on the 28th of November, separated on the 14th of the following month, not to re-unite until the 13th of January. To provide for the exigencies of this trying period, when even Washington almost despaired ; when he wrote to his brother : “ If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up ;”¹ Thomas Wharton, as President of the Council, issued numerous orders to hasten the advance of the militia ; calling upon the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, who had been accused of lack of enthusiasm, to come forth without delay to the assistance of their “ worthy General Washington and their invaded brethren in the Jerseys ;” entreating them to suspend their ordinary occupations and engage solely in guarding their liberties, to consider that, and that only, the business of the hour. To the Commander-in-Chief he wrote, a few days later, “ I assure you, Sir, this Council will not suffer anything to abate their exertions, but that they will use every hour which the enemy shall delay their approach, in preparing for the defence of this city and State in the best manner possible, and shall most cheerfully afford your Excellency every assistance in our power.”

Mr. Wharton remained in Philadelphia during this time of suspense, exercising the authority vested in him, and must by his presence, as well as by his prompt and judicious measures, have contributed not a little to encourage the people, and to

¹ *Force's American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. iii. p. 1276.

inspire them with the confidence of which they were soon to give proof.

On the 27th of December, came Washington's letter to Congress, announcing his victory at Trenton, on the morning of the 26th, whereupon Thomas Wharton wrote at once to the President of Congress: "We are sending off reinforcements of Militia, in hopes that this very important blow may be followed up. The great advantage which will arise to our cause must be apparent. Our Militia were turning out by degrees, but this will give them a new stimulus; and we are in hopes our worthy General will not remain without proper succours . . . We have it also from good authority that many of the British light-horse are taken; the riders thinking their situation rather dangerous took to their heels and escaped."

Immediate danger to the capital being averted, Congress, which had adjourned to Baltimore, resumed its sessions in Philadelphia. The humiliating position in which Pennsylvania had been placed by this ill-timed dispute, which was only suspended by the threatening of danger from without, seems to have turned the tide of popular opinion in favor of the new government. When, in February, 1777, an election was held for the choice of Assemblymen in place of several who had declined to act, Thomas Wharton, Junr., was elected Councillor from Philadelphia, which city the November previous had decided, by two-thirds of her votes, that no such officer should be chosen. With Mr. Wharton added to their number, the Councillors who were willing to serve were enabled to organize the Supreme Executive Council, and thus complete the new government; this was done on the 4th of March; General Assembly and Council then uniting to elect Thomas Wharton, Junr., President of the latter body, with George Bryan as Vice-President. Although Thomas Wharton has been spoken of as an ardent Constitutionalist, we find nothing to justify such a statement beyond the circumstance of his having acceptably filled the position of first Constitutional Governor of Pennsylvania, and are disposed to rank him among the more moderate supporters of the new system.

Indeed, the fact of his being brought into the political arena at that time tends to confirm the idea that he was regarded as a conservative—a candidate, whom it was held men of conflicting views would unite to elect, trusting to his being less influenced by party prejudice than by his desire to serve the State.

His views on this subject seem fairly set forth in the following letter, addressed to Arthur St. Clair soon after the adoption of the Constitution: "True it is, there are many faults which I hope one day to see removed; but it is true that, if the Government should at this time be overset, it would be attended with the worst consequences, not only to this State, but to the whole continent in the opposition we are making to Great Britain. If a better frame of government should be adopted, such a one as would please a much greater majority than the present one, I should be very happy in seeing it brought about; and any gentleman that should be thought by the public qualified to take my seat, should have my hearty voice for it. My ardent ambition never led me to expect or ask for it; if I have any, it is to be thought, and to merit, the character of an honest man. I feel myself very inadequate to the station I am in; but some that were fit for it have either withdrawn themselves entirely, or are opposing the Government. However, as it is in the power of every man to act with integrity and uprightness, he that does that will at least have the approbation of his own conscience, and merit that of the public."¹

The earnest and manly spirit of this letter, read in the light of his previous and subsequent career, makes the character of Thomas Wharton stand out in some sort of relief against the confused background of the labyrinthine politics of the day, and is of value to us as it explains clearly his motives in accepting the position under the Constitution to which he was elected.

Those of the people in choosing him, at this time, are more

¹ From a MS. letter furnished by G. M. Wharton, Esq.; first published in *Armor's Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania*.

obvious; in addition to that already given, we find a stronger reason for this selection in the fact that hitherto he had proved himself entirely worthy of the confidence reposed in him. As President of the late Council of Safety, Mr. Wharton had filled with honor a position of trust, hence it is not strange that he should have been offered one of greater responsibility under the new government. It seemed, indeed, as if by mutual attraction, the best minds in the country were drawn together; and that with an insight born of the necessities of the hour men recognized each other's worth, and discerned in what field their talents would be best developed for the good of the common cause: Thomas Wharton's were pre-eminently administrative; from one important position in the State he was raised to another, until finally called upon, amid the bitter political disputes of 1777, to fill the most elevated she could offer him, as President of the newly-formed Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. This body, while discharging the duties of Council of Safety, embraced a much wider range of power; the latter was little more than a revolutionary committee, charged with the raising and equipping of troops; while upon the former devolved all important functions of the Commonwealth.

On the 5th of March, the new President was duly inaugurated, with the following imposing ceremonies:—

“ Wednesday, at noon, ‘ His Excellency, THOMAS WHARTON, Junr., Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the same, ’ was proclaimed at the Court House, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, who expressed the highest satisfaction on the occasion by unanimous shouts of acclamation.

The procession began at the State House, and was conducted in the following order, viz.:—

Thomas Wharton, Junr.

Constables with their staves,
 Sub-Sheriffs,
 High Sheriff and Coroner,
 Sergeant-at-Arms,
 The Hon. Speaker of the House—Clerk of the House on his right hand,
 Members of the Assembly,
 President and Vice-President,
 Members of the Supreme Executive Council,
 Gentlemen Members of the Council of Safety and Navy Board.

Proclamation being made by the High Sheriff commanding silence, on pain of imprisonment, the President and the Hon. Speaker of the House of Assembly came forward. The Clerk of the House then published the election of the President and Vice-President, as made and declared by the General Assembly and Supreme Executive Council, and proclaimed the President.

On the signal from the acclamations of the people, thirteen cannon were fired from the brass field-pieces taken from the Hessians at Trenton.

The procession then returned:—

Constables with their staves,
 Sub-Sheriffs,
 High Sheriff and Coroner,
 His excellency the President and the Vice-President.
 Members of the Supreme Executive Council,
 Sergeant-at-Arms,
 The Hon. Speaker of the House—Clerk of the House on his left hand,
 Members of the General Assembly,
 Gentlemen Members of the Council of Safety, and the Navy Board.

And dined together at the city tavern, where an entertainment was provided by order of the House. The Members of Congress then in the city, and the General Officers of the Army of the United States of America being also present. [After dinner 17 toasts were drunk under the discharge of cannon.] The bells of the city were rang, and the whole was conducted with the utmost decency, and no accident happened of any kind.”¹

¹ *Penna. Gazette*, March 12, 1777.

Thus, from certain circumstances of position and traits of character, it became Thomas Wharton's appointed task to draw together the adverse elements in his native State; and nowhere do we read his eulogium more eloquently pronounced than by the voice of the people, who met the announcement of his election with shouts of joy. This unanimity of sentiment, at a time when the elevation to the Chief-Magistracy of one who supported the Constitution might have been met with disapprobation and opposition, speaks volumes for the popularity of the man, and was of great benefit to the country. In his union of the various parties in the community, in his imbuing them with a sense of the oneness of their interests; in his husbanding and developing the resources of the Commonwealth, and in placing her welfare, as part of the great national whole, before every other consideration, we read the story of a wise administrator and disinterested patriot.

An immense amount of business, civil, military and financial, was executed by the Council during the calm of this summer, which, like the breathless stillness that precedes a storm in nature, was the harbinger of the tempestuous and eventful fall and winter of '77 and '78.

(To be continued.)

WILLIAM FINDLEY OF WESTMORELAND, PA.,

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE WESTERN COUNTIES OF PENNSYLVANIA."—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTER.

[The following letter of William Findley, of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was written to Governor William Plumer, of New Hampshire, when the latter was engaged in collecting material for a history of America. It was accompanied by the abstract of the history of Pennsylvania, spoken of in the letter, which has also been put into our hands for publication, but which is too long to permit of its appearance until some of our earlier engagements have been fulfilled. In printing the letter, we have followed the original in all respects, as we believe to have changed its language would have destroyed in part its autobiographical value. The native force which was in the man is sufficiently evident both from the letter and the influence he exercised to quiet any criticism that may suggest itself regarding a want of education.]

DEAR SIR:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27, 1812.

Yours of the 5th. inst I have received, I am glad to hear that you have received mine with the accompanying packages, and that they are agreeable to you. I have availed myself of occasional leisure to prepare an abstract of the history of Pennsylv^a to the present time containing only the most prominent events that seemed to have the greatest effect on society, it is contained in little more than 30 pages.

I have through the whole brought myself very little into view, but to enable you to supply that defect if you think it is one, I will trouble you with a sketch of the history of my life at least as far as it had a relation to public concerns.

I arrived in Pennsylv^a in August 1763 in company with a great number of protestant emigrants from the North of Ireland who are chiefly the descendants of those who fled from the persecution of the Presbyterians, carried on in Scotland during the reigns of the two last of the Stuarts, therefore frequently called Scotch Irish. They are the majority of five or six Counties of the Province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland. My grandfathers both came from Scotland

in early life, and him of my name assisted in the memorable defence of London derry, the only place that was successfully defended against King James army. I being a younger son of a younger son, is the reason why I am only the second in descent during more than 120 years. The descendant of those Scottish emigrants to Ireland have contributed exceedingly to people this Country and composed a great proportion of the Pennsylv^a line including several Generals during the revolutionary war.

My mind having been early disposed to come to this Country I had made myself so well acquainted with the Geography and modes of life prevailing in it, that I often was supposed to have been in it before. My object was to be a farmer, but the Indian war finally settled by Gen^l Boquet, having then Desolated the frontier, this was for some years inconvenient, and an invitation I accepted of a school which I taught for several years untill peace was made with the Indians, and the office was opened for the sale of western lands. In 1769 I married into a respectable family in the neighbourhood but instead of going to the new settlements as I had intended, I purchased such a place as I was able in the neighbourhood.¹ From the time I had come into the Country I had one set of acquaintances and they were generally the most intelligent and respectable in the place between me those that remain of them and families of those that are dead, their still subsists a friendship though I removed over the Mountains 30 years ago. I had from an early period of life been accustomed reading newspapers, history and Geography. To this I had particularly turned my attention during the Prusian war when I was a boy. I found newspapers scarce in this Country, but found means of occasionally of receiving those and the pamphlets of the day from Phil^a and I contributed in some measure to turn the attention of those I conversed with to the nature of the contest with this country.

When that contest became so serious that it was necessary to appoint Committees, and having a Militia law, to organize Committees were appointed in each township, Deligates from

¹ In Franklin County.

which formed a County committee, from which Delegates were sent to a committee of Conference in Phil^a occasionally, and all the County Committees corresponded with a standing committee in that city. Our townships are not incorporated as the towns are in New England, nor have they Selectsmen, and they are of very unequal extent, many of them however have been divided since the revolution. at the commencement of, and during that period our voluntary township meetings were very full. at the first election of committees I became a member. The Settlement and of course the other members were wealthy old settlers, that held servants I was so much a stranger as not to be personally known to many of the distant inhabitants, I had begun on a new place though in an old settlement and had none to work but myself, when I found my name was in the ticket I urged my friends to withdraw it and to put some respectable old settler in my place perhaps this excited their industry, for my name came out the highest in vote and continued to do so every six months in which the committees were elected while they continued.

In less than two years however independance was declared and a Convention of the State called by the Conference. At numerous meeting of the Citizens a Committee was appointed to select Candidates. that Committee sent to me to know if I was willing to serve in convention.¹ I answered that I was not, they sent to enquire again if I would not serve if I was elected. I answered that I would not serve even I was elected, therefore warned them in time not to elect me and give my reasons, which were that they ought not to put in the power of their enemies either here or in Europe to say that they could not govern themselves so far as even to form a constitution for their own government without the assistance of strangers but lately come to the country. That I knew they had old settlers fully competent and of a much greater weight of Character, out of which to make a choice. I knew that there were feuds existing between the old families that did not operate against me, but my refusing made way for a man born in the country who continued long to be usefull in public

¹ This was the convention which formed the State Constitution of 1776.

life. I promised however cheerfully to serve in anything else but Legislation. I was consequently six years elected, three of them and again three at one election to the County Board of finance and thus happened to be on the first board that laid taxes under the new government and on the first Grand Jury that brought in bills, and happening to have some influence in bringing out men I was much more in camp than the law required.

I had during this period at different times refused to serve in the Legislature, I was the more averse to this on account of the great party heats which prevailed about the first constitution, which went to such heights as to be very disagreeable. however when I was no longer illigible to the County board and the british had been drove from this and the adjoining states I knew I could not easily longer avoid going to the Legislature I had the confidence of those who supported the constitution as I had done in my station and had the esteem of those who opposed it whom I had often endeavoured to reconcile, under this impression my wife who with our then small children had suffered inconveniences from my being so much from home, contrary her former determination consented to leave the neighbourhood of her parent then living and go to the western Countries where I had land, we believed that I was little known there.¹ It happened however that I was more known there than I expected, and after having for some time refused, I afterwards consented to serve in that singular political body, the Council of Censors.² The Crises was important, and I was elected with great Unimity. This was the first public body I was in and the best political school in which I have ever sat. Several of the members of both parties were of the first rate talents and experience that the state could produce. I never however have been but one

¹ Westmoreland County.

² This body was formed in accordance with the 47th section of the Constitution of '76. It was to meet once in seven years. Its duty was to "enquire if the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part, and whether the legislative and executive branches of the government have performed their duty as guardians of the people," and when necessary to call a Convention to amend the Constitution.

winter with my own family since that time and this was occasioned by a constitutional rotation in office and I had declined serving in the old Congress, and again in the Genl convention,¹ my reason for this last was, that a vote passed in the Assembly that the deligates should have no wages, and though eight members were agreed on none of them lived in the country but myself and seven in the city of which there was but one of the same politics with me. The venerable Doct^r Franklin was afterwards elected the eighth member, and though very old was very usefull. It was however on the bank question that my arguments were most taken notice of. not on the taking away that charter though I voted for it in preference to continuing a perpetual monopoly, but I was in favour of substituting a smaller bank in its place. The not doing so had the consequences I expected it would have, it changed the majority, and men of the greatest talents and influence in the state, who would not otherwise have served were returned in favour of the bank charter and had nearly succeeded in renewing it. The debate was warmly contested for two years, this was the first occasion on which our arguments were published and the preventing the renewal of the perpetual monopoly was with the consent of both parties ascribed to my arguments. In short through three of the four years in which by Rotation I could then serve in the Legislature, the parties were pretty equally balanced, and I was generally allowed to have the principle influence, and this induced me to be very carefull to conduct with moderation.

In the last of those years I was also elected into the convention that ratified the Federal constitution and advocated proposed amendments to accompany the Ratification, but I did not argue from dangers where none existed as some others did, for I have always thought candour was one of the best ingredients in an argument, from hence however I was considered in the language of that day as an anti-federalist. In the election for the first congress under the federal Gov^t I declined being a Candidate and wrote such reasons to my friends in Phil^a &c., as satisfied them, notwithstanding I was

¹ The convention which formed the Federal Constitution.

taken up and if the day had not been uncommonly stormy, accompanied with uncommon floods I would have been carried. It was a Gen^l ticket and carried wholly by one side of the state. During this congress, I was at the same election chosen both to a state convention and the supreme Executive council and at the ensuing election to the first state Legislature under the new constitution.

When this body¹ met they were greatly influenced by the old party Jealousies but consisted of many of the ablest men of the state. Some days were spent in pointing out the faults and declaiming against the old constitution. The well-known judge Wilson who had taken a lead in opposition to it from the first, and who had been very influential in preparing and ratifying the Federal Constitution was considered as the most able politician in the state and was a member of this convention. I took him aside and told him that those declamatory attacks on the Constitution (In which however he had taken no part) would irritate the Spirit of party and make things worse instead of better, that I had supported the constitution because it was inexpedient to make a change, yet that I never approved of it its principles was well known to all my friends and I told him the extent of the changes I was willing to make. I also informed him that many in that body were attached to Penns Constitution because the Colony had prospered under it, but that a greater number were attached to the present constitution as others had been to the confederation, because it had carried them through the war, that these were not to be irritated but instructed.

Judge Wilson approved of my sentiments and asked me how I thought the business ought to be conducted. I told that I thought certain resolutions of amendment to the constitution ought to be laid on the table as the subject of discussion, but that in debate the present constitution ought to be treated with a delicacy approaching to reverence. He highly approved of the plan, requested me to bring forward the Resolutions and he would support them. I told him no, that

¹ The convention which formed the Constitution of 1790. Its first session was held March 24, 1789.

I would open the way for moving the resolutions by a preparatory discourse and afterwards support them on the floor, and that this would have a better effect than me moving them and go further to reconcile the parties.

In the preparatory discourse which was pretty long I took a view of Penns Government with all its perfections and defects and of the then present Constitution in the same manner, and concluded by showing that even though the present const[itution] might be good in theory yet so many deviations had been made from it, so great a difference of opinion had always existed about it, and that the voluntary election of the present convention was such a testimony of want of confidence in it, that it was vain to think of restoring its energy without essential alterations. This discourse had perhaps the greatest influence in reconciling parties of any ever I made. The consequence of it was that resolutions for two branches in the Legislature, a qualified negative by the governor and greater Independance of the Judiciary was carried but with a very few dissenting votes, and that in a committee of nine members elected by ballot to digest a plan I alone had every vote but my own, but we did not agree either in the committee or in the house as well in the details. The most important difference was about an executive council to assist the Governor, but personal responsibility at that time was the order of the day, that this did not prevail was a circumstance that has ever since been regreted. Even the old whigs had become so disgusted with the former Council that they without considering that the fault was in the construction of that Council, voted against it. Mr. Ross since known as a celebrated federalist, was the only one who assisted me in arguing for it. The question was lost by a few votes. In the assembly which followed my experience was of use in making such changes of the laws as was necessary to adopt them to the new constitution.

Members for the second Congress were elected by districts, the state had but eight and I was chosen for the western District. I had been designed by the Legislature for the senate, but through the importunity of the western members

of assembly and other friends I preferred going to the other house, and by so doing made some enemies. I was then the only member from the western waters except one from Virginia. Kentucky was not then a state, to the next congress upwards of thirty members will be sent from the western waters besides territorial Deligates, an astonishing increase in little more than 20 years. I was much consulted about the Indian war and the defence of the frontiers and the principle advocate for the raising and perminency of Gen' Waynes army, but was principally distinguished for commencing the opposition to the practice of referring almost everything to the heads of departments. Particularly to the secretary of the treasury originating revenue system which he had been inadvertantly authorized to do by law. This subject was occasionally contested during the whole of that session, but finally a committee of ways and means was appointed on my motion. This was the first of our standing Committees, which are now increased to eight. I also had a principle hand in preventing the additional assumption of \$8.000.000 of state debt and of dismissing it after it had passed to the third reading. On this ocasion I had to my own mind full demonstration of the existence of that corruption prevailing that was so much suspected and talked of in those times. I had assurance given me that Pennsylv^a contrary to the general expectation of our Citizens would be a debtor state, but that if I would only engage to be silent or out of the way \$500.000 should be added to the state, which certainly would pass if I did not oppose it, and when that was done a resolution would be carried to dissolve the board that was settling the accounts, so that it should never be known which was debtor or creditor states and that I should have an advantageous concern without expence. Though the proposal was introduced in a very polite manner, by a member that I knew had great influence in the treasury arrangments and interest in the stocks, yet I had scarcely patience to hear him out. I told him that no person except the commissioners for settling the accounts could know which would be debtor or creditor states. That though many people of the state calculated on the state being

creditor to the amount of millions, I was not one of those that thought so. That the Executive Council of Pennsylvania had for several years acted as the executive of Congress by making large payments for it which appeared in their account, yet during the same period they had received numerous large sums from Congress of which the Assembly were ignorant, but which would appear against them, on settlement. That the Com^{rs} Gen^l of the state had not brought to its credit the depreciation for Militia service or supplies nor any charge for the Money advanced for recruits to the army &c. by which more than a Million of Dollars would be left to the state, that therefore I believed if it was at all a creditor state it must be so to but a very small amount, but that let that be as it might the state was able to pay her debts and would take no indirect method to evade them, and that at all events I would use my utmost efforts to prevent the additional assumption and the dissolution of the board in order that the whole assumption might be understood. I had opposed it in the committee of the whole in which however it was carried by three votes. One of the commissioners Gen^l Irvine a very honest man was my intimate friend. I requested him to consult the board and to inform me when they could bring the settlement to a conclusion, not in confidence but that I might inform other members and assert it on their authority on the floor. The answer after deliberation was that it would be concluded next August if Congress did not throw new occasional delay in their way as had been heretofore done. This was early in winter and the new assumption was not to be paid till January in the next year I told this to many members, asserted it with confidence on the floor, and showed the absurdity of adding to the errors of the rule of thumb¹ assumption already made, while before the claimants could be benefitted by it the truth would be known. The question was prevented from being taken and the bill was never called up again and many speculators became bankrupt. The secretary had only recommended \$5,000,000, but to gain votes on the floor such additions had made as increased it to eight, If

¹ Rough measure.—*Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable.*

I had accepted the proposal it would have been eight and a half. I have sometimes told it, but never put the statement in writing before, because as might be expected, I had no Witness. This was the first instance in which financial plans originated by the then secretary of the treasury were checked. From the second congress to the—inclusive of both, the republicans were in a greater or less degree the majority, but the line of party was not so distinctly marked till after Jays treaty. The federalists however had the ascendancy in the senate. in the session in which Jays treaty was ratified the republican representatives who at first designed to oppose appropriations for carrying that treaty into a effect were a majority of 20, but it was afterwards thought advisable to carry it into effect by as small a majority as possible. In the two following congresses the federalists were the majority in both houses, I was in the first of these and easily discerned that there want of moderation would soon produce another change, though it did come sooner than I expected, the derangement of My family affairs through the death of my beloved Wife after she had born me eleven children, severals of whom were small was great. Th[us] circumstanced, I withdrew from congress with a settled determination never more to return to public life. I was heartily disgusted with the conflicts of parties and the extremes into which either sides are so apt to run.

I was prevailed on however to break through that resolution. Party spirit at that period run very high in Pennsylv^a. The issue of the contest for Governor between M^cKain and Ross broke down the Federal Ascendancy which had prevailed for several years in the state. The same District that I had represented in congress had to choose one senator to the state Legislature, my friends and myself had agreed on a suitable candidate, but when deligates of the different Counties met. they determined to take me up without consulting me, even if I should not serve from an opinion that my name in the Ticket would help to carry M^cKain, It succeeded and I served four years in the senate, In which I used my influence so successfully with the Governor to prevent the removal of

good public officers, meerly for difference in opinion as procured me the high resentment of the then very numerous tribe of office hunters. That offence was since renewed by my unsuccessfull opposition to Snyder in favour of a very decent republican.¹ Him being a lawyer and Mr. Ross the Federalist, being a candidate for the Government, threw the votes to Snyder and the Government is carried on without lawyers either in the executive or the Legislature, still however they are appointed to the Judiciary. The party disgusted for not being appointed to offices have constantly since opposed my election to Congress. I had declined before the last election, but the people not being pleased with the candidate that party took up, who have the offices now in their hands, appointed a meeting of Deligates with which a Candidate which I had recommended joined unanimously and called upon me. I have given early notice however of not designing to serve after next session. I continue to have my health well, but being near 70 years of age I think long to be at home with my family and am tired with the contention of public bodies in which, join whatever party we may, we must in many instances give up our own Judgment or else few general laws would be passed. I am not offended at parties differing in opinion, but I am often grieved at want of Candour and unreasonable jealousies.

You my dear sir, in your letter have requested me not to be sparing of introducing myself, you will however find it very little used in what is designed for the history, but in this sketch of my political life I have not been sparing of it, and it is submitted to your discretion how it may be used, only it is requested that you may not interrupt the thread of your history by introducing me. I hope the work will not be so long delayed but what I may probably live to see it, for those now extant I think imperfect. With sincere wishes for your happiness and the success of your history. I am

With sincere esteem

Yours very respectfully

WM PLUMMER Esq.

WM. FINDLEY

¹ John Spayd, of Berks County. The election was that of 1808.

**THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.**

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 342.)

McCALL—WILLING—COXE—BATT—CATTELL—GIST.

130. SAMUEL McCALL,⁵ son of George and Anne (Ycates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., October 5, 1721. He was distinguished from his brother-in-law, of the same name, just mentioned, as Samuel McCall, Junior. He inherited his father's store, wharf, and lot of ground on the east side of Plum Street, in our city, purchased by Mr. McCall from William Penn's cousin Ralph Assheton and Clement Plumsted, and, taking his younger brother Archibald into partnership with himself, engaged in the same mercantile pursuits, besides carrying on the business of the old forge, grist-mill, and saw-mill on McCall's Manor, formerly spoken of. Like his father, he was a Common-Councilman of this city, being chosen to that office October 6, 1747. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by Governor Morris, January 31, 1756, to settle the accounts of General Braddock—a duty so well performed, says the Royal Commissary of Provisions, that the Crown was saved "several thousand pounds." He also joined an Independent Company of Foot, organized in Philadelphia the same year. His name appears in the list of subscribers to the First Dancing Assembly of our city in 1748, in which so many of the family participated. He became a Member of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia in 1751. With his brothers George and Archibald McCall, and brothers-in-law John Inglis and William Plumsted, and other persons mentioned in this genealogy, with many respectable members of Christ Church, he presented a

petition* to the Proprietaries, August 1, 1754, praying them to grant the lot on the southwest corner of Third and Pine Streets for a church and yard for the use of members of the Church of England, and acted, with Mr. Plumsted and others, on the Committee appointed to receive subscriptions for and direct the building of St. Peter's Church erected on that site. He married, in Philadelphia, January 29, 1742-3, Anne, daughter of John Searle, a captain in the merchant service, by his first wife Anne, born October 22, 1724. Mrs. McCall died in our city, September 7, 1757, and was buried in Christ Church Ground. Mr. McCall afterwards married in Philadelphia, January 31, 1759, Mary Cox, who survived him, without issue.† He died in Philadelphia in September, 1762, and was buried the 30th in Christ Church Ground. He had eight children by his first wife, who were born in Philadelphia:

316. JOHN SEARLE, b. November 9, 1743. He removed from Philadelphia to the Island of St. Christopher, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. He was a correspondent of La Fayette, Edmund Jennings, and other noted men of the period. He d. unm. in Philadelphia, November 16, 1786, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.
317. ANNE, b. March 30, 1745. She was m. by the Rev. Richard Peters, in Philadelphia, June 9, 1763, to Thomas Willing, eldest son of Charles Willing,‡ of Philadelphia, by his wife Anne, daughter of

* The original of which is preserved among the Penn Papers in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Mrs. McCall subsequently married Isaac Snowden, of Philadelphia, a Trustee of the General Loan Office of Pennsylvania in 1780, whose sister Mary married a Mr. Keen who is not identified.

‡ Son of Thomas Willing, of Bristol, England (son of Joseph Willing, of Gloucestershire, by his second wife, Ava Lowle, of an ancient family of that region, whose arms he assumed), by his wife Anne Harrison, granddaughter of Major-General Thomas Harrison and (it is said) of Simon Mayne, the regicides. Mr. Willing was b. May 18, 1710, and at eighteen years of age was brought by his father to Philadelphia, where he became a prominent merchant. He was Captain of one of the Companies of the Associated Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia, of which Samuel McCall, Senior, was Major. He was elected a Common-Council-man of our city October 4, 1743, and Alderman October 6, 1747, and held the office of Mayor from 1748 to 1749, and from April 25, 1754, until his death, November 30, of that year. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church, and one of the original Trustees of

Joseph Shippen,* by his wife Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Gross, of Boston, Mass. Mr. Willing was b. in Philadelphia, December 19, 1731, and educated at Bath, England, studying law also in the Temple. He succeeded his father as head of the first mercantile house in our city of that day, and acquired the highest reputation for integrity of character, and ability in the affairs of commerce and finance. He was elected a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia October 7, 1755, and Alderman October 2, 1759, and held the office of Mayor from October, 1763, to October, 1764. He was appointed a Commissioner under an Act of Assembly of Pennsylvania for preventing abuses in the Indian trade in 1758. He represented our city in the Assembly from 1764 to 1766. He was commissioned, February 28, 1761, a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia County, and September 14, 1767, an Associate-Judge of the Supreme Court of our Province, which office he continued to hold till 1776. His name is at the head of the signatures of the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia who subscribed the Non-Importation Resolutions of 1765. He was joint-chairman with the great American statesman, John Dickinson, of a general meeting of citizens of Philadelphia, held in the State House Yard, June 18, 1774, at which resolutions were passed denouncing the closing of the port of Boston by the British Government as unconstitutional and oppressive, and dangerous to the liber-

the Academy, and an original Member of the Library Company, of Philadelphia. His name appears in the list of subscribers to the First Dancing Assembly given in our city. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 5, 1754, contains a tribute to his memory, with some elegiac stanzas, by the Rev. Dr. William Smith. The city of Wilmington (formerly Willingtown), Delaware, derives its name from Mr. Charles Willing's brother Thomas, who married a daughter of one of the Swedish colonists of that place.

* Son of Edward Shippen (son of William Shippen, of Hilham, Yorkshire, England), who emigrated in 1668 to Boston, Mass., from whence he removed in 1693 to Philadelphia, where he attained very eminent distinction, being appointed by the Proprietor first Mayor of the City, and occupying for some time the positions of Speaker of the General Assembly, and President of the Provincial Council, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Joseph Shippen was b. in Boston, February 28, 1678-9, and came to Philadelphia in 1704, residing for many years before his death (which occurred in June, 1741) in the house afterwards known as the Buttonwood Tavern, in Germantown. His older brother, Edward Shippen, m. Anna Francina Vanderheyden, cousin-german to Ephraim Augustine Herman, Fourth Lord of Bohemia Manor, who m. Isabella Trent, a descendant of Jöran Kyn already spoken of (47). For further information about Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Shippen, see Mr. Balch's *Letters and Papers, etc.*, pp. xxiv. *et seq.*

ties of the Colonies, and recommending the assembling of a Congress of Deputies to deliberate upon the proper mode of procuring relief. He was a Deputy from our city to the Provincial Convention of the following July, and presided at the sessions of that body, and was a Member of the Committee of Safety of the Province from June 30 to October 19, 1775. He was a Delegate to the Continental Congress of 1775 and that of 1776, when he voted steadily against the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, not from lack of patriotism, but, like the illustrious Dickinson, deeming the action inexpedient, or at least inopportune. He contributed £5000 to the national bank established in Philadelphia in June, 1780, to supply the Continental Army with provisions, and was appointed President of the Bank of North America, chartered by Congress December 31, 1781, in which capacity he ably supported the financial measures of his distinguished partner in business, Robert Morris, which so materially promoted the success of the Revolution.* He remained in the latter office until his election in 1791 to the Presidency of the first Bank of the United States, which he resigned in 1807. He was a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia from 1760 till its incorporation in the University of Pennsylvania in 1791, and was elected a Member of the American Philosophical Society in 1768. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church. He was a subscriber to the Mount Regale Fishing Company in 1763, and an original Member of the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club. He was one of the founders of the Society of the Sons of St. George, instituted in 1772, of which his partner Mr. Morris was the first Vice-President, and for many years President.† Mr. and Mrs. Willing resided in the mansion erected by Mr. Willing's father on the southwest corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley, in Philadelphia,‡ their daughter, Mrs. Bing-

* For some account of him in this connection see *A History of the Bank of North America*, by Lawrence Lewis, Jr., just published. Mr. Willing's brother-in-law, Tench Francis, was the first Cashier of the corporation, and his son-in-law, William Bingham, and his wife's cousin, Samuel Inglis, were among the original Directors. The present senior Director of this most venerable of American banks is a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

† The first President of the Society being the Rev. Richard Peters, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, and the first Secretary, his nephew Richard Peters, Jr., the well-known Judge of the United States District Court of Pennsylvania. Judge Peters's son Richard Peters m. Mr. Willing's daughter Abigail Willing, and his daughter Maria Williamina Peters m. Mr. Willing's son William Shippen Willing.

‡ For an engraving of this house see *Watson's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 619. The west end of the lot on which it stood Mr. Thomas Willing surrendered to his son-in-law and nephew, Mr. Thomas Willing Francis, who built upon it the mansion lately occupied by Mr. Joseph R. Ingersoll.

ham, and Mr. Willing's sisters, Mrs. Byrd* and Mrs. Powel,† at one time occupying the rest of the square (as far west as Fourth) to Spruce Street. Their country-seat, known as "Willington," was situated on the present North Broad Street. They were among the eight or ten Philadelphians who kept large family coaches as early as 1772. Mrs. Willing d. in Philadelphia, February 5, 1781, "greatly and deservedly regretted." In an obituary notice of her in *The Pennsylvania Packet* and *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (in which this phrase occurs) she is described as possessing "the most amiable and endearing manners, with every virtue that can adorn the female character." She "was hardly less remarkable for beauty," says Mr. Griswold, in *The Republican Court*, than her famed daughter Mrs. Bingham, "and indeed so much resembled her as to make it a question and almost a dispute among their friends whether the mother or the daughter was the most beautiful. A fine picture by Peale, yet in the possession of one of her descendants,‡ renders this very easy to believe." Mr. Willing d. in Philadelphia, January 19, 1821, and was bur. with his wife in Christ Church Ground.§ They left issue.||

* Wife of the third Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia. General Washington made his home at Philadelphia for some time in their house. It was afterwards the residence of Chief-Justice Benjamin Chew.

† Wife of Samuel Powel, the last Mayor of Philadelphia under the Provincial *régime*, who was continued in that office when the city was incorporated by our Commonwealth in 1789, also Speaker of the Senate of Pennsylvania. Their house was afterwards occupied by Mr. William Rawle.

‡ Now the property of Mrs. Willing's granddaughter, Mrs. John B. Spotswood, of New Castle, Del., whose father, William Shippen Willing (then a child), appears in the picture.

§ Clark gives the inscription on his tombstone, which was composed by the late Hon. Horace Binney. The statement that he was "Secretary to the Congress of Delegates at Albany," based, it is believed, on family tradition, is not supported by documentary evidence. A portrait of Mr. Willing, painted by Gilbert Stuart, is in the possession of his great-grandson, George Willing, Esq., of Philadelphia. An engraving of it appears in Mr. Lewis's *History of the Bank of North America*, before referred to.

|| For some of whom see *Letters and Papers* just cited, pp. cv. *et seq.* Notices and portraits of their daughters, Mrs. Bingham and Mrs. Jackson (above referred to), are contained in Griswold's *Republican Court*. Mrs. Bingham's son William Bingham m. Marie Charlotte Louise, daughter of the Hon. M. G. A. C. de Lotbénère, afterwards Baroness de Vaudreuil, in her own right; her daughter Anne Louisa (Mrs. Thomas Carlyle's "heathen goddess") m. Alexander Baring, First Baron Ashburton (best known in America as the negotiator of the "Webster-Ashburton Treaty"); and her daughter Maria Matilda m., 1st, Alexandre, Comte de Tilly, 2dly, Henry

318. **MARY**, b. March 13, 1746-7. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, May 11, 1773, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground. The following obituary notice of her appeared in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*: "Philadelphia, May 19. On Tuesday, the 11th inst., departed this Life, in the 24th [sic] Year of her Age, universally beloved and lamented, Miss Polly McCall; and on Wednesday Afternoon her Remains were interred in Christ Church Burying-ground. This amiable young Lady received from Nature an elegant Person joined with an excellent Understanding: These were improved by a polite Education and a proper Intercourse with Company. Her uncommon Share of good Sense early procured her the Attention of the Grave and the Wise, and her lively and delicate Sallies of Imagination, her Propriety of Expression, and peculiar Gracefulness of Behaviour rendered her agreeable and captivating to the Young and Gay of both Sexes. To the Circle of her Relations and Friends she was endeared by many still more engaging Qualities. Her Heart was formed in a peculiar Manner for Friendship. Steady, warm, and sincere in all her Attachments, she seemed to rise above those common Obstacles, which sometimes separate Minds of a less noble Nature. These singular Accomplishments received new Lustre from her Behaviour during a painful and tedious Illness. Cheerful while all were sad around her, unmoved at the Prospect of her approaching Dissolution, and perfectly resigned to the divine Will, she met the King of Terrors with a Christian Fortitude, and expired with that Hope of a blessed Immortality, which effectually disarmed Death of its Sting, and robbed the Grave of its Victory."
319. **GEORGE**, b. September 21, 1749. He m. Elizabeth —, and d. in Paris, France, in 1780, having issue a son who d. the same year.

Baring (brother of Lord Ashburton), and, 3dly, the Marquis du Blaisel: for all of whom consult the usual European authorities. Mr. and Mrs. Willing's daughter Mary m. Henry Clymer, and their granddaughter Anne Francis (daughter of Thomas Willing and Dorothy (Willing) Francis) m. the late Hon. James Ashton Bayard, both elsewhere mentioned in this genealogy. Their grandson George Clymer, M.D., U. S. N., m. Mary, daughter of Rear-Admiral William Branford Shubrick, U. S. N., by his wife Harriet, daughter of John and Mary (Sykes) Wethered; their granddaughter Eliza Moore Willing (daughter of George and Rebecca Harrison (Blackwell) Willing) m. Joseph Swift, son of Samuel and Mary (Shippen) Swift; and their granddaughter Mary Willing (daughter of Richard and Eliza (Moore) Willing) m. Commander John Montgomery Dale, U. S. N., son of Commodore Richard and Dorothy (Crathorne) Dale—all three likewise lineally descended from Jöran Kyn. A more complete account of the posterity of Mr. and Mrs. Willing will be given in the forthcoming *Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania and their Descendants*, before alluded to.

320. **ELEANOR**, b. November 16, 1751. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, February 5, 1769, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.
321. **MARGARET**, b. September 3, 1753. She d. unm. in Philadelphia, March 22, 1824, and was bur. *ibid.*
322. **CATHARINE**. She m. Tench Coxe, son of William Coxe,* of Philadelphia, by his wife Mary, daughter of Tench and Elizabeth (Turbutt) Francis.† Mr. Coxe was b. in our city, May 22, 1755, and, after pursuing studies at the College of Philadelphia, entered the mercantile house of his father, and, on attaining his majority, became a partner in the business. Early in the Revolution he was attainted of treason to our Commonwealth, but very soon surrendered himself and was discharged. He was elected by the Legislature of Pennsylvania a Commissioner to the Federal Convention which met at Annapolis, September 14, 1786, and in 1788 was chosen to represent the State in the Continental Congress until the operation of the Constitution of the United States. In May, 1789, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and in May, 1792, Commissioner of the Revenue, a position he occupied until the close of the administration of President Washington. He was a Democrat in politics,

* Son of Colonel Daniel Coxe, of Burlington, and afterwards of Trenton, New Jersey, Member of the Provincial Council, and Associate-Justice of the Supreme Court, of New Jersey, and grandson of Doctor Daniel Coxe, of London, England, Proprietor of West New Jersey, and of the Province of Carolana, comprising the territory between the 31st and 36th parallels of latitude in North America. He was a Common-Council-man and Alderman of our city, and a Justice of the Peace for Philadelphia County, and was twice elected Mayor of Philadelphia, but both times declined to serve. He was appointed by the British Government Stamp Master for New Jersey. He was a Contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia from 1759 to 1771. He was a Vestryman of Christ Church. Both he and his brother-in-law Tench Francis were subscribers to the Mount Regale Fishing Company for 1763. A great-granddaughter of Mr. Coxe m. Major-General George Archibald McCall, son of Archibald and Elizabeth (Cadwalader) McCall, elsewhere spoken of.

† Mr. Francis was the son of the Very Rev. John Francis, Dean of Leighlin, Dean of Lismore, and Rector of St. Mary's Church, Dublin. He was uncle to the celebrated Sir Philip Francis, supposed to have written the letters of "Junius." He emigrated to Maryland, and m. Elizabeth Turbutt, of Kent County, but afterwards removed to our city, and held the offices of Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and Recorder of Philadelphia. His son Tench Francis m. Anne, daughter of Charles and Anne (Shippen) Willing, sister of Thomas Willing, who m. Mrs. Tench Coxe's sister, Anne McCall; whose son Thomas Willing Francis and grandson Joshua Francis Fisher both married descendants of Jöran Kyn.

and in 1803 was appointed by President Jefferson Purveyor of the Public Supplies of the United States, which office he continued to hold when it was abolished in 1812. At twenty years of age Mr. Coxe became a Member of the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures. He was also one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Domestic Manufactures, instituted in 1787, delivering the inaugural address, and subsequently becoming President of the Society. He wrote much on the subject of political economy, and was one of the first persons who advocated paying attention to the growth of cotton in the Southern States of our Union. At the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, he prepared *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia, 1814). Others of his works are: *A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States, with Two Supplementary Notes upon American Manufactures* (Philadelphia and London, 1792); and *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794, and London, 1795). Mr. Coxe was a Contributor to, and Manager of, the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1780-1. He was a Warden of Christ Church in 1786 and 1787, and a Delegate to the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, held in the summer and autumn of 1789. Mrs. Coxe d. s. p. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground, July 22, 1778. Mr. Coxe afterwards married a second wife, two of his grandsons by whom are married to descendants of Jöran Kyn. He d. in Philadelphia, July 17, 1824, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground.*

223. ARCHIBALD, b. September 5, 1757. He d. the 7th, and was bur. *ibid.*

132. GEORGE McCALL,⁵ son of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 16, 1724. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and, on a voyage to Cape Breton in 1747, was the bearer of a letter from the Hon. Anthony Palmer, President of the Provincial Council, to the Commander-in-Chief at that place, applying for a loan of cannon to be employed against French and Spanish privateers, who, it was feared, might make an attack upon the Province during the summer.† He was a Member of the Independent Company of Foot of Philadelphia in 1756, to

* A biographical notice of Mr. Coxe, with an engraving from a portrait of him in the possession of the family, is contained in Simpson's *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians*. See also Sabine's *Loyalists*.

† See *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, March 5, 1747-8.

which also belonged his brother-in-law Andrew Elliot, and Gilbert Barkly, who afterwards married his niece Anne Inglis. He was a subscriber to the First Dancing Assembly of our city held in 1748, and a Member of the St. Andrew's Society, being elected in 1751. He married, in Philadelphia, January 2, 1744-5, Lydia Abbott. Mrs. McCall's name appears in a list of ladies invited to a ball of the City Assembly about 1750, including Mrs. Inglis, Mrs. Swift, Mrs. Samuel McCall, Senior, and Mrs. Samuel McCall, Junior, and Misses Molly, Peggy, and Nelly McCall, with several relatives more remote.* Mr. McCall died in Philadelphia, and was buried in Christ Church Ground, July 3, 1756. Mrs. McCall survived her husband, and was buried in the same cemetery July 7, 1795. They had five children, born in Philadelphia:

324. JASPER, bapt. July 20, 1745; bur. in Christ Church Ground, the 27th.

325. CATHARINE, b. November 20, 1747. She m. in Philadelphia, January 10, 1771, Lieutenant Thomas Batt, of the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot,† who resigned his commission soon afterwards, but re-entered the service of his sovereign at the beginning of the Revolution, and became Major of the Royal Fencible Americans. Lieutenant Batt was elected a Member of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, September 17, 1773, and was for a short time its Vice-President, but was expelled from the association, March 18, 1776, "for taking an active part against the liberties of America." Mrs. Batt d. in Philadelphia, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground, October 10, 1793. She left issue.

326. MARY, b. June 2, 1749. She m. in Philadelphia, July 21, 1772, Benjamin Cattell, of South Carolina, who d., it is believed, s. p., and afterwards became the third wife‡ of General Mordecai Gist,

* The list is given in Watson's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 284-5, with an error as to the year.

† Miss McCall numbered among her acquaintances in the same regiment Ensign John Willcocks, a "most intimate friend" of John Parke, who includes a pastoral elegy of his "on the death of Miss Nelly Montgomery, addressed to Miss Kitty McCall," among his own translations from Horace and other poems, on pages 211 and 212 of the book referred to in the account of David French (49). The death of Ensign Willcocks is commemorated in an elegy by Mr. Parke on pages 220 *et seq.* of the same work, with regard to whom see also *Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard*, p. 89.

‡ His first wife was Miss Carnan, of Baltimore County, and his second, Miss Sterrett, of Baltimore, Md., both of whom d. soon after marriage, the latter, only, leaving issue.

son of Captain Thomas Gist* and his wife Susan daughter of John Cockey, of Maryland. General Gist was b. in Baltimore County, Md., in 1743, and engaged in commercial pursuits in Baltimore until the period of the Revolution. On the 12th of November, 1774, he was elected a Member of the Committee of Observation for Baltimore Town, and early in the following month formed a company of militia, "composed," as he expresses it,† "of gentlemen, men of honour, family, and fortune" (the first Revolutionary corps organized in Maryland), of which he was twice chosen Captain. In January, 1776, he was appointed Major of a battalion of regular troops raised in Maryland, whom he commanded at the battle of Long Island, his superior officers, Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenant-Colonel Ware, being necessarily absent in New York. In 1777 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and organized the State Militia on the eastern shore of Maryland, afterwards joining Washington's main army near the Brandywine, narrowly escaping capture on the way. He took part in the battle of Germantown, and the various operations that followed, as well as in the two succeeding campaigns, and January 9, 1779, was commissioned by Congress, Brigadier-General in the Continental Army, with the command of the second brigade of the Maryland Line. In 1780 he was transferred to the south, and behaved with distinguished gallantry in the disastrous battle of Camden, fighting on the right, under the heroic Baron de Kalb, who bore affectionate testimony to the exemplary conduct of the division he commanded. Gist's resistance to Lord Rawdon, says Colonel Lee,‡ was "firm as a rock." "Except one hundred Continental soldiers," says Bancroft,§ "whom Gist conducted across the swamps, through which the [British] cavalry could not follow, every corps was dispersed." His bravery on this occasion was rewarded by Congress with a special vote of thanks. For a long time afterwards Gist was ardu-

* Son of Richard Gist, a Justice of the Peace of Baltimore County, and Deputy Surveyor of the Western Shore of Maryland, one of the Commissioners who laid out the town of Baltimore, son of Christopher Gist, or Guest, who settled on the south side of the Patapsco as early as 1682. His brother Christopher Gist acted as Washington's guide to Fort Duquesne, and was present at the defeat of Braddock: he rescued Washington from drowning in the Monongahela River.

† In a letter to the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, printed in Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 139.

‡ *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, vol. i. p. 181 (Philadelphia, 1812).

§ *History of the United States*, vol. vi. pp. 280-1 (Boston, 1876).

ously occupied in raising new levies of troops in Maryland.* He shared in the campaign of General Greene in 1782, commanding the Light Corps of the Southern Army. In August, of that year, he engaged in a successful skirmish with a body of British infantry on the Combahee, and entered Charleston with the American forces, on the evacuation of that place by General Leslie, the following December. He arrived in Baltimore with the remnant of the Maryland Line that had survived the War, July 27, 1783. On the organization of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, on the 21st of November, the same year, General Gist was chosen its first Vice-President. He purchased some confiscated land in Baltimore in 1781, and subscribed to the "underpinning and arching" of the old court-house in 1784.† He passed the close of his life on a plantation in the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina, where he d. September 2, 1792. He is described as "six feet in height, and finely proportioned, with a muscular development indicative of strength and activity. His features and countenance were, at the same time, eminently handsome, with eyes, especially, of singular brilliancy and expression." His "manners and deportment" were "frank, graceful, and polished."‡ Mrs. Gist survived her husband, by whom she had issue.

326. ANNE, who d. in infancy, and was bur. in Christ Church Ground, July 29, 1752.

327. LYDIA, b. September 29, 1753; bur. *ibid.* November 21, 1756.

* A letter addressed by La Fayette to General Gist, and one from General Gist to Colonel James Wood, written at this period, are printed on pages 266-7 of this volume of the MAGAZINE.

† Scharf's *Chronicles*, pp. 64 and 188, a work which contains several laudatory references to General Gist.

‡ See the account of Mordecai Gist in *The National Portrait Gallery*, vol. iv., accompanied by a fine engraving of the general. He is also the subject of one of Boyle's *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders*, and is honorably mentioned in McSherry's *History of Maryland*.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 348.)

Aug. 7, 1740.	Morgan,	Sarah, wife of Benjamin.
Mar. 23, 1746-7.	"	Philip, son of Evan.
Mar. 26, 1746-7.	"	Benjamin, son of Evan.
June 13, 1748.	"	Benjamin.
Oct. 10, 1748.	"	Evan, son of Evan.
Jan. 14, 1752.	"	Mary, wife of Evan.
Feb. 26, 1752.	"	Howel.
Sept. 20, 1743.	Morgatroyd,	Frances, dau. of James.
July 12, 1756.	"	James.
Oct. 9, 1750.	Morgtroit,	Henry, son of James.
Oct. 5, 1731.	Morgridge,	William, son of William.
Aug. 18, 1736.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 13, 1709.	Morris,	John.
June 11, 1714.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
June 17, 1714.	"	Ellen, wife of James.
Jan. 17, 1721-2.	"	Branscow.
Dec. 2, 1726.	"	James. City Sawyer
Nov. 15, 1727.	"	Henry.
Oct. 18, 1728.	"	Edward.
Mar. 20, 1729-30.	"	Edward.
Mar. 27, 1738-9.	"	Adam, son of Israel.
July 6, 1747.	"	Daniel, son of William.
May 8, 1749.	"	Margaret.
Aug. 27, 1752.	"	David, son of Thomas.
Aug. 27, 1752.	"	Sylvanus, son of Thomas.
Sept. 1, 1752.	"	Keziah, son of Thomas.
Jan. 11, 1753.	"	Mary.
Jan. 9, 1759.	"	— wife of John.
Feb. 8, 1759.	"	William.
July 25, 1759.	"	Sarah.
Sept. 2, 1752.	Morrison,	James.
June 9, 1753.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Sarah.
April 18, 1720.	Morriss,	Sarah, wife of Edward.
Sept. 5, 1741.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Jan. 15, 1742-3.	"	William. Mariner.

Nov. 2, 1743.	Morriss,	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 17, 1727.	Mortgrage,	William, son of William and Anne.
July 23, 1747.	Mortimer,	Anne, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 5, 1747.	"	Robert.
Mar. 7, 1745-6.	Morton,	Mary, dau. of Philip.
April 10, 1759.	"	John, son of Benjamin.
Dec. 7, 1736.	Moses,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Aug. 1, 1732.	Moss,	Elizabeth, wife of Matthew.
Sept. 8, 1737.	"	William.
Feb. 5, 1748-9.	"	Matthew.
Mar. 2, 1758.	"	Elizabeth.
Feb. 13, 1732-3.	Mountain,	Rachel, wife of Reece.
Dec. 14, 1736.	Moyes,	James, son of James.
Aug. 28, 1743.	"	John, son of John.
June 11, 1749.	Moys,	Sarah, dau. of James.
May 23, 1755.	"	James.
Dec. 28, 1736.	Moyte,	Daniel, son of Daniel.
April 8, 1759.	Much,	—— son of James.
Feb. 16, 1728-9.	Mule,	Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
Feb. 23, 1743-4.	Mulholland,	Martha, wife of Denis.
Oct. 19, 1729.	Mullard,	William.
June 28, 1741.	"	John.
July 19, 1744.	"	Wilmot.
Dec. 2, 1750.	Mullen,	Catherine.
Oct. 16, 1744.	Mullin,	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Jan. 15, 1754.	"	Anne, wife of Thomas.
Sept. 28, 1752.	Mullineaux,	Hannah, dau. of Joshua.
Aug. 16, 1747.	Mullins,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 5, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 25, 1711.	Munday,	John. [Anne.
Sept. 24, 1713.	Munk,	Elizabeth, dau. of Charles and
Jan. 14, 1745-6.	Munroe,	William, son of Rowland.
Sept. 14, 1740.	Munrow,	John, son of Patrick.
July 4, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Rowland.
June 23, 1737.	Murdock,	John, son of William.
Jan. 8, 1744-5.	"	Susannah, dau. of William.
Oct. 5, 1756.	"	—— son of William.
Aug. 13, 1742.	Murgatroyd,	Ami, dau. of James.
Aug. 20, 1757.	Murpew,	Elizabeth, wife of Nicholas.
Aug. 23, 1725.	Murphy,	Katharine.
Aug. 9, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Bartholomew.
Dec. 20, 1728.	Murray,	John, son of James.
Mar. 7, 1730-1.	"	James, son of James.
July 22, 1748.	"	Sebastian.
Sept. 13, 1751.	"	James, son of James.

Nov. 7, 1756.	Murray,	——— dau. of James.
Dec. 24, 1758.	“	Anne.
July 28, 1727.	Murrey,	James.
Sept. 19, 1730.	“	Dennis. [Margaret.
Aug. 8, 1714.	Murrow,	Richard, son of George and
Feb. 9, 1726-7.	Murry,	William, son of James.
Oct. 25, 1734.	“	Elizabeth.
Sept. 25, 1727.	Myhill,	Mary. [Bisley.
Jan. 9, 1736-7.	Myrack,	Henrietta, dau. of Sarah, alias
June 18, 1723.	Naylor,	James.
June 29, 1729.	Neal,	John.
July 8, 1734.	“	Susannah, wife of Henry.
July 8, 1734.	“	Henry, son of Henry.
July 19, 1746.	“	Isabella, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 16, 1748.	“	Sarah, wife of Anthony.
July 21, 1759.	“	John, son of Philip.
Oct. 8, 1754.	Nealson,	Margaret.
July 20, 1748.	Needham,	Richard.
Sept. 14, 1722.	Neel,	James. From Jamaica.
June 3, 1739.	Nelson,	Catharine. From Robert
July 22, 1745.	Neugent,	Thompson. [Moore's.
Aug. 9, 1750.	Nevel,	Samuel, son of Thomas.
May 18, 1727.	Nevil,	Mary, wife of Thomas. Stran-
July 7, 1749.	“	gers' Ground.
Sept. 4, 1709.	Nevill,	Ruth, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 24, 1729.	“	Jemima, dau. of Matthew and
Sept. 15, 1730.	“	Hannah. [Hannah.
Oct. 10, 1759.	Neville,	Thomas. Strangers' Ground.
Mar. 12, 1731-2.	Nevitt,	Ann.
June 11, 1728.	New,	Robert.
May 3, 1730.	Newberry,	Thomas, of Bristol.
June 6, 1730.	“	John.
April 9, 1731.	“	Richard.
Nov. 15, 1726.	Newbold,	Dorothy.
Dec. 18, 1732.	Newbury,	Elizabeth, wife of Joshua.
Mar. 1, 1711-2.	Newel,	Jane.
April 19, 1744.	“	Matthew, son of Matthew and
Oct. 29, 1751.	“	Matthew. [Ann.
Aug. 28, 1718.	Newell,	Ann.
Nov. 7, 1715.	Newman,	Kezia, dau. of Matthew and
Aug. 23, 1739.	“	John. [Hannah.
May 29, 1742.	“	Margaret.
June 8, 1742.	Newness,	John.
Dec. 17, 1732.	Newton,	John, son of Daniel.
		Daniel.

Aug. 2, 1751.	Newton,	Robert.
Aug. 20, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of Richard.
Jan. 12, 1759.	"	—— son of Richard.
Dec. 30, 1731.	Nicholas,	William, son of William.
Dec. 20, 1758.	"	James.
Aug. 4, 1743.	Nicholds,	George, son of George.
June 12, 1727.	Nicholls,	Mary, wife of William.
April 11, 1734.	"	Mary, wife of William.
May 29, 1737.	Nichols,	William.
Dec. 20, 1743.	"	Mary, wife of George.
Nov. 5, 1745.	"	Mary. Widow.
Nov. 22, 1751.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of George.
Aug. 21, 1755.	"	Daniel.
Nov. 19, 1746.	Nicholson,	Sarah, dau. of William.
Mar. 26, 1749-50.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 1, 1755.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 3, 1758.	"	—— son of William.
June 13, 1747.	Nigely,	John, son of John.
July 29, 1753.	Nightingale,	Sarah.
Dec. 8, 1728.	Nixon,	Boell, son of Richard.
April 1, 1731.	"	Thomas, son of Richard.
Sept. 19, 1735.	"	Sarah, dau. of Richard.
July 22, 1743.	"	Joseph, son of James.
Dec. 6, 1749.	"	Richard.
Aug. 6, 1728.	Noble,	Anne. Stranger's Ground.
Feb. 15, 1729-30.	"	Sarah.
July 22, 1740.	"	Alice, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 8, 1752.	"	Thomas, son of Anthony.
May 17, 1753.	Norris,	Catharine, wife of Thomas.
Jan. 15, 1721-2.	Norton,	John.
Aug. 22, 1722.	"	John.
April 19, 1728.	"	Thomas, of London.
May 8, 1728.	"	John, son of William.
Aug. 10, 1747.	"	Sarah, dau. of Philip.
Feb. 24, 1747-8.	"	James, son of Jonathan.
Oct. 8, 1749.	"	George, son of Philip.
Mar. 13, 1726-7.	North,	John, son of John.
July 15, 1755.	"	Joshua. [Elizabeth.
Nov. 25, 1725.	Norwood,	Elizabeth, dau. of Henry and
June 30, 1727.	"	Matthew, son of Henry and Elizabeth.
Mar. 20, 1730-1.	"	Henry, son of Andrew. Pres- byterian Ground.
Dec. 26, 1738.	"	Anne, dau. of Henry.
Mar. 2, 1739-40.	"	Henry.
Sept. 12, 1742.	"	John, son of John.

July 14, 1744.	Norwood,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
June 21, 1747.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Mar. 7, 1758.	Nuttle,	Samuel.
Sept. 2, 1736.	O'Neal,	Alice, dau. of Bryan.
July 24, 1747.	Oakley,	Mary, dau. of Thomas, deceased.
Dec. 13, 1751.	Oborn,	Mary, wife of Joseph.
Mar. 15, 1730-1.	Oborne,	Mary, dau. of William.
Dec. 28, 1732.	Obourne,	Mark, son of James.
Feb. 7, 1757.	Okil,	George.
Dec. 8, 1743.	Okill,	John, son of George.
Nov. 27, 1717.	Okley,	Doctor John.
April 16, 1730.	Oldfield,	John.
June 21, 1728.	Oldridge,	Mary, dau. of Peter.
Mar. 23, 1745-6.	Oliphant,	Mary. Widow.
May 19, 1746.	"	Benjamin. An orphan.
Oct. 16, 1746.	"	Thomas. An orphan.
Oct. 16, 1729.	Oliver,	Anne, dau. of Arthur.
Aug. 22, 1734.	"	Arthur.
Nov. 21, 1735.	"	James.
Nov. 28, 1746.	"	Martilla.
Nov. 4, 1748.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Mar. 6, 1751.	"	Francis, son of Thomas.
Nov. 25, 1754.	"	John, son of John.
Oct. 31, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Thomas.
July 16, 1745.	Ord,	Mary, dau. of John.
Aug. 25, 1750.	"	William, son of John.
Mar. 29, 1752.	"	Thomas, son of John.
April 3, 1752.	"	Anne, wife of John.
Mar. 25, 1749-50.	Orpen,	Abraham.
Aug. 29, 1736.	Orton,	John.
Sept. 5, 1747.	"	John.
Sept. 30, 1712.	Osborn,	Jeremiah, son of ye widow.
Sept. 19, 1755.	"	Mary.
May 28, 1759.	"	Charles.
Dec. 4, 1731.	Osbourn,	Robert, son of Robert.
Oct. 29, 1741.	"	Robert.
Oct. 30, 1709.	Osburn,	Jeremiah. Mary.]
Jan. 31, 1726-7.	"	Jeremiah, son of Robert [and
May 27, 1731.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
Nov. 25, 1741.	"	Mary. Widow.
Sept. 12, 1736.	Osburne,	Robert, Jonathan.
May 22, 1742.	Oswald,	James.
Aug. 9, 1741.	Otto,	Rebecca, dau. of Richard.
June 9, 1755.	Otway,	Thomas.

	741.	Oudine,	William.
	1721.	Overthrow,	William, son of William.
July 8,	1734.	"	James, son of William.
Sept. 18,	1736.	"	William, son of William.
April 3,	1737.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
Mar. 20,	1747-8.	"	William.
Mar. 8,	1752.	"	Martha.
Aug. 23,	1711.	Owen,	Sarah, wife of John.
Sept. 20,	1722.	"	Alice.
Aug. 1,	1725.	"	John, son of John.
Oct. 3,	1731.	"	Elizabeth.
May 19,	1735.	"	Griffith.
Sept. 6,	1741.	"	Owen.
Sept. 29,	1750.	"	Mary, wife of James.
July 31,	1753.	"	Rebecca, wife of George.
Dec. 26,	1732.	Owens,	Magdalen.
Dec. 5,	1736.	Owner,	James, son of James.
Sept. 9,	1738.	"	James, son of James.
Aug. 27,	1748.	"	John, son of James.
Sept. 30,	1734.	Oxford,	John, son of Charles.
Jan. 9,	1733-4.	Ozbourn,	Elizabeth. Widow.
Oct. 24,	1758.	Paca,	—— dau. of John.
Jan. 3,	1710-1.	Packer,	Jane, wife of Robert.
July 27,	1717.	"	Robert. [lope.
Mar. 26,	1710-1.	Paddeson,	John, son of George and Pene-
Aug. 21,	1712.	"	Ann, dau. of Robert and Sarah.
Oct. 17,	1710.	Page,	Mary, wife of George.
July 10,	1738.	Pain,	John.
Dec. 7,	1747.	"	James, son of James.
Jan. 18,	1754.	"	Rachel, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 18,	1740-1.	Painter,	Lovewell.
Jan. 15,	1730-1.	Pallard,	Benoni. [Thomasine.
Sept. 16,	1710.	Pallmer,	William, son of Anthony and
June 5,	1714.	"	Ellen, dau. of Anthony and Thomasine.
July 26,	1713.	Palmer,	Sarah, dau. of Jonathan and Ruth.
Nov. 22,	1715.	"	—— son of Capt. Anthony.
May 20,	1733.	"	Mrs. Anne, of Barbadoes.
Sept. 18,	1733.	"	John. Poor.
Jan. 7,	1733-4.	"	Jonathan.
Jan. 20,	1733-4.	"	Daniel.
Feb. 4,	1733-4.	"	Mrs. Rebecca.

(To be continued.)

**MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA.**

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of March 14, 1881, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

The President introduced Mr. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., who read a discourse entitled "The Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century," which will be found on page 141 of this volume.

On motion of Mr. Pennypacker, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Lewis for his instructive and interesting address.

The following officers were nominated by Mr. F. D. Stone, to be voted for at the annual election to be held in May next.

President.

John William Wallace.

Vice-Presidents.

Wm. M. Darlington, John Jordan, Jr.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Members of Council to serve for four years.

John A. McAllister, Charles R. Hildeburn,
James T. Mitchell.

The President appointed the following as tellers to conduct the annual election: John P. Nicholson, Charles Roberts, F. D. Stone, R. Patterson Robins, M.D., and Spencer Bonsall, or any two of them.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 2, 1881, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

On motion of Dr. Levick, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The President introduced Professor Gregory B. Keen, who read a discourse on "The Early Swedish Colony on the Delaware," an account drawn chiefly from manuscripts in the Royal Archives at Stockholm.

Upon the conclusion of the reading, Dr. Charles J. Stillé, on behalf of the large assemblage of members of the Society and others present, expressed the high appreciation felt in regard to the historical value of the paper just read, and paid a graceful compliment to Professor Keen's thoroughness and ability as shown in its preparation. He stated, that in this branch of history

Professor Keen's knowledge was unsurpassed, and that in this discourse he had shown a remarkable development of matter heretofore unknown upon a subject to which proper attention has never been paid by historians. Dr. Stillé then offered a resolution that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Professor Keen, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the discourse for preservation by the Society.

The tellers appointed at the last meeting, to conduct the election, reported that forty-three votes had been cast for the gentlemen nominated by Mr. Stone, and there being no opposition, they were elected.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Nov. 14, 1881. In the absence of the President, the Hon. James T. Mitchell, was called to the chair.

On motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The chairman then introduced General Henry B. Carrington, who read a paper on "The Military Operations around Philadelphia during the War of the Revolution."

Vice-President Keim moved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to General Carrington for the interesting address just delivered, and that he be requested to furnish the Society with a copy for preservation.

A special meeting was held in the hall, Dec. 19, 1881, Dr. Chas. Willing in the chair, who introduced Lawrence Lewis, Jr., Esq., who read a paper entitled "The Early History of the Bank of North America, its Organization in Accordance with the Plan Submitted by Robert Morris to Congress in 1781."

Upon the conclusion of the reading, Dr. James J. Levick moved that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Lewis.

EXTRACTED FROM THE MINUTES OF COUNCIL.

IN MEMORIAM.

MAURICE CHARLES JONES died at Bethlehem, Pa., Nov. 19, 1881. He was born in London, July 4, 1810, of Welsh parentage. A part of his early education was obtained in France, but on his coming to this country it was continued at Hartwick Seminary, New York, and at Nazareth, Pa. His geniality and hospitality made him well known to all visitors to Bethlehem, and won him many friends. He was elected to membership in this Society Oct. 27, 1841, and gave frequent testimony of his interest in its affairs. By his will this interest is continued by providing for the election of his son as a life member.

ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

SCHWENKFELDER—MARRIAGES IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1735-1804.¹— [The Schwenkfelders were the followers of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, who was born in Lübnar circle, in Lower Silesia, in 1490, and died at Ulm, December 10th, 1562. He was contemporary with Luther, with whom he differed upon several points of doctrine. After enduring great persecutions in Silesia, and other places in Germany, about two hundred of the Silesian Schwenkfelders, men, women, and children, found an asylum in Pennsylvania. They arrived at Philadelphia, Sept. 11th, 1734, O. S. They settled in Germantown, Philadelphia County, in Worcester, Towamencin, the Salfords, New and Upper Hanover townships, within the limits of the present Montgomery County, Washington and Hereford townships in Berks, and in the two Milfords of Bucks and Lehigh Counties. Their descendants have become quite numerous in this region of country.—W. A. YEAKLE.]

A. D. 1735, Hans Henrich Yeakel and Susanna Heydrick, in presence of witnesses and elders.

Jan. 16th, 1736, Balthasar Krause and Susanna Hoffman, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

March 2d, 1736, David Meschter and Ursula Anders, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

May 3d, 1737, George Schultz (Balthasar's son) and Anna Schultz, in presence of witnesses and elders.

Nov. 24th, 1737, Balthasar Yeakel and Barbara Warmer, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

Nov. 15th, 1738, Andreas Warmer and Susanna Wiegner, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

Nov. 22d, 1738, George Heebner and Rosina Kriebel, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

Nov. 18th, 1739, Christopher Wiegner and Anna Schultz, in the presence of witnesses and elders.

April 29, 1740, David Schubert and Anna Krause, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.

Nov. 25th, 1740, George Kriebel and Susanna Yeakel, by Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.

Feb. 13th, 1741, Melchior Schultz and Anna Maria Meschter, in the presence of 12 witnesses.

May 12th, 1741, George Yeakel (Balthasar's son) and Susanna Wagner, in the presence of 12 witnesses.

May 15th, 1741, Balthasar Heydrick and Maria Hofrichter, in the presence of 12 witnesses.

Nov. 16th, 1742, Christopher Seipt and Rosina Hoffmann, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.

Aug. 9th, 1743, Christopher Yeakel (cooper) and Maria Schultz, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.

¹ For a full history of the Schwenkfelders, see "Erläuterung für Caspar Schwenkfeld und die Zugethanen seiner Lehre," and Historical Sketch, by C. Heydrick, Franklin, Pa., in Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelders, published in 1879. Both these works are in the Hist. Society of Penna. And likewise Kadelbach's History of the Schwenkfelders, published at Lauen, in 1860.

- Jan. 31st, 1744, George Schultz and Maria Yeakel, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- June 19th, 1744, Christopher Dreshee and Anna Kriebel, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Oct. 9th, 1744, Christopher Schultz¹ and Rosina Yeakel, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Oct. 29, 1745, David Schultz (surveyor) and Anna Rosina Beyer, by a Justice of the Peace.
- April 29, 1746, Melchior Schultz (widower) and Maria Hartranft, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Oct. 21st, 1746, Hans Christopher Heebner and Barbara Schultz, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- 1747, Abraham Hartranft and Susanna Schubert, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Aug. 10th, 1748, Christopher Kriebel and Maria Dresher, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Oct. 10th, 1748, Abraham Yeakel and Anna Maria Beyer, by a Justice of the Peace.
- April 6th, 1749, Abraham Wagner and Maria Kriebel, by a Justice of the Peace.
- April 13th, 1749, George Wiegner and Susanna Yeakel, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 16th, 1749, George Heebner (widower) and Susanna Schultz, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 15th, 1750, Christopher Krause and Susanna Schultz, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 31st, 1750, Abraham Wiegner and Susanna Yeakel, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Nov. 27th, 1750, Caspar Seipt and Rosina Yeakel, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- May 30th, 1751, Christopher Yeakel and Rosina Seipt, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- May 17th, 1753,² Christopher Hoffman and Rosina Dresher, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Nov. 26th, 1754, Christopher Wagner and Susanna Heebner, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 3, 1757, Christopher Heebner and Susanna Wiegner, by a Justice of the Peace.
- April 4th, 1758, George Kriebel and Anna Anders, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- June 17th, 1760, George Heydrick and Rosina Krause, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Oct. 7th, 1760, Balthasar Yeakel and Rosina Reinwald (widow), by a Justice of the Peace.
- June 16th, 1761, David Kriebel and Susanna Reinwald, married in Philadelphia by a Reformed clergyman.
- Aug. 25th, 1761, Balthasar Yeakel (H. H. Y.'s son) and Susanna Krause, by the Rev. B. Hoffman.
- April 21st, 1762, Christopher Reinwald and Maria Meschter, married in Philadelphia by a Reformed clergyman.
- May 13th, 1762, Abraham Kriebel and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.

¹ This was the Rev. Christopher Schultz who became a distinguished minister of the Society. For sketch of his life, see Gen. Record of Schwenkfelders.

² All dates from this date are New Style.

- May 27th, 1762, Hans Yeakel and Anna Wiegner, by a Justice of the Peace.
- June 16th, 1763, Jeremias Yeakel and Susanna Wiegner, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Nov. 24th, 1763, Balthasar Reinwald and Elizabeth Yeakel, by the Rev. Balthasar Hoffman.
- Nov. 25th, 1765, Abraham Anders and Susanna Kriebel, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 6th, 1766, Christopher Meschter and Christina Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 4th, 1767, Abraham Heydrick and Susannah Yeakle, by a Justice of the Peace.
- May 5th, 1767, Melchior Reinwald and Maria Anders, by the Rev. Mr. Schlatter.
- May 5th, 1768, George Yeakel and Rosina Schubert, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 24th, 1768, Balthasar Schultz and Anna Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- April 26th, 1769, George Heebner and Susanna Heydrick, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- June 15th, 1769, Balthasar Krause and Susanna Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Oct. 23d, 1770, George Dresher and Maria Yeakle, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 15th, 1770, Melchior Yeakel and Regina Schultz, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- April 25th, 1771, Christopher Schultz and Maria Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 16th, 1771, Andrew Kriebel and Susanna Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Oct. 24th, 1771, Abraham Schultz and Regina Yeakle, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 21, 1771, George Heebner (widower) and Anna Schubert, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Oct. 6th, 1772, David Schultz and Catharine Hartranft, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Oct. 15th, 1772, George Kriebel and Esther Wiegner, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Oct. 28th, 1772, Melchior Kriebel and Rosina Heebner, by the Rev. Christopher Schnltz.
- Oct. 21st, 1773, Christopher Meschter and Rosina Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 20th, 1774, Melchior Meschter, of Goshenhoppen, and Anna Maria (Yeakel) Zollen (widow), by the Rev. C. Schultz.
- May 30th, 1775, Melchior Schubert and Maria Krause, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Aug. 10th, 1775, Caspar Yeakle and Anna Yeakle, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Oct. 10th, 1776, Abraham Yeakle and Sarah Wagner, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Nov. 14th, 1776, Matthias Gearhart and Maria Krause, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 21st, 1776, Andrew Schultz and Charlotta Yeakle, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- May 1st, 1777, Gregory Schultz and Rosina Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.

- May 25th, 1777, Abraham Dresher and Eva Schultz, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Feb. 12th, 1778, Abraham Kriebel and Rosina Hartranft, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 7th, 1778, Jacob Yeakel and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Feb. 11th, 1779, Matthias Gearhart (widower) and Anna Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 17th, 1779, Jeremiah Kriebel and Anna Rosina Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 25th, 1779, Melchior Kriebel and Barbara Schubert, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- April 23d, 1780, George Schneider and Rosina Anders, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 17th, 1781, David Schultz and Anna Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 17, 1781, David Kriebel (widower) and Rosina Wiegner, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Nov. 29, 1781, Melchior Schultz and Salome Wagner, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- April 11th, 1782, Christopher Schneider and Susanna Heydrick, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- June 6th, 1782, Christopher Yeakle and Susanna Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- April 17th, 1784, George Schneider and Susanna Wiegner, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- April 29th, 1784, Abraham Kriebel and Salome Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 27th, 1784, Abraham Anders and Esther Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Aug. 17th, 1784, Christopher Kriebel and Susanna Wiegner, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 10th, 1785, Henry Schneider and Regina Reinwald, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 11th, 1786, Christopher Neuman and Rosina Wiegner, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 27th, 1787, Abraham Dresher and Susanna Seipt, by the Rev. Christopher Kriebel.
- Sept. 6th, 1787, Andrew Anders and Sarah Reinwald, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 29th, 1787, David Yeakel and Anna Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- April 17th, 1788, Abraham Kriebel and Eva Heydrick, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- April 24th, 1788, Isaac Yeakle and Susanna Anders, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- May 29th, 1788, Jacob Kriebel and Lydia Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Schultz.
- Nov. 4th, 1788, Christopher Schneider and Susanna Reinwald, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 11th, 1790, Abraham Heebner and Christina Wagner, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Oct. 7th, 1790, Edmund Flynn and Maria Wiegner, at the house of William Dennis, by the Rev. C. Hoffman.
- May 2d, 1793, George Anders and Catharine Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.

- Oct. 31st, 1793, Andrew Kriebel and Maria Heebner, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 1st, 1794, Abraham Wiegner and Susanna Schneider, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 8th, 1794, Abraham Yeakel and Sarah Heydrick, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 20th, 1794, Balthasar Heebner and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- June 17th, 1794, Jeremiah Krause and Regina Krause, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Oct. 30th, 1794, Christopher Kriebel (widower) and Rosina Seipt, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 1st, 1795, John Krause and Rosina Yeakel, by a Justice of the Peace.
- Sept. 10th, 1795, John Wiegner and Rosina Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 12th, 1795, Jacob Gearhart and Helena Krause, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 24th, 1796, John Schultz and Regina Heebner, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- June 2d, 1796, Benjamin Anders and Salome Yeakel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 30th, 1797, Andrew Krause and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- May 1st, 1798, Andrew Yeakel and Maria Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- April 11th, 1799, Jacob Schultz and Magdalena Gearhart, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Nov. 14th, 1799, George Heydrick and Susanna Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Nov. 14th, 1799, Jacob Schneider and Eva Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Nov. 21st, 1799, Abraham Seipt and Anna Anders, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 28th, 1799, Christopher Dresher and Anna Anders, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 29th, 1800, George Schultz and Barbara Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Oct. 23d, 1800, John Anders and Regina Meschter, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 4th, 1800, Isaac Yeakel and Regina Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- May 21st, 1801, Adam Schultz and Regina Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- June 4th, 1801, Abraham Kriebel and Christina Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Oct. 22d, 1801, Samuel Dresher and Anna Kriebel, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- June 3d, 1802, Samuel Kriebel and Christina Schultz, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- Nov. 25th, 1802, Abraham Anders and Susanna Dresher, by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman.
- May 24th, 1803, Matthias Gearhart and Esther Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- May 26th, 1803, Matthias Schultz and Christina Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.
- Oct. 27th, 1803, David Yeakel and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.

May 15th, 1804, George Heydrick (widower) and Susanna Kriebel, by the Rev. Melchior Kriebel.

May 29th, 1804, Christopher Schultz and Susanna Yeakel, by the Rev. George Kriebel.

May 31st, 1804, Isaac Schultz and Susanna Schultz, by the Rev. George Kriebel.

THE ATTACK ON FORT WILSON, Oct. 4, 1779.—[We are indebted to R. P. McCall, Esq., for the following paper, found among those of James Gibson.]

On Monday the 4th of October some Time about three o'clock P. M. as I passed by Mr. Wilson's Door, returning home from Mr. Stamper's I observed some Gentlemen standing before it I believe 6 or 8 and Mr. Wilson on his Threshold, the appearance was unusual and I stopped to ask the Meaning of it and what was the Matter. I think I saw some Musquets I was asked if I had not heard that the Militia had taken up some of the Citizens and carried them on the Commons, and that they intended to take up a number more; Mr Wilson said that he had good information he was intended to be taken up and that he was determined to defend himself. I staid but a few Minutes and hearing that the Militia had begun their March and that they were in Arch Street I immediately went to them and found they had halted somewhere about 5th Street. They stood there some Time, and I attempted to enquire what was intended but one of the Guards gave me a very surly answer and prevented any further Enquiry. After some time they began their March, and Genl Mifflin joined their Leader in his March, and while he seemed to be in Conversation with him, one of the men in the ranks struck or pushed him with his Musquet—as they marched on they passed third Street corner where I left them, not satisfied that they really meant to attack any House, and I was inclined to think they from their Course did not mean Mr Wilsons in Particular I went down to the City Tavern where I understood some Persons were assembled to withstand any unlawful attacks upon their Persons On coming there I saw a few Gentlemen collected perhaps ten, they were fully of Opinion an Attack was intended and went off to Mr. Wilsons. I went with them. When we came there I found a considerable Number had got together I thought about thirty or forty some with Musquets some with Pistols. I still apprehended they would avoid Mr. Wilsons House, as I had reason to suppose the Leader of the Militia was informed by Genl Mifflin that if they did attack the House they would be fired upon. However after some Time as I stood in the street I observed them to turn from Second into Walnut Street, and march in order in Walnut approaching third Street. When they came near to 3d Street several Gentlemen went to them, I apprehended to dissuade them from firing. At this Time I was standing at Mr. Peters steps, and I think the street between Me and the Militia quite clear—they appeared to me by their Gestures not to have any Inclination to have any Thing to say to them and made no Halt but passed across third Street. They marched on very slowly until the Rear came nearly abreast of me I was happy for the Moment to think they intended not to halt as they passed the House so far about this Time some of the sashes of the 2nd or 3d story and I think but am not certain some of the Shutters of the Lower Windows were thrown open. This Circumstance drew the Attention of the Militia and I immagin occasioned them to Halt and give some Language, yet for a little Time no disposition seemed to be made by the Militia for firing at this Time my attention was mostly fixed on them—It appeared to me after some Words the Militia were disposed to put themselves in motion agen when I observed one of them without any Command and not more than thirty feet from me lift up his Gun, standing with his face to the eastward, and fired his Gun, whether the shot struck the House or not I cannot say. Some seconds of Time passed and a Second presented his Piece

and fired at one of the Upper Windows. The Ball struck the Wall about three feet from the Window and between that and the corner of the House. By this Time the whole was preparing to fire, yet I think a third single shot was fired before any Return of Fire was made from Mr. Wilsons House and perhaps there might have been many more for by this Time the fire quickened from the Militia and I cannot determine precisely the Number of Guns fired before the Return was made from the House. The first shot from the House was from a Pistol the Person who fired I knew not but he put his Arm out of the Window. The fire became smart on both Sides, for about ten Minutes the Militia attacked with great Resolution cleared the Windows fronting Walnut Street. about this Time the Governor came up on Horseback and put an end to the attack, some being taken, the rest went off the Ground.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION OF 1778. INTERESTING LETTER FROM COL. BENJAMIN EYRE.—[Col. Benjamin G. Eyre was one of the three brothers, Jehu, Manuel, and Benj. G. Eyre, shipbuilders, at Kensington, Philada., who built some of the first frigates for the Colonial government in the Revolutionary War, and all three of whom took an early and active part in that conflict. Benjamin G. Eyre was a volunteer Aide de Camp on the staff of General Washington during the Trenton and Princeton campaign in the winter of 1776 and 1777, with the rank of Colonel. He is on Trumbull's famous picture of Washington and Staff at Princeton. He was engaged by the government on several occasions to oversee the building of boats, fortifications, gun-platforms, etc., and he was with General Sullivan in charge of a party of ship-carpenters on the Newport Expedition in 1778, and the following characteristic letter he wrote from there. Now in my possession.—**PETER D. KEYSER, M.D.**]

CAMP NEAR NEWPORT, August 22^d 1778.

Gentlemen,

In my last I mentioned that the French fleet had sailed they never Returned until the 20th in the Evening By reason of a severe N East storm They fell in with the brittish fleet just as the storm began or something of Consequence would have turned up The brittish fleet consisted of 12 Ships of the line 10 Friggates, 4 Rowgalleys 4 Bomb Catches & 6 Fire ships.

The French Admiral has lost his Bowsprits & masts & one Eighty gun ship missing but I am in hopes that she will Come in safe yet but in Return for that the French Admiral has taken the Singall She is a Sixteen Gun sloop & a bomb Catch with one 13 inch & one ten inch mortar sundry millitary stores—The fleet is Now Drawing round the town & in a few Days the Grand Scene will begin Our Batterreys has been opened on the Enemy several days & to morrow a number of heavy Cannon will play on them The Carpenters were exposed Last night a good Deal but they stood it out Like men threw a scene of fire & smoke None kild nor wounded of our Core As soon as the Town is taken we shall Return home I have not been on board of the Admiral yet but propose to go in the morning have not heard from Philad^a since I saw you,

From your most Humble Servt.

BENJAMIN G. EYRE.

To Colonel Jehu Eyre Major Marsh & Major Casdorp & Manuel Eyre
Colonel Cowperthwait, &c.

August the 24th to our great surprise the French Fleet has Left us on the 22 at Night they are gone to boston to refit the Eighty Gun ship that I mentioned has arrived at Boston She had a smart Engagement with a sixty Gun ship and after she had struck & the boats going to board her two

WORLEY—PRISEY.—Thomas Brassey was one of the original purchasers of 5000 acres of land in the Province of Pennsylvania. One moiety of this land was directed, "ye 31st 12th mo. 1700/1" to be surveyed to Francis Worley in right of his wife Mary, who was a daughter of the said Thomas Brassey; the other portion to be surveyed to Caleb Pusey in right of his wife. These facts are stated in the warrant, but the name of Caleb Pusey's wife is not given.

THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781. By Henry P. Johnston, 8vo. pp. 206. New York: Harper & Bro. 1880.

The most valuable of all the literature which the Centennial Celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis has called out is the work before us. To those who are already acquainted with the thoroughness with which Mr. Johnston does his work this will not be surprising. His History of the Campaign of 1776 around New York and his review of Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War have gained for him an enviable reputation as a careful writer and close student with those whose own investigation give weight to their opinions. Mr. Johnston's last book falls nothing short of what was to be expected from him. The narrative includes the events which immediately preceded the invasion of Virginia and everything of importance which took place in the Yorktown Campaign. The whole is clearly and forcibly written from the most reliable and authentic material. Every fact which the latest research has brought to light has been weighed and given its proper place, and an excellent book is the result.

THE WASHINGTON—IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE.—Mr. C. W. Butterfield, the author of Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, and other historical works, has issued a prospectus of the Washington-Irvine Correspondence. It will consist of the letters which passed between Washington and Brig.-Gen. Wm. Irvine, while the latter was in command of Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) during the years 1781-'82, and '83. Mr. Butterfield explains that he has arranged the correspondence in chronological order, and has annotated it, and now asks the assistance of those interested in the history of the Trans-Allegheny region during the Revolution to enable him to publish the book.

We know of no one as well suited as Mr. Butterfield to perform this work, and we are sufficiently acquainted with the great value of a portion of the material which he will publish, to warrant us in saying that every encouragement should be given him by those to whom he appeals to enable him to issue the work. It will contain from 400 to 450 pages, and the price will be \$3.50 per copy, payable on delivery. Subscriptions can be sent to C. W. Butterfield, Madison, Wisconsin.

THOMAS CORWIN, a Sketch by A. P. Russell, 12mo. pp. 128. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1881. This is a bright appreciative sketch of a man who once occupied a prominent place before the public, but of whom the rising generation know but little. The services he rendered were not such as to gain for him a high place in history, but his personal qualities drew around him many who loved him sincerely, and the influence he exerted during life was a powerful one. He was a warm personal friend of Henry Clay, and swept the State of Ohio for Governor in the Harrison's Campaign of 1840. He was United States Senator in 1845; Secretary of the Treasury in '50, and Minister to Mexico in '61. He died in 1865. This sketch will be read with interest by those who remember the campaigns of Clay and Harrison, and by all who wish to have a true picture of one of the prominent actors of those times. It is replete with anecdotes and incidents, and makes the subject of it fairly live again.

BATTLE MAP AND CHARTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Henry B. Carrington, M.A., LL.D., 8vo. 100 pp. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1881. This little volume is made up of the excellent maps which appeared in General Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*. On the page facing each map are a number of notes relating to the battle which it illustrates. These give the names of the American and British Commanders who participated in the engagement. The strength and casualties of each army, and concise memorandum giving the general character of the battle, its result and importance in the campaign. As the book is designed for schools there are references giving the page in the various school histories under which the battle in question is treated. Although designed for the use of teachers and their scholars, this Atlas should have a wider circulation. It will be found a convenient one in any library, and is just such a work as the majority of readers would like to have by them when reading such works as Irving's Life of Washington.

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA IN 1776. By Charles Henry Jones. 8vo., 234 pp. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1882. \$3.

This book is one in which Pennsylvania may take an honest pride. It chronicles the services of her sons, and those services were performed in a country so distant from her own territory, in a cause of such general interest, that the records of them are enduring monuments of the broad patriotism which inspired them.

The Canada Campaign of 1776 is one which has never before this received special attention. Occurring between such brilliant ones as that which ended with the death of Montgomery, and that which closed with the surrender of Burgoyne, all but its most salient points have been neglected, and the trials endured in the attempt to hold what the daring of Allen and Arnold and the generalship of Montgomery had gained for the United Colonies have had but a partial recognition.

In this campaign not less than two thousand Pennsylvanians took part. They were under the leadership of such men as St. Clair, Thompson, William and James Irvine, Wayne, DeHaas, Hartley and Harmar. The four Pennsylvania regiments, wrote Trumbull, were the *élite* of the army. It would exceed the limits of this notice should we attempt to give an outline of their services, but the condition in which the remnant of the army reached Crown Point will show the suffering it passed through. The smallpox had broken out among the troops. "A few of the men were in tents," wrote an eye-witness in after years, "some in sheds and more under the shelter of miserable brush huts, so totally disorganized by death or sickness of officers that the distinction of regiments and corps was in a great degree lost. . . . I can truly say that I did not look into a tent or hut in which I did not find either a dead or dying man. I can scarcely imagine any more disastrous scene except the retreat of Buonaparte from Moscow." The army numbered about eight thousand, of whom nearly three thousand were unfit for duty.

Mr. Jones's volume is a carefully-prepared history of this campaign. His interest in the subject was awakened by the fact that his ancestor, Colonel Jonathan Jones, a native of Chester County, Penn'a, took part in the movements of which he writes. The use of unpublished papers of Colonel Jones, Anthony J. Morris, and Josiah Harmar has enabled the author to give a much more circumstantial account of the campaign than could otherwise have been done; but this fact has been modestly kept out of sight, and what would have insured the permanent value of the book, beyond all doubt, has been ignored.

The book supplies a chapter in the history of the Revolution which will not be found elsewhere. The language is clear and graceful, the descriptions graphic, and the narrative connected. The spirit in which it is written is as generous as that which prompted the actions it relates, and to the people of New England and New Jersey it possesses the same interest as it does to those of Pennsylvania.

CORRECTIONS IN "THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN."—Vol. iii. p. 451, line 21, after "Corrie" add: who is described in 1758 as "of Christiana Bridge, mariner." *Ibid.*, line 22, after "1728" add: He is styled in 1758 "of Christiana Bridge, sadler," and, *Ibid.*, p. 452, line 3, after "1736" add: She was living with her mother at Christiana Bridge in 1758, and, *Ibid.*, p. 456, line 12 from the foot, for "Two" read Three; and, in the next line below, after "Clymer" add: and Ella, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Chancellor Tiers.

Vol. iv. p. 234, line 7 from the foot, for "patent" read deed. *Ibid.*, next line below, after "N. Y." add: It intimates that the purchase was virtually effected June 1, 1722, when Mr. Finney gave his bond for £400, conditioned on the making of a title, which was performed June 20, 1733. *Ibid.*, p. 348, line 15, on the marriage of Mary Swift to Matthias Keen subjoin this footnote: In a letter dated "Philada., September 29th, 1743, addressed to "Mr. John White, Croydon, Surrey, Engd," by Abram Taylor, of Philadelphia, is the following: "Yesterday I saw Richd Martin, who acquainted me that a few days before one of your nieces was married to the Brother of his son's wife. He says it is a very good match, and I sincerely wish them and you joy of it; he promised to send you a Letter of it." *Ibid.*, p. 349, line 3, for "August" read August 9. *Ibid.*, lines 4 and 5, after "who" substitute: was b. January 6, 1742, and d. May 8, 1818. Mrs. Bringham d. January 2, 1823. They are bur. in Hood's Cemetery, Germantown. They left issue. *Ibid.*, p. 350, lines 5 and 6 from the foot, omit "Robert Barclay." *Ibid.*, p. 355, lines 2 and 3, for "University of Pennsylvania" read College of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, p. 490, line 9, add: also "made interesting and memorable as the summer house of General Hamilton, who rented and occupied it during a part of his administrative life in Philadelphia." (*Griswold's Republican Court*, p. 264.) *Ibid.*, p. 491, line 15, for "vessel Snow" read snow. *Ibid.*, p. 499, line 6 from the foot, add: copied by Dodson from a print of Edwin, which adorns an interesting *Biographical Memoir of Commodore Dale* in *The Portfolio*, vol. iii. p. 499 *et seq.* *Ibid.*, p. 500, lines 7 and 8 from the foot, omit the words inclosed in the parenthesis.

Vol. v. p. 93, line 3, after "Chestnut" add: being mentioned in Du Simi-tière's list of eighty-four families that kept equipages in 1772 as having a "post-chaise." *Ibid.*, p. 96, line 10, after "Hospital" add: being a Manager of that institution from 1781 to 1790, and acting one year as President. *Ibid.*, p. 101, line 14, after "Kuhn" add: was b. August 19, 1788. *Ibid.*, lines 16 and 17, after "name" substitute: He d. in Philadelphia, February 8, 1852, and was bur. in that city. Mrs. Kuhn d. and was bur. at Lewes, Delaware, in August, 1832. They left issue. *Ibid.*, line 11 from the foot, after "Pennsylvania" add: He was for more than forty years a Member of the Schuylkill Fishing Company. *Ibid.*, p. 221, lines 6 and 7 from the foot, "an original Member" should follow the second "and." *Ibid.*, p. 339, line 16, after "Revolution" add: and was chosen one of the first Directors of the Bank of North America, chartered by Congress the following year.

G. B. K.

PHILEMON DICKINSON (Vol. V. p. 363).—Genl. Philemon Dickinson is referred to in Lemprière's Universal Biography where there is a notice of

him written by Eleazar Lord, but the place of his birth is not given there. Lanman's Biographical Annals states that he was born near Dover in Delaware. His brother John's birthplace is given in all the notices of him as Talbot County, Maryland, except in Lord's, who states it to have been in Delaware.

Samuel Dickinson was twice married, as the query states. By his wife Mary, daughter of John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, he had three sons, John, Thomas, and Philemon, all born at the family seat, Crosia or Crosiadore, on Choptank River, Talbot County, Maryland. Samuel was a large land owner in Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and seems to have lived sometimes in one and sometimes in the other State. He certainly had an estate in Kent County, Del., near Dover, which remained in the family till after the Revolutionary War. I think Samuel could not have removed permanently from Crosia or Maryland soon after the birth of John, because that estate remained in the family until quite recent times. I have in my possession a paper in the handwriting of my grandfather, in which it is stated that the three sons above mentioned were born at Crosia, and I have no doubt this is correct. There was less than seven years difference between the ages of John and Philemon.

Philemon married 15th July, 1767, Mary, second daughter of his uncle Thomas Cadwalader, at Philadelphia, and resided there in the winter, and in summer at "Belleville" near Trenton (the spot whereon I now live). In July, 1776, he bought "The Hermitage," and made that seat his residence. His wife Mary died there 5th August, 1791, in the 47th year of her age. Philemon's second wife was Rebecca, sister of his first wife, who died May 29th, 1821, at Philadelphia.

General Dickinson was a delegate to the Continental Congress from Delaware, 1782 to 1783; and a Senator in Congress from 1790 to 1793.

He did not belong to the Continental army, but commanded the New Jersey militia.

S. MEREDITH DICKINSON.

Trenton, N. J.

THE EVELYNS IN AMERICA.—Compiled from Family Papers and other Sources, 1608-1805. Edited and annotated by G. D. Scull. Printed for Private Circulation by Parker & Co., Oxford, 1881. 4to. pp. xii. 392. 250 copies printed.

This work comprises the *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glennville Evelyn*, edited by Mr. Scull in 1879, and reprints of Beauchamp Plantagenet's *Description of the Province of New Albion*, and an historical pamphlet on *The First Commander of Kent Island*, written by the late Sebastian F. Streeter, and published by the Historical Society of Maryland in 1868, together with some additional information, found in the Public Record Office of London, concerning the Expedition of Thomas Yong and Robert Evelyn to Virginia, the letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. Harcourt from America during the years 1776-'77, and various short journals of British Officers during the war of the Revolution. Besides the portraits of Captain Evelyn, General Prescott, the Hon. Mrs. Boscawen, Lieut.-Col. Harcourt, and Earl Percy, which adorned the former book, this includes a different picture and a caricature of Major-General Charles Lee, with portraits of Simon, Earl Harcourt, and Capt. John Montrésor, plans of operations of the British and American forces in 1776-'77, and two views of Wotton House, Surrey, England. It is needless to say that these additions have both heightened and enlarged the interest of the entertaining little volume, more exclusively devoted to Capt. Evelyn, and will prove of special value to students of the early Colonial and Revolutionary epochs of American history. The variety of the subjects mentioned in the work appeals to the taste of

others than mere antiquarians, and the tracing of a distinguished English family in its intercourse with our New World for so long a period as two centuries, imparts a vividness to those relations, and a personality to its members hardly to be realized to the same degree in any other way. The choice of such a theme and the method of its treatment are not more to be commended than the careful performance of his duty by the painstaking editor, or the appreciative communication to him of most of its materials by the present cultivated owner and occupant of the ancient seat of the Evelyns, William John Evelyn, Esq., of Wotton House.

KING'S MOUNTAIN AND ITS HEROES.—History of the Battle of King's Mountain, Oct. 7th, 1780, and the events which led to it. By Lyman C. Draper, LL.D. 8vo. 612 pp. Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati, 1881. \$4.

The Battle of King's Mountain will henceforth occupy in American history the place it deserves.

It was fought, as the reader knows, within two months of the time that Gates received his crushing defeat at Camden, and during those few weeks the British moved unmolested through the country, stamping out every vestige of opposition which offered itself. Sumpter was surprised at Fishing Creek, and the community seemed paralyzed with fear. Then it was that Campbell and his companions from beyond the mountains fell upon the detachment of loyalists, under Ferguson, who were encamped on King's Mountain, and so nearly annihilated them that the prestige which had been won during the campaign was well nigh lost in a single day. "The loyalists of North Carolina," says Bancroft, "no longer dared to rise. It fired the patriots of the two Carolinas with fresh zeal. It encouraged the fragment of the defeated and scattered American army to seek each other and organize themselves anew. . . . It encouraged Virginia to devote her resources to the country south of the border." "It operated to such a degree in depressing the spirits of the loyalists in that section of the country, and encouraging the friends of America or Whigs," says Johnston, "that Cornwallis determined to fall back to South Carolina." "It did very much to offset the British victory at Camden," is the language of Carrington; and de Peyster, whose own studies on this particular conflict have been most thorough, says: "As at Oriskany—the turning-point of the war and the bloodiest action for the numbers engaged at the North—so at King's Mountain, the turning-point of the war and the deadliest for the numbers who actually fought in it at the South, the conflict was one between Americans."

To preserve the history of this remarkable conflict, over forty years ago Dr. Draper began to collect such material as then existed. He visited the participants in the fight who were then living, and from their lips gathered many interesting incidents. The children of others who had passed away supplied him with the stories which their fathers had told them; and Gov. David Campbell, of Virginia, a relative of the American leader, placed at his disposal many facts and documents regarding the defeat of Ferguson which he had treasured up. It will at once be seen from this the great advantage Dr. Draper has enjoyed in preparing the volume before us; but all of this would have availed him but little had it not been for the extensive reading and clear understanding which he was able to bring to bear upon the subject. It is really wonderful that a book of this kind could be prepared at this late day so full of personal interest and minute detail, all of which is entirely new, and carries the evidence of authenticity with it. It will not only be valuable to the general student and to the local historian, but from it the writer of fiction could gather much which would enable him to give to the stories of American border warfare the same charm with which the genius of Scott has clothed that of his own Highlands. The

events which led to the conflict, the lives of the leaders, and the names of many of the participants are all given. If the volume meets with the success it deserves, others of a like nature are promised—an end which we sincerely hope will be brought about.

THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776.—[After a considerable lapse of time we are enabled to present the following additional notes to the articles which appeared in Volumes III. and IV. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, concerning the Members of the First Constitutional Convention of the State of Pennsylvania.]

BLEWER.—Captain Blewer resided for several years in South Carolina, but at last settled permanently in Philadelphia County, Penna., dwelling in the District of Southwark. He was married by the Rev. Charles Magnus Wrangel, pastor of the Gloria Dei Church at Wicacoa, Sept. 26, 1759, to Sarah daughter of George Lindmeyer and Judith Mansson of New Castle County, Delaware. They had several children, of whom only one son survived his father and died, still young, before his mother, who bequeathed all her property to her brother-in-law Capt. George Ord of Southwark, the father of the distinguished scholar and naturalist of the same name, who completed and edited Wilson's *American Ornithology*. The date 1759, appended to his autograph as a distinguishing characteristic, was that of his marriage.

BROWN.—James Brown, of Cumberland County, died in June, 1780.

COOKE.—Col. William Cooke, of Northumberland County, was born in what is now Derry Township, Dauphin County. He was a brother of Col. Jacob Cooke, a prominent person in the annals of Lancaster County during the Revolution. Col. William Cooke died April 22, 1804.

GRIER, John, of Bucks County, has been confounded with another of the same name, residing in the same county. At this remote day it is extremely difficult to distinguish the John Grier. A memorandum sent us has been mislaid.

HOGG.—William Hogg, a native of Musselburgh, Scotland, came to America shortly after 1682. When William Penn and his eleven associates bought the State of New Jersey, the first Governor under the new proprietors was Robert Barclay, one of the twelve purchasers, who was a *Scotchman* and a Quaker. Hence many Scotch settled in New Jersey. On the ship coming to America, was a family consisting of a Mr. Hume, wife and daughter, from Paisley, Scotland. On the passage, father and mother both died, and young Hogg took charge of the daughter. Upon landing at New York, he left the girl with a relative, and settled at Perth Amboy. He subsequently married the daughter, Barbara Hume, and afterwards removed to what is now the State of Delaware, then Penn's three lower counties, from thence to Lancaster County, Penna., and finally to the Valley of Virginia, three miles south of Winchester, where he and his wife lived and died. Many of their descendants became distinguished men in Church and State. Their oldest son John Hogg never went to Virginia. Born at Perth Amboy, he remained in the three lower counties until after his marriage to Gwenthlane Bowen, a native of Wales, when they removed to East Pennsboro Township, then Lancaster, now Cumberland County, Penna., somewhere between 1730 and 1735, where he had purchased a considerable body of land from the Proprietaries. He died there about 1748 or 1749, leaving four sons, the second of whom was Jonathan Hogg, member of the Convention of 1776, and a native of the township.

MACKEY, Mary the daughter of John Mackey, married Francis Alison, Jr., a son of Rev. Francis Alison, D.D. He was a surgeon during the war of

the Revolution, and afterwards practised medicine at Chatham, Chester County. Dr. Robert H. Alison, of Philadelphia, is a grandson.

[No doubt other additions and corrections should be made to the sketches, but we regret to say that it has been impossible to obtain other information. Especially is this the case with Col. John Wilkinson, of Bucks County, whose descendants no doubt possess data relating to him. W. H. E.]

THE INDIAN TREATY AT FORT PITT IN 1776.—The following notitia made by Jasper Yeates, one of the Commissioners of the United States to treat with the Indians at Fort Pitt in 1776, we cull from an "account and memorandum book" in our possession:—

"Nov. 6, 1776, Mr. Morgan was named by the Shawanese, *Teminan*."

"Mr. Montgomery [John Montgomery, of Carlisle, one of the Commissioners sent by Congress] was named by the Shawanese *Muck-a-te-wela-mow*, *i. e.*, of the Black Wolf Tribe."

"I [Jasper Yeates] was adopted into the Six Nations, and named *Guy-wee ho*, *i. e.*, the Messenger of Good News."

"In Shawanese, Joseph Spear is called *Thakkiholagoe*. In Mingoe, *Ukunesstelan*."

"In Chippewa, Thomas McCarthy is called *Moskomogé*, *i. e.*, The Fish Hawk."

"The manner of the Chippewas speaking is—Attawah (Hear)—Attawah—Nekanis (eldest Brethren)—Nekanis—Meshiomenan (youngest Brethren)—Meshiomenan—Weheman—Weheman—Weguamesick—Wiewieganseman."

"The Chiefs at the Treaty at Fort Pitt, in Oct. 1776, were—

Keyushuta,	} Chiefs.	} Six Nations.
White Mingo,		
• Caugh-caugh-cau-te-da (Flying Raven),	} Wiandots.	
Gough-sa-gave-go,		
The Half King,	} Delawares.	
Captain John,		
And three other Warriors,		
Custaloga,	} Shawanese.	
Capt.'n White Eyes,		
Capt.'n Pipe,		
Capt.'n Johnny,		
The Corn Stalk,	} Ottawa Chief.	
Nimwa,		
The White Fish,		
She-ga-na-bay,		

"Je-non-ton-way-taw-shaw, the name of a Mingo Warrior, *i. e.*, Cut off half the Town.

"Eh-on-yeh-hou-daw, the name of a Seneca Chief, *i. e.*, Set the Skies on Fire.

"Se-pet-te-ke-na-thé, the name of a Shawanese Chief, *i. e.*, the Big Rabbit, alias Blue Jacket

"Gaw-suck-quen-he-yont, the name of an Onondago Chief, *i. e.*, a Bottle reversed.

"Kisheyroothé, or the Hard Man, had his name changed to Bittaamaugh, or the Raccoon caught in the Trap, he being of the Raccoon Tribe."

"There are three Tribes amongst the Delawares, the Wolf, the Turkey and Turtle Tribe. Beaver was chief of the Turkey Tribe, and was preceded by Capt. Johnny or Straight Arm, White Eyes declining it; Custaloga was chief of the Wolf Tribe, and preceded by Capt. Pipe; and Newcomer was chief of the Turtle Tribe, and preceded by Capt. John Killbuck."

"There are four Tribes of the Shawanese, the Kispapoos, the Makagees, the Pickwics, and Chilicothequis."

"The Six Nations are composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onandagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. The latter Nation was added to them some time ago; they consisted formerly of five nations only."

"Owy-yochlenows live on the Heads of the Oubache near Kekayuga Town."
There are other memoranda which we shall give at another time.

W. H. E.

CRAIG, COL. THOMAS.—Owing to a mistake in the *Pension Rolls*, Col. Thomas Craig, of the Third Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, is confounded with Thomas Craig, Captain in Baxter's battalion of associators, and who was one of the commissioners of purchase for Bucks County, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. It was the *former* who died at Allentown January 20, 1832, aged ninety-two years. It was not until Volumes X. and XI. of the second series of the *Penna. Archives* had been printed that the editors thereof found out their error.

WILLIAM H. EGLE.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LONDON, JUNE 16th, 1881. By Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, 1881. 8vo. pp. 38.

This pamphlet derives its chief interest from the audience it was prepared for, and Mr. Arnold's familiarity with the subject enabled him to bring together those points in the life and character of the Martyr President best calculated to enlighten and impress his hearers. No new facts are presented and the story told is of course an old and well-known one, but for ages to come will always be a welcome one.

REPORTS ON THE ESTATE OF SIR ANDREW CHADWICK . . . [With his] Life and History. New York: Chas. L. Woodward, 78 Nassau Street, 1881.

The origin of this work is traceable directly to the readiness with which Americans allow themselves to be gulled into wasting time and money in pursuit of mythical millions which await them in England. In 1879 some (we hope not all) the Chadwicks in this country became imbued with the idea that they were the owners of a vast amount of money which existed somewhere in England. They held a convention, formed an association, handed in their cash, and paid the expenses of somebody's excursion to Europe. They never got anything, except the bills and copies of the decrees which settled the estate long ago. Their English cousins hearing that they had sent over an agent for the purpose "of taking back with him the whole property said to be lying in the Court of Chancery awaiting a claimant" (Chadwick property we suppose they mean), thought a national calamity impending, and that it could only be averted by the formation of an association to recover the money for themselves. They did so, and the result is before us in the shape of a very handsome and interesting volume. Sir Andrew Chadwick and his fortune are wrapt in mystery. His knighthood seems to have been conferred without reason, and his fortune to have been rather the result of penurious scraping than of extensive business operations in any field. He was paymaster and agent of several regiments of the English army for many years, and it may be that advances of pay with liberal discounts had something to do with his wealth. The meagre details of his life are cleverly put together in the first hundred pages, while the rest of the volume is filled with the report of the association, and appendices containing decrees of court and documents, which show the estate to have been settled and disposed of (not without hints of fraud however) beyond recovery. A great

deal of valuable genealogical matter is scattered through the volume, most of which is summarized in two folding pedigrees. To the Chadwicks this will be of interest, while others we think will be repaid by a perusal of the biography.

HISTORY OF CECIL COUNTY, MARYLAND. By George Johnston. Elkton : published by the author, 1881.

This book, being based upon original matter, is a valuable addition to our stock of local histories. Although not the oldest settlement, Bohemia Manor is considered the germ of Cecil County. The manor was granted to a Bohemian named Augustine Hermen by Lord Baltimore.

Hermen settled upon it in or about the year 1662. Among his colonists was a community of Labadists, which, for a time, enjoyed his favor but ultimately incurred his condemnation. The leader appears to have been too self-interested; as for the brethren, they were, most probably, simple, industrious dupes.

The romantic story of George Talbot cannot be repeated here; suffice it to say that his rash conduct frustrated his original design of founding a lordship in America. In addition to what is already known of his career, Mr. Johnston has discovered that, returning to Ireland, he fought for King James, and was slain on the continent in the Irish Brigade.

The history of the aborigines of the county is similar to that of the others of their race in the different parts of America; the whites made treaties with some of the tribes and helped them to destroy other tribes. After this joint work was accomplished, the whites turned upon the remaining red men and sent them, in their turn, to the "Happy Hunting Ground."

That part of the book which treats of the "Nottingham Lots," and the running of the once famous "Mason and Dixon Line," is valuable to historians and geographers; as to those who live within the region of country of which it treats, they will ever find it both interesting and instructive.

The hospitality and generosity of the Marylanders are well known, and, therefore we are not surprised to find that the French Neutrals, who were transported from Acadia into the Province, were freely furnished with means by the inhabitants of Cecil, to rejoin their kindred in Canada and Louisiana.

With Scotch-Irish Presbyterians early in the field, it was not likely that the Episcopal Church would be able to embrace within its fold the mass of the people; but the members of that church, awaiting no distant issue, themselves accomplished its downfall by revolting into Methodism.

A particularly interesting part of the book is that which gives an account of some of the old families of the county. Of the Hermens, it is sufficient to add that their founder, Augustine, had descendants who succeeded him as Lords of Bohemia Manor, but that, ere long, the male line failed; however, the descent was carried on through females, and to this day several of the principal families of Maryland and Delaware find in Augustine Hermen a common ancestor.

Want of space will not permit us to give even the names of all the families noticed in the volume. Hylands and Mauldins, Bassetts and Bayards dwelt of old in the lowlands, while the upland forests were cleared by Evanses, Mitchells, Rumseys, and Ramsays—all men of worth, some of real eminence in their day, while around some, as in the instance of the Rudolpha, romance has woven strange mystery. The Trimbles descend, collaterally, from Daniel Defoe; length of residence on ancestral lands is well represented by the Halls of Mount Welcome, they having been seated on that estate for over two hundred and forty years, a long time indeed for the "New World," while antiquity of pedigree is shown by the Gilpins, the present representative of the family being the twentieth in direct descent from Richard de

Guylin, to whom the Baron of Kendal gave the Manor of Kentmere, in 1206, in consideration of his having slain a wild boar which infested the forests of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

But we must close our notice, referring those who desire further knowledge of old Cecil, to Mr. Johnston's book, a work, to the completion of which have been devoted keen research, patient investigation, and laborious care, and one which, valuable now, will increase in value with advancing years.

CORRECTIONS. Vol. v. p. 22, seventh line from foot, for Fourth and Arch, read Third and Arch.

Queries.

MRS. EMILY TODD HELM, of Elizabethtown, Ky., daughter of the late Robert S. Todd and widow of the late Genl. Helm, of Kentucky, is preparing a genealogy of that branch of the Todd family first represented in this country by ROBERT TODD, who, of Scotch ancestry, came from county Down, Ireland, to Trappe in Montgomery County, Pa., in 1737, and was buried in the Providence Presbyterian churchyard four miles south of Trappe, in 1775. He had by his first wife (name unknown), two children, to wit: *John*, b. county Down, m. Margaret Thompson, d. in Louisa county, Va., in 1793; *David*, b. county Down, 1723, m. Hannah Owen, of Philadelphia County, Pa., d. at Lexington, Ky., 1785. By second wife, Isabella (maiden name unknown), seven children: *Mary*, b. county Down, m. James Parker, of Montgomery County, Pa.; *Elizabeth*, b. county Down, 1730, m. (1) 1748, William Parker, brother of James, (2) Arthur McFarland (grandparents of the late Gov. David R. Porter), d. 1790; *Robert*, b. county Down, 1732, d. near Warren Tavern, Chester Valley, Pa., 1816; *Sarah*, b. county Down, m. John Finley, 1762; *William*, b. at Trappe, was in 1789 a member of the General Assembly which called a convention to frame the constitution of Pa., 1789-90, and was also a member of that convention from Westmoreland County, and d. in Unity Township of that county in 1810; *Rebecca*, b. at Trappe, m. Robert Majors; *Andrew*, b. at Trappe, 1752, m. Hannah Bowyer, and d. at Trappe 1833.

Mrs. Helm will be very grateful for any information about the ancestry of Robert Todd, the pioneer, also concerning the father and paternal grandfather of Hannah Owen, wife of David Todd, who it is believed was the daughter of Robert Owen and Susanna Hudson, and granddaughter of Robert and Jane Owen, of Lower Merion Township, and formerly of Doly-serre, near Dolgelly, North Wales.

Information also is wished concerning the descendants of Sarah Todd, who married John Finley, and of Rebecca Todd, who married Robert Majors. Both were married in Montgomery County, Pa., and not a descendant of either one of them is at present known. It is believed that both families moved South, or West.

POLICIES OF INSURANCE.—Wanted Fire or Marine Policies, dated *ante* 1815, whether by Individual Underwriters, Associations, or Corporations, of this or other cities, those *ante* 1800 preferred. Such will be welcomed by the undersigned, and the donors will kindly send them to the rooms of this Society or to his address, 308 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

1 December, 1881.

THOS. H. MONTGOMERY.

Replies.

PHILIP BARTON KEY (Vol. V. p. 363).—With respect to a query as to the Keys: Philip B. Key was uncle to Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, who was born in Frederick County, Maryland, 1779. He was District Attorney for the District of Columbia early in the present century, and died in Baltimore, 1843. Philip Barton Key was born in Cecil County, Maryland, 1765, was a captain in the British army, but, I believe, was not employed against the United States. He resigned his post in the British service, returned to Maryland, and was a Representative in Congress from that State, from 1807 to 1813. Died in 1815, in this district. He drew a pension from the British government, which he resigned before being elected to Congress. His admission to Congress was objected to, but having shown that he had resigned his pension and given allegiance to the United States, he was admitted a member. His was one of the earlier disputed cases of admission.

M. J. ELLINKHUYSEN (Vol. V. p. 247).—Mr. Ward and the readers of his interesting series of "The Germantown Road and its Associations," will no doubt be interested in the subsequent history of the artist "of the admirable equestrian likeness of Frederick the Great," reproduced in the *MAGAZINE*.

In the Presbyterian churchyard at Lewisburg, Penna., when I was a boy, beneath the spreading branches of a large wild cherry, stood a brick wall enclosing two graves. The tombstone of one of them had the following inscription—

"Here lies the body of Mathias Joseph Ellinkhuysen
who departed this life July 17, 1792
aged thirty eight years and three months
Since it is so we all must die,
And death no one doth spare;
So let us all to Jesus fly,
And seek for refuge there."

According to a statement of my father, the late James F. Linn, Esq., of Lewisburg, Pa., who for many years of his life was concerned in defending the titles of the lotholders in that place, Carl Ellinkhuysen of Amsterdam, Holland, had the title to all the town lots in Lewisburg except seventeen, derived from George Derr, son of Ludwig Derr, the proprietor. Carl sent his son M. J. Ellinkhuysen over to look after his interests, and found a family in the Western World.

Matthias came to Lewisburg in the year 1790 with his wife Clara Helena, with a good outfit of clothing and money, with his trustee, Rev. J. Charles Hilburn, a Catholic priest, but the convivial habits he had formed, probably before leaving Europe, shortened his days, and his course was soon run.

He was a man of very genteel address, fond of society, and often showed his artistic skill in drawing with a pencil striking likenesses of his companions.

Sheriff John Brady (son of the noted Captain John Brady) was a great joker. He found a cannon near Fort Freeland and told Ellinkhuysen he would present it to him if he would take care of it. On cleaning out the mud which covered the muzzle, two large black snakes came out, greatly to the horror of Ellinkhuysen. He told Brady the circumstances afterward. "Why," said Brady, "they were my pets; I would not have lost them for \$100," and Ellinkhuysen, no doubt, died in the belief that he had let loose some playfellows of Brady.

Mrs. Clara Helena Ellinkhuysen was short in stature, considerably pock-marked, very ladylike in manner, spoke the Low Dutch language, and astonished people by her elegance in and passionate fondness for skating. She and Ellinkhuysen took that method of visiting different towns along the river. She married John Thornburg, who died shortly afterwards, and was buried beside Ellinkhuysen. She then married a Mr. Moore and removed to Erie County in the *hegira* from about Milton and Northumberland, which carried the Vincents, Smiths, Himirods, and other excellent people into what is now Erie County, about the close of the last century. Perhaps Laura G. Sanford, the historian of Erie County, can trace what remains of the history of the artist's wife.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

Bellefonte, Pa.

THOMAS MCKEAN (Vol. V. p. 244).—I find a slight error on page 244, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, in reference to Thomas McKean. He was admitted to practice in the Lower Counties in 1754, in Chester County in May, 1755, and to the Supreme Court, April 17, 1758. See Sheriff's Deed Book B, in office of the Prothonotary of the Supreme Court. He must have had a quick and prosperous voyage to England to have been admitted in the Middle Temple on May 9, 1758, see page 245. *Quere*. Did not an attorney have to practise four years in the lower courts, before the Revolution, before he could be admitted to the Supreme Court?

Yours very truly,
J. HILL MARTIN.

HUNTINGDON COUNTY, PENNA. (Vol. V. 364).—Might not the petition from "inhabitants of the townships of Huntingdon and Tyrone, dated October ye 3d day, 1748," which is referred to as a conclusive fact against a theory there discussed (p. 364, No. 3, Vol. V.), have been a petition from two townships bearing those names, which were then a portion of Lancaster Co., but became in 1749 a part of York and in 1800 a part of Adams County.

The text might show, at all events, the name "Huntingdon" had taken root in Lancaster before it blossomed in the Juniata Valley.

Very truly,
EDWARD MCPHERSON.

PHILIP BARTON KEY (Vol. V. p. 363).—The Hon. Philip Barton Key, M. C. from Maryland, 1807-1813, was brother of John Ross Key, the father of Francis Scott Key, who was the author of The Star Spangled Banner. Mr. P. B. Key d. in Georgetown, 28 July, 1815, aged 58 years. T. H. M.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE TO COUNCIL.

BALANCE SHEET: THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

1879.

Investment account	\$61,129 29	
Cash	4,210 13	
Publication Fund Trust, Capital		\$27,688 85
Binding Fund Trust, "		3,300 00
Library Fund Trust, "		3,955 09
Endowment Fund Trust, "		3,817 50
First Building Fund Trust, "		5,557 64
Second Building Fund Trust, "		9,776 23
General Fund, "		8,725 91
Publication Fund, Interest		2,467 31
General Fund, "		50 89
	\$65,339 42	\$65,339 42

JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
JAMES C. HAND,
EDWIN T. EISENBREY.
Dec. 31st, 1879.

General Fund Interest Account for 1879.

Received dues from members	\$3,155 00	
" Interest on General Fund and con- tributions	1,301 10	
	\$4,456 10	
Expended—		
Paid due bill, being for deficiency of 1878	\$246 33	
" general expenses of 1879	4,158 88	
	4,405 21	
Balance in Treasury Dec. 31, 1879		\$50 89

BALANCE SHEET: THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

1880.

Investment account	\$62,869	
Cash	7,312 65	
Publication Fund Trust, Capital		\$29,038 85
Binding Fund Trust "		3,300 00
Library Fund Trust "		4,130 09
Endowment Fund Trust "		5,580 00
First Building Fund Trust "		5,942 64
Second Building Fund Trust "		10,402 67
General Fund "		9,845 85
Publication Fund, Interest		1,737 67
Binding Fund, "		199 70
Library Fund, "		4 47
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$70,181 94	\$70,181 94

JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
 JAMES C. HAND,
 ERWIN T. EISENBERG, } *Com. on Finance.*
 Dec. 31, 1880.

In the operation of the Library Fund, Interest Account for 1880, there were received interest and contributions of members \$2,990 00
 And paid for books purchased 2,985 53
 Balance \$4 47

In the general Fund, Interest Account for 1880, there was balance Dec. 31, 1879 \$50 89
 Received from dues of members in 1880 3,765 00
 " interest on General Fund and contributions 746 24
 Total receipts \$4,562 13

The general expenses of the Society in 1880 were \$4,573 45
 Receipts 4,562 13
 Deficiency of receipts \$11 32

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†McCammon, David C., Gettysburg	Stahle, Henry J., Gettysburg
McPherson, Edward, Gettysburg	

Allegheny County.

†Brereton, Thomas J., Pittsburgh	Negley, W. B., Pittsburgh
Brunot, Felix R., Pittsburgh	Schwartz, Jacob E., Pittsburgh
Darlington, William M., Pittsburgh	Shea, C. B., Pittsburgh
†Denny, William H., Pittsburgh	Shoenberger, John H., Pittsburgh
†Haven, William S., Pittsburgh	Thaw, William, Pittsburgh
Irwin, John, Edgeworth	Tibby, John, Pittsburgh
†Kramer, Allen, Pittsburgh	Whitney, George I., Pittsburgh
†McHenry, Isaac, Pittsburgh	Wilson, David Shields, Fort Pitt Bank
Murray, James B., Pittsburgh	

Armstrong County.

Golden, Edward S., Kittaning	Neale, James B., Kittaning
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Beaver County.

Agnew, Daniel, Beaver Court House	Quay, Matthew S., Beaver Court House
†Baker, R. L., Economy	
Hoopes, Henry, New Brighton	

Berks County.

Baer, George F., Reading	†Keim, George M., Reading
Baer, S. A., Kutztown	Keim, Henry M., Reading
Ermentrout, Daniel, Reading	Messchert, M. H., Douglassville
Graeff, Moses K., Reading	Montgomery, Morton L., Reading
Hawley, Jesse G., Reading	Muhlenberg, Henry A., Reading
Hiester, Isaac, Reading	Muhlenberg, Hiester H., Reading
†Hiester, William M., Reading	Richards, Louis, Reading
Jones, F. Marion, Reading	Smith, Frederick L., Reading
†Jones, J. Pringle, Reading	†Woodward, Warren J., Reading
Keim, De B. Randolph, Reading	

V

Blair County.

Mathias, John T., Tyrone

Bradford County.

Craft, David, Wyalusing

Herrick, Edward, Athens

Bucks County.

Chapman, Henry, Doylestown

†Coryell, Lewis S., New Hope

Davis, W. W. H., Doylestown

Ely, Richard Elias, New Hope

Kirk, Harriet E., Mrs., Davisville

Lennig, Charles F., Chelwood, Andalusia

Ross, George, Doylestown

Shellenberger, J. Monroe, Doylestown

†Snowden, James Ross, Hulmeville

Watson, Richard, Doylestown

†Wiggins, Benjamin, Pineville

Yerkes, Harman, Doylestown

Carbon County.

†Albright, Charles, Mauch Chunk

†Packer, Asa, Mauch Chunk

Centre County.

Beaver, James A., Bellefonte

Bellefonte Library Association

Furst, A. O., Bellefonte

Hale, E. W., Bellefonte

Jackson, George W., Bellefonte

Linn, John B., Bellefonte

Milliken, James, Bellefonte

Pennsylvania State College, State

College P. O.

Rhoads, Daniel, Bellefonte

Valentine, Robert, Bellefonte

Chester County.

Baird, Alexander, Kimberton

Baker, Joseph B., Thorndale

Cope, Gilbert, West Chester

Everhart, James B., West Chester

Futhey, J. Smith, West Chester

Library, Athenæum, West Chester

McFarland, David M., West Chester

†Meconkey, David, West Chester

†Miller, John, Oxford

Passmore, Benjamin W., Westtown

Boarding School

Pennypacker, Charles H., West Chester

ter

Sharp, Joseph W., Leopard P. O.

Steele, Hugh E., Coatesville

Wayne, William, Paoli

Clarion County.

†Fox, William Logan, Foxburg

Clearfield County.

†Bigler, William, Clearfield

Columbia County.

John G. Freeze, Bloomsburg

Crawford County.

Huidekoper, Alfred, Meadville

Huidekoper, Frederick, Meadville

Tyson, James, Titusville

VI

Cumberland County.

†Hamilton, James, Carlisle	Parker, John B., Carlisle
Hays, John, Carlisle	Ross, Andrew, New Cumberland
Murray, Joseph A., Carlisle.	Watts, William M., Mechanicsburg

Dauphin County.

Cameron, Simon, Harrisburg	Egle, William H., Harrisburg
Dauphin County Historical Society, Harrisburg	Hartranft, John F., Harrisburg
	Library of State, Harrisburg

Delaware County.

Askin, J. Henry, Radnor	Library of Swarthmore College
Broomall, John M., Media	Miskey, William F.
Crozer, J. Lewis, Upland	Okie, J. Brognard, Linwood
†Crozer, John P., Upland	Pennock, Mrs. Caroline, Howellsville
†Fallon, Christopher,	Whitney, John R., Glen Brook Farm,
Felton, S. M., Chester	Bryn Mawr
†Kelly, Charles, Kellyville	Ward, William, Chester
Library, Delaware County Institute of Science, Media	

Elk County.

Earley, Charles R., Ridgway

Fayette County.

Nutt, A. C., Uniontown	Rogers, James Slocum, Brownsville
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Franklin County.

Chambers, Benjamin, Chambersburg	†Chambers, George, Chambersburg
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Huntingdon County.

Africa, J. Simpson, Huntingdon	Guss, A. L., Huntingdon
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Lackawanna County.

Boies, Henry M., Scranton	Dickson, Thomas, Scranton
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Lancaster County.

Baumgardner, Thos., Lancaster City	†Jacobs, Samuel F., Churchtown
Dubbs, Joseph Henry, Lancaster	Shoch Library, Columbia
Hager, John C., Lancaster City	Steinman, Andrew J., Lancaster City
Haldeman, Paris, Chickies Furnaces	Wickersham, J. P. Lancaster City

Lebanon County.

Coleman, Mrs. Debbie B., Lebanon	McCauley, Edwin H., Lebanon
†Coleman, G. Dawson, Lebanon	Mish, John Weidman, Lebanon
Hammond, D. S., Lebanon	†Ross, George, Lebanon
Killinger, John W., Lebanon	Weidman, Grant, Lebanon

VII

Lehigh County.

Jones, D. D., Slatington
†Longenecker, Henry C., Allentown
†McDowell, Robert, Slatington

Thomas, David, Catasauqua
Wright, Robert E., Jr., Allentown

Luzerne County.

Bennet, D. S. Wilkes-Barré
†Conyngnam, John N., Wilkes-Barré
Coxe, Eckley B., Drifton, Jeddo P. O.
Darling, E. P., Wilkes-Barré
†Drake, Charles B., Wilkes-Barré
Haydon, James C., Jeanesville
Kulph, George B., Wilkes-Barré
†Maxwell, Volney L., Wilkes-Barré

†Miner, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
Pardee, Ario, Hazleton
Parrish, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
†Ross, William S., Wilkes-Barré
Scott, E. Greenough, Wilkes-Barré
†Slocum, J. J., Wilkes-Barré
Welles, Edward, Wilkes-Barré

Lycoming County.

Allen, Robert P., Williamsport

McKean County.

Kane, Thomas L., Kane

Monroe County.

Brodhead, Luke W., Delaware Water Gap
Croasdale, Miss Susan, Delaware Water Gap

Montgomery County.

Bines, William H., Pottstown
Boyd, James, Norristown
Buck, William J., Jenkintown
Cassatt, Alexander J., Haverford
Comly, Franklin A., Fort Washington
Emory, John, Cheltenham Hills
Fisher, Henry M., Alverthorpe
†Fisher, J. Francis, Alverthorpe
Godey, Frank, Overbrook
Gumbes, Charles W., Oaks P. O.
Haverford College, Haverford College P. O.
Heacock, John, Jenkintown
Hunsicker, Henry A., Freeland

†Kent, Rodolphus, Gwynedd
Jones, J. Aubrey, Wynnewood
Lambert, John, Aysgarth, Abington
Lardner, Richard Penn, Graydon
Mellor, Thomas, Shoemakertown
Morris, Wistar, Overbrook
Shoemaker, Robert, Shoemakertown
Thomson, Frank, Merion
Tyson, James L., Penn Llyn
Union Library Company, Hatboro
†Witte, William H., White Marsh
Yeakle, W. A., Flourtown
†Yost, J. S., Pottstown

Montour County.

Maus, Philip F., Danville

VIII

Northampton County.

†Bleck, Ernest F., Bethlehem	Library of Lehigh University, South Bethlehem
Fatzinger, Jacob, Jr., Weaversville	Library, Congregation of United Brethren, Bethlehem
†Firmstone, William, Easton	†Library, Moravian Seminary, Bethlehem, renewed
Henry, Granville, Nazareth	†Library, Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, renewed
Hutchinson, John N., Easton.	†Maxwell, Henry D., Easton
†Jones, Maurice C., Bethlehem	†Michler, Peter S., Easton
Jones, William Ashley, Bethlehem	†Roepper, William T., Bethlehem
Lamberton, Robert A., South Bethlehem, Northampton Co.	Wilbur, E. P., South Bethlehem
†Leibert, James, Bethlehem	
Lerch, John, Bethlehem	
Library of Lafayette College, Easton	

Northumberland County.

Greenough, William J., Sunbury	Rockefeller, William, Sunbury
Packer, John B., Sunbury	Wolverton, S. P., Sunbury
†Priestley, Joseph R., Northumberland	

Potter County.

†Joerg, Edward, Kettle Creek

Schuylkill County.

Atkins, Charles M., Pottsville	Shippen, Samuel S., Pottsville
Brown, David P., Pottsville	Snyder, George W., Pottsville
Hughes, Francis W., Pottsville	Taylor, Charles K., Minersville
Kaercher, George R., Pottsville	Washburn, Daniel, Ashland
Keim, George de B., Pottsville	Wetherill, J. Macomb, Pottsville
Passmore, J. A. M., Pottsville	White, J. Claude, Swatara
†Replier, George S., Pottsville	Zulich, Thomas C., Schuylkill Haven
Sheafer, Peter W., Pottsville	

Somerset County.

Ross, Moses A., Addison

Union County.

Linn, J. Merrill, Lewisburg

Warren County.

Irvine, William A., Irvine	†Newbold, Thomas H., Irvine
Library Association, Warren	

Washington County.

Boyd, Crumline, Washington

IX

Wayne County.

†Dickson, James R., Honesdale †Preston, Paul S., Stockport
Preston, Miss Ann, Stockport

Westmoreland County.

Laux, James B., Greensburg.

York County.

†Wagner, Samuel, York Eichelberger, M. S., York

Philadelphia.

Adams, H. Carlton	Ball, George W.
†Adams, Robert	Barclay, Richard D.
Aertsen, James M., Germantown	†Barton, Isaac
Allen, Edmund	Bateman, James
Allen, Samuel	Bates, Joseph William
Allen, William H.	†Bates, Jos. Wm., Jr.
†Allibone, Thomas	†Beck, Charles F.
Allison, Walter	Bell, Miss Helen
Allison, W. C.	Benness, William J., Germantown
Alter, Solomon	†Benson, Alexander, Jr.
Altemus, S. T.	Benson, Gustavus
Anspach, John, Jr.	Besson, Charles A.
Archer, Pierce, Jr.	†Bettle, Samuel
†Armstrong, Edward, Germantown	Bettle, William
Armstrong, William G.	†Betton, Thomas F., Germantown
Arrott, William	Biddle, Alexander
†Ashbridge, William	Biddle, Alexander W.
Ashhurst, Henry	Biddle, Miss Anne E.
Ashhurst John	†Biddle, Chapman
Ashhurst, John, Jr.	†Biddle, Charles J.
†Ashhurst, Richard	†Biddle, Clement
Ashhurst, Richard, Jr.	Biddle, Craig
Ashhurst, Richard L.	Biddle, Edward C.
†Ashmead, Samuel B.	Biddle, George W.
Ashton, Samuel K., Germantown	Biddle Henry D.
†Atlee, Washington L.	Biddle, James S.
Audenried, J. Thomas	Biddle, Thomas A.
†Audenried, Lewis	Biddle, Walter L. C.
Austin, John B.	Bines, Samuel M., Germantown
†Bache, Franklin	†Blanchard, William A.
†Backus, F. R.	Blight, Atherton
Bailey, E. Westcott	Bliss, William
Baird, Henry C.	†Boardman, Henry A.
Baird, John	Boker, Charles S.
†Baird, Matthew	Boller, Frederick J.
†Baird, William M.	†Bond, James
Baker, Alfred G.	Bond, L. Montgomery
Baker, John R.	†Borie, Adolphe E.
Baker, William S.	Borie, Charles L.
†Balch, Thomas	Bowen, Ezra
Bald, J. Dorsey	†Brady, Patrick
†Balderston, Jonathan	†Breck, Samuel
†Baldwin, Matthias W.	Brewster, Benjamin Harris

X

Brick, Samuel R.
 Bringhurst, John H.
 †Brock, John P.
 Brockie, William, Germantown
 Brooke, Francis M.
 Brookfield, Hannah P.
 Brotherhead, William
 †Brown, David S.
 †Brown, Frederick
 †Brown, John A.
 †Brown, Joseph D.
 Brown, T. Wistar
 †Brown, Washington, Chestnut Hill
 †Browne, N. B.
 †Browning, Edward
 †Buck, Francis N., Chestnut Hill
 Bullitt, John C.
 †Bunting, Jacob T.
 †Burgin, George H.
 Burgin, George H., Germantown
 Burgin, Herman, Germantown
 Burnham, George
 Burns, Robert
 Burroughs, Horatio N.
 Burt, Nathaniel, Roxborough
 †Busch, Edward
 †Butler, John M.
 Cabeen, Francis von A., Germantown
 Cadwalader, John
 †Cadwalader, John
 Cadwalader, Richard M.
 †Cadwalader, William
 †Caldcleugh, William George
 †Caldwell, James E.
 Caldwell, S. A.
 †Campbell, Archibald, Germantown
 †Cannell, S. Wilmer, Beechwood
 †Carey, Henry C.
 Carpenter, Edward
 Carpenter, J. Edward
 Carpenter, Joseph R.
 †Carpenter, Samuel H.
 †Carpenter, Samuel H., Jr.
 Carson, Hampton L.
 †Carson Joseph
 Carter, William T.
 Carver, Alexander B.
 Cassatt, Robert S.
 Cassidy, Lewis C.
 †Castle, James H.
 Catherwood, H. W.
 Caven, Joseph L.
 Cavender, Thomas S.
 Chambers, Harmon A.
 Chandler, James B.
 Chew, Samuel, Cliveden, Germantown
 Childs, George W.
 Christian, Samuel J.
 Claghorn, James L.
 †Claghorn, John W.
 Clark, Clarence H.
 Clark, Edward W.
 †Clark, Elisha W.
 Clarke, Edward S.
 †Clayton, John
 Clothier, Conrad F.
 Coates, Benjamin
 †Coates, Benjamin H.
 Coates, Henry T.
 Cochran, Travis
 Cochran, William G.
 †Coffin, Arthur G.
 †Coles, Edward
 †Colladay, George W.
 †Collins, T. K.
 †Colwell, Stephen
 Comegys, B. B.
 Conarro, George W.
 Condict, J. Elliot, Germantown
 Conrad, Thomas K.
 Cooke, Jay
 Cooke, Jay, Jr.
 Cooley, Aaron B.
 †Cooper, Lewis
 †Cope, Alfred, Fairfield
 Cope, Caleb
 Cope, Francis R., Germantown
 Cope, Thomas P., Jr., Germantown
 Corlies, S. Fisher
 Coxe, Brinton
 †Cowan, Richard
 †Crabb, William A.
 Craig, Andrew C.
 Cramp, Charles H.
 Cramp, Henry W.
 Cramp, William M.
 †Craven, Thomas
 Cresson, Charles C.
 †Cresson, John C.
 Cresson, William P.
 †Crissy, James
 †Croasdale, Jeremiah
 †Croasdill, Charles W.
 Cummins, D. B.
 Curtis, Joseph
 Cushman, Herbert
 †Da Costa, John C.
 Dallett, Gillies
 Darley, Francis T. S.
 †Davids, Hugh

XI

Davies, Thomas F.
 †Dawson, Josiah
 †Dawson, Mordecai L.
 Dawson, William
 †Day, Alfred
 Dechert, Henry T.
 †Derbyshire, Alexander J.
 Dick, Franklin A.
 Dickinson, Mahlon H.
 †Dickson, Levi
 Dickson, L. Taylor
 Disston, Albert H.
 Disston, Hamilton
 Disston, Horace C.
 Dougherty, Daniel
 Dougherty, James
 Dreer, Ferdinand J.
 Drexel, Anthony J.
 Duane, William
 Du Barry, J. N.
 †Dulty, William
 †Dundas, James
 Dungan, Charles B.
 †Dunlap, Thomas
 Dye, John H.
 Earl, Harrison
 Earle, James M.
 †Early, William
 †Eckert, George N.
 Edwards, Howard
 Edwards, Richard S.
 Eisenbrey, Edwin T.
 Eisenbrey, William Harrison
 Eldridge, G. Morgan
 Elkin, Solomon
 †Elliott, Isaac
 †Ellis, Charles
 Ellmaker, Peter C.
 Elverson, James
 Elwyn, Alfred Langdon
 †Ely, John
 †Ely, Miss Louisa, Germantown
 Ely, William, Germantown
 Emery, Titus S.
 Emley, Gilbert
 †Emory, Charles
 †Errickson, Michael
 Evans, Horace Y.
 Evans, Joseph R.
 †Evans, J. Wistar, Germantown
 Fagan, George R.
 †Fagan, John
 †Fahnestock, B. A.
 †Fahnestock, George W.
 Fallon, John
 Farmer, James S.
 †Farnum, John
 Fay, William A.
 †Fell, Franklin
 †Fell, J. Gillingham
 Fell, John R.
 †Fenimore, Jason L.
 Fernon, Thomas S.
 †Fish, A. J.
 †Fisher, Charles Henry, Brookwood
 †Fisher, Miss Elizabeth R., Wakefield,
 Germantown
 Fisher, George Harrison
 Fisher, J. B.
 Flanagan, James M.
 Flanagan, Stephen
 Fittler, Edwin H.
 †Foster, William B., Jr.
 †Foulke, William Parker
 †Foust, Robert M.
 †Fox, Charles P., Champ-lost
 Fox, George S.
 Fox, Miss Mary D., Champ-lost
 Fox, Philip L.
 Fraley, Frederick
 Franciscus, A. H.
 Frazier, William W., Jr.
 Freas, P. R., Germantown
 Freeman, Chapman
 French, Samuel H.
 Fritz, Horace
 Frohmann, August
 †Fuller, Henry M.
 †Fullerton, Alexander
 Furness, Horace Howard
 Gallagher, Augustus B.
 Gardette, Emile B.
 Garrett, Thomas C., Germantown
 Garrett, Walter
 Garrett, William E., Jr.
 †Gaul, Frederick
 Gaw, Alexander G.
 Gawthrop, Henry
 Gazzam, Joseph M.
 †Gerhard, Benjamin
 Gerhard, John S.
 Gest, John B.
 Ghriskey, Charles M.
 Gibbons, Charles
 Gibson, Henry C.
 †Gilbert, David
 †Gilbert, John
 Gillingham, J. E.
 †Gilpin, Henry D.
 †Goforth, John

XII

<p>†Gordon, N. P. Gowen, Franklin B., Mount Airy Graff, Frederick Graff, Mrs. Paul Grant, Samuel, Jr. Grant, William S. Gratz, Harry S. †Gratz, Robert H. Gratz, Simon Greble, Edwin Greene, Stephen †Greeves, James R. †Gries, John M. Griffiths, William F., Jr. †Grigg, John †Grout, Henry T. †Grugan, Charles Gulager, William †Hacker Isaiah C. †Hacker, Jeremiah †Hacker, William E. †Haines, Ann, Germantown Hamilton, Charles L. †Hammersly, George Hammond, Charles, Jr. Hand, James C. †Harlan, Charles †Harmar, Charles, Harmar's Retreat †Harmar, James Lanman Harrah, C. J. Harris, Franklin M. Harrison, Alfred C. Harrison, Charles C. Harrison, George L. Harrison, John †Harrison, Joseph, Jr. Harrison, Thomas S. Hart, Abraham Hart, Thomas, Jr. Hartshorne, Charles Hartshorne, Edward Harvey, Alexander E. †Haseltine, John Haseltine, Ward B. Haupt, Herman Hay, Miss Mary Hay, Thomas †Hazard, Erskine †Hazard, Samuel †Heazlitt, Charles F. Heberton, Craig †Heberton, G. Craig Henry, Morton P. Henszey, William C. †Hering, Constantine</p>	<p>Hildeburn, Henry M. †Hill, Marshall Hilles, Nathan, Frankford Hockley, John, Jr. †Hodge, Hugh L. Hoffman, Francis S. †Hollingsworth, Thomas G. Hollis, P. C., Germantown †Holsman, Daniel †Hone, Isaac S. †Hood, Samuel, Mount Airy †Hoopes, Penrose R. Hopkins, Edward M. Horstmann, F. Oden †Horstmann, Sigmund H. †Horstmann, William J. Houston, Henry H., Germantown Howard, Daniel W. Howard, James W. †Howard, N. G. Huddy, Benjamin F. Huff, John W. Huidekoper, Rush Shippen †Humphreys, Charles †Hunt, Benjamin P. Huntington, L. C. L. Hutchinson, Charles Hare Hutchinson, Emlen Ingersoll, Charles †Ingersoll, Joseph R. Ingram, Harlan †Ingram, Thomas R. Iseminger, Charles F. Jackson, Charles M. Jacobs, William Boyd James, John O. †James, Thomas C. Jamison, B. K. Janney, Benj. S., Jr. Janney, George Jayne, E. C. †Jayne, David W. Jeanes, William C. Jenkins, Jabez, Jr. Jenks, Barton H. Jenks, John S. Jenks, William H. Jenks, William P. Jennings, N. A. Johnson, John G. †Johnson, Lawrence Johnson, R. Winder †Johnston, Alexander Johnston, William Stoddart Jones, Caleb</p>
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XIII

<p> Jones, Horatio Gates, Roxborough Jordan, Edgar F. Jordan, Francis Jordan, John, Jr. Justice, Philip S. Kane, Robert P. Kay, J. Alfred Keating, William V. Keen, Gregory B. Keith, Charles Penrose Kelley, William D. Kemble, William H. †Kempton, James C., Manayunk †Kent, William C. Kern, William H. Kessler, John, Jr. Keyser, Charles S. †Keyser, Peter A. †Kimball, Stephen Kimber, Thomas, Jr. †King, C. Murray †King, D. Rodney †King, Robert P. Kirkbride, Thomas S. †Kirkham, William Kirkpatrick, Edwin Kirtley, Thomas H. Kneass, Strickland Kneedler, J. S. Knight, Edward C. Knowles, George L. Koecker, Leonard R. †Kuhn, Hartman †Kuhn, J. Hamilton Lambdin, James R., Germantown Landreth, Oliver Lea, Henry C. Lea, Isaac Lea, Joseph Lee, George F. Leedom, Benjamin J., Germantown †Lehman, William H. Lejee, William R. †Lennig, Frederick †Levering, Lemuel S. †Levy, Lyon Joseph †Lewis, Ellis Lewis, George T. Lewis, Henry Lewis, John T. Lewis, Joseph W., Germantown †Lewis, Mordecai D. Lewis, Samuel G. Lewis, Wm. Fisher †Lindsay, John </p>	<p> Lippincott, J. B. Littell, C. Willing, Germantown Little, Amos R. †Locke, Zebulon Long, James †Longstreth, William C. †Lovering, Joseph S., Oak Hill †Lowry, Robert O. Lucas, John †Lukens, Casper P. †Library, Athenæum, renewed †Library, Carpenters' Company, re- newed †Library Company, Philadelphia Library of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania Library, Mercantile †Library, Presbyterian Historical So- ciety, renewed Library Company, Southwark McAllister, James W. McAllister, John A. McAllister, William Y. McArthur, John, Jr. McCall, Harry McCall, John C. †McCanles, John McFarland, Park, Jr., McIntyre, Archibald †McKibben, William C. McKean, H. Pratt, Germantown McMahan, George W. McMichael, Morton, Jr. †McMichael, Morton †Macalester, Charles, Torresdale Macdowell, William H. †Maceuen, Malcolm Mackellar, Thomas, Germantown MacVeagh, Wayne Maddock, Edward Magarge, Charles, Germantown †Magee, James †Malone, Benjamin Manderson, Andrew Mann, William B. Mann, William J. †Markley, Edward C. Marsh, Benjamin V. †Marshall, Benjamin †Martin, George H. Martin, John Hill Mason, Samuel †Massey, Robert V. Maule, Edward Meade, George </p>
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XIV

<p>†Megargee, Sylvester J. †Meredith, William M. †Mercer, Singleton A. †Merrick, Samuel V. Michener, Israel Michener, John H. †Mickley, Joseph J. †Middleton, E. P. Middleton, Nathan †Miles, Edward Harris †Miller, Andrew †Miller, E. Spencer Miller, J. Christian Mitchell, E. Coppée Mitchell, James T. Mitchell, John C. †Mitchell, John K. †Mitchell, Thomas S. Mitchell, William A. Montgomery, John T. Montgomery, Thomas H. Monges, Gordon †Moore, Bloomfield H. Morris, Casper Morris, Charles M. Morris, Israel †Morris, Jacob G. Muirheid, Charles H. Munday, Eugene H. †Myers, Joseph B. Nebinger, Andrew †Neill, John †Newbold, James S. Newbold, John S. †Newbold, William H. Newhall, Thomas A., Germantown †Newkirk, Matthew Newland, Edward Newton, Richard Nicholson, James B. Nicholson, Richard L. †Norris, George W. Norris, Miss Hannah Fox Norris, Isaac †Norris, Samuel Norris, William F. †Notman, John Nugent, George, Germantown Ogden, Charles S. Ogden, John M. †Orne, James H. †Palmer, Jonathan Parrish, Dillwyn Parrish, Samuel Parry, Charles T.</p>	<p>Paschall, Robert S. Patten, William †Patterson, Robert Patterson, Robert †Paul, Bettie Paul, James Paul, James W. Pawson, James †Paxton, Joseph R. †Peace, Edward Peirce, William S. Pemberton, Israel Pennypacker, Samuel W. Pepper, George N. Pepper, George S. †Pepper, Henry Pepper, Lawrence S. †Peters, Francis Philler, George Phillips, Henry M. Phillips, Horace Phillips, Moro †Phillips, Samuel R. †Platt, William, Jr. †Pleasants, Samuel †Plitt, George Porter, William A. Postlethwaite, Edward T Potter, Alfred R. Potts, Joseph D. Powell, Washington B. †Powers, Thomas H. Price, Eli K. Price, J. Sergeant †Price, Richard †Primrose, William †Pringle, James S. Purves, William Queen, Frank †Randall, Josiah †Randolph, Edward T. Randolph, Evan †Randolph, Nathaniel Rau, Edward H. Rawle, Henry Rawle, William Brooke Rawle, William Henry †Reeves, Samuel J. †Remington, Thomas P. Repplier, John G. †Repplier, Joseph M. †Rice, John Richardson, Richard Richardson, Thomas Ritchie, Craig D.</p>
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XV

<p>†Ritter, Jacob B. †Robbins, John Roberts, Albert C. †Roberts, Algernon S. Roberts, Charles Roberts, Edward, Jr. Roberts, George H. Roberts, Solomon W. Roberts, William R. Robins, Thomas †Rogers, Alfred W. Rogers, Charles H. Rogers, Fairman Rowland, Henry J. †Rowland, William †Rupp, J. Daniel †Rutter, Robert L. †Ryerss, Joseph W. Sanders, Dallas Santee, Charles †Sargent, Winthrop Scattergood, George J. Schaffer, Charles Scott, James P. Scott, Lewis A. †Scott, Thomas A. Scull, David, Jr. Scull, Edward L. Seal, Joseph H. Sellers, David W. Sellers, John, Jr. Sellers, William Seltzer, J. H. Sergeant, J. Dickinson †Sergeant, Thomas †Sergeant, William Sexton, John W. †Sharpless, Henry H. G. Sharpless, Nathan H. Sharpless, Samuel J. Sharswood, George Sheaffer, William H. Sheble, George H. Shelton, F. R. Sheppard, Furman Sherman, Roger Shipley, Augustus B., Germantown †Shippen, Franklin †Shippen, William Shober, Samuel L. Shoemaker, Benjamin H. Simons, Henry †Sinclair, Thomas †Singerly, Joseph Singerly, William M.</p>	<p>Smedley, Samuel L. Smith, Alfred, Germantown Smith, Aubrey H. Smith, A. Lewis †Smith, Beaton Smith, Benjamin R. Smith, Charles E. Smith, Davis R. †Smith, Elwood M. Smith, George Plumer Smith, James C. Smith, Jesse E. Smith, John F. Smith, Joseph P. †Smith, Lewis Waln †Smith, Newberry A. Smith, Richard Smith, Richard S. Smith, Robert Smith, Robert P., Germantown Smith, Samuel Grant Smith, Thomas Smyth, Lindley Social Art Club Solms, Sidney J. Sower, Charles G. Sowers, William H. Spackman, John B. Spangler, C. E. †Sparks, Thomas Sparks, Thomas W. Speel, Joseph A. Spiese, George W. Spencer, Charles, Germantown Spencer, Howard Spencer, James S. †Spooner, Edwin †Sproat, Harris L. Steel, Edward T., Germantown Steele, James L. †Steever, Henry D., Germantown †Stevens, James E. P., Germantown Stillé, Alfred Stillé, Charles J. Stocker, Anthony E. †Stokes, William A. Stone, Frederick D., Germantown Stone, James N. †Stone, William E., Germantown Stuart, George H. Stoddart, Curwen †Struthers, William †Sully, Thomas Sutter, Daniel Swain, Charles M.</p>
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XVI

<p>Swift, Joseph Sypher, J. R. Taggart, William H. Tasker, Stephen P. M. Tasker, Thomas T. †Tasker, Thomas T., Jr. Taylor, Enoch, Germantown Taylor, Samuel L. †Taylor, Stephen Thomas, George C. †Thomas, John Dover †Thomas, Joseph M. †Thomas, Martin Thomas, William B. Thomas, William G. Thompson, E. O. †Thompson, John J. Thompson, John J. †Thompson, Oswald †Thomson, George H., Germantown †Thomson, J. Edgar Thomson, William Thorn, George W. Tobias, Joseph F. †Toland, Henry Tower, Charlemagne, Jr. Townsend, Henry C. Townsend, John Wm. Traquair, James Trautwine, John C. Trotter, Charles W. Trotter, Joseph H. Trotter, Newbold H. Trotter, William Henry Trump, Daniel Tucker, John †Turnbull, William P. Turnpenny, Joseph C. Tyler, George F. †Tyndale, Hector †Tyson, Job R. Valentine, John K. †Van Syckel, James J. Vance, James M. Vaux, George Vaux, Roberts Vaux, William S. Verree, John P. Von Utassy, A. W., Germantown Wagner, Charles M. Wagner, Mrs. Mary Walker, Jerry Walker, R. J. C. Wallace, John William †Waln, S. Morris</p>	<p>Ward, Townsend †Warder, Benjamin H. †Warner, Joseph Warner, Redwood F. Watkins, Samuel P., Jr. Watson, George N. Watt, John H. Webster, David Webster, Thomas Weightman, William Wells, Wm. Lehman Welsh, John Welsh, Samuel Westergaard, Lars Westcott, Thompson Wetherill, John Price Wetherill, Samuel †Wharton, George M. Wharton, Joseph †Wharton, Thomas J. Whelen, Henry, Jr. †Whitall, John M. White, C. Brooke White, George Q. White, William R. †Whiteman, William A. Whitman, Horace F. †Whitney, Asa †Wilcocks, Alexander Willcox, Mark Williams, Edward H. Williams, Francis H. †Williams, Henry J., Chestnut Hill Williams, Isaac L. †Williams, James W. †Wilson, Oliver Howard Wilson, W. Hasell †Wilson, William S. Wiltbank, Wm. W. Winsor, Henry Wistar, Dillwyn †Wistar, Mifflin †Wistar, Richard Wister, Casper Womrath, F. K. Wood, Caleb Wood, George A. †Wood, George B. Wood, James F. Wood, Richard Wood, Robert Wood, R. Francis Wood, Walter Woodward, H. C. Workman, Henry Weir</p>
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XVII

†Worrell, James C.
Wright, John
Wright, Wm. Redwood
Wurts, Charles Stewart
†Wynkoop, Francis M.
†Yarnall, Charles

†Yarnall, Edward
Yarnall, Ellis
Yarnall, Francis C.
Yarrow, Mrs. Matilda
†Ziegler, George K.

RHODE ISLAND.

Cooke, Joseph J., Providence

†Harris, C. Fiske, Providence

VIRGINIA.

Armstrong, Miss Julia M., Keswick,
Albemarle Co.
Brock, R. Alonzo, Richmond
†Conway, Henry R., Stafford C. H.
Daniel, Peter V., Richmond

Dulany, Henry Grafton, Jr., Wel-
bourne Hall, Loudon Co.
†Foote, William Henry, Romney
Hope, James Barron, Norfolk

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bancroft, George
Library of the Department of State
McElhone, John J.

Pickett, John T.
Riggs, George W.
Strong, William

UNITED STATES ARMY.

Crosman, George H.
Cullum, George W.
Davis, Charles L.
†Garrard, Kenner
Gibson, George, Jr.

†Graham, James D.
Humphreys, A. A.
Kendig, Daniel
†McCall, George A.
Pollock, O. W.

UNITED STATES NAVY.

†Foltz, Jonathan M.
†Gillis, John P.

†Lardner, James L.
Ruschenberger, W. S. W.

CANADA.

†Cawthra, William, Toronto

Redpath, Peter, for McGill College,
Montreal

CUBA.

Guiteras, Eusebio, Matanzas

Guiteras, Pedro J., Matanzas